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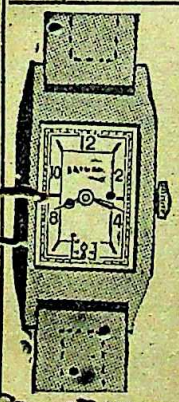
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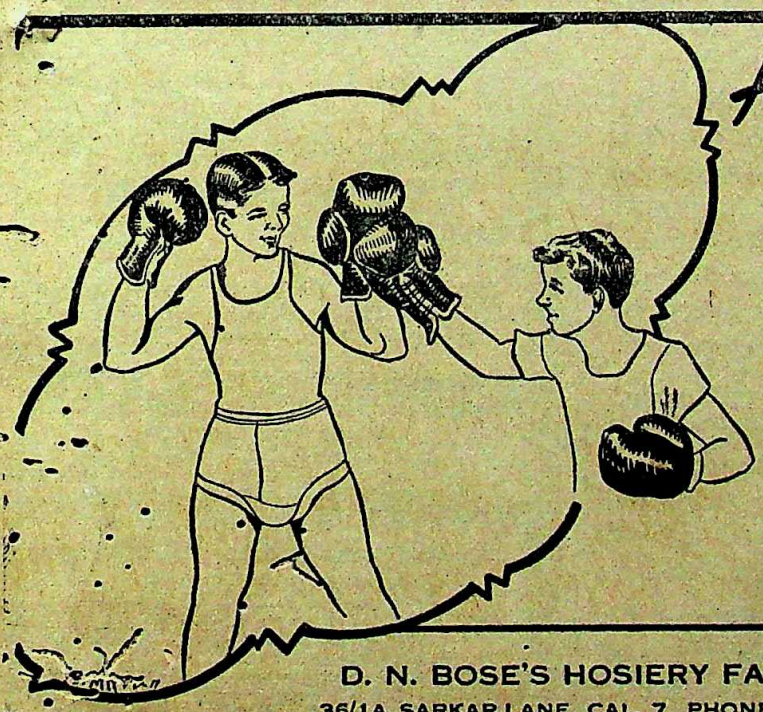
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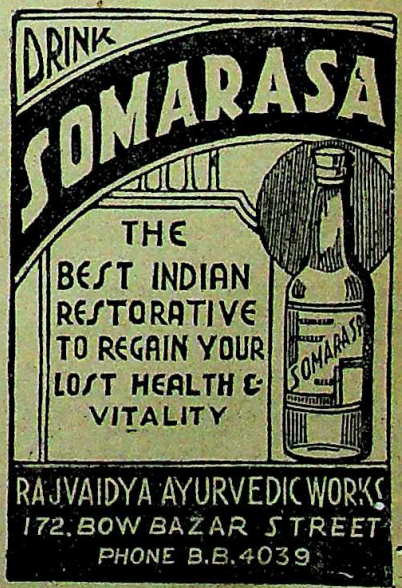
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THE MODERN REVIEW

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NOTES

The New Year

The Old Year is drawing to a close as we write these lines, but we see little hope as yet that peace and goodwill will prevail with the coming of the New Year.

At home, we have had the worst harvest since that of 1942-43, the year of the Great Famine. And further the surplus area, of Assam has been devastated by one of the most intense earthquakes on record. Trade and Industry are still in the throes of a three-year-old depression, caused by the anti-social attitude taken both with Capital and organised Labour alike. The sufferings of the common citizen, that is to say of 98 per cent of the population, have been intensified beyond all measure thereby. Black-marketing is still rampant and labour efficiency lower than ever. The economic tension, which had been eased somewhat due to devaluation is likely to be affected adversely by the urgent necessity for the large-scale enhancement of the food-grain imports. We shall go into details later in these matters.

The political situation at home had been stabilized to a certain extent during the first three quarters of 1950. Then came the rumblings of the Chinese invasion of Tibet and the major disturbances in Nepal, which gave a fresh impetus to the foreign-controlled disruptionist movements in India. And along with that have come some curious legal decisions which have rendered the maintenance of law and order by the present methods somewhat precarious. This has encouraged the major disruptionist group to reorganise afresh on a new alignment.

We must make it clear at this point as to why we call the group disruptionist. If it were merely a question of the path, Right or Left, it would be another matter. If all India, or the major portion of its nationals, went towards the goals of Socialism, or even to the extreme Leftist peaks of Marxian Communism by the constitutional methods of voluntary evolution and non-violent revolution, we would acclaim rather than denounce the movement. But when we see that certain major groups are not merely inspired by foreign examples, but are actively directed and financed by a foreign organisation, and we see that its entire programme is aimed at the undermining of the solidarity of the nation's administrative and economic set-up, with the object of creating a chaotic vacuum in which foreign domination can intrude in with ease, then we must consider such organisations as anti-national and disruptionist.

Let us, for example, consider the following report on the re-organisation of the C.P.I. that appeared in the *Statesman* of December 29 :

"It is understood that the third Party Congress of the Communist Party of India, due to be held in January, may be delayed because of the recent reconstitution of the Central Committee, and also because of differences of opinion among Party members on political issues. No information is available about the venue of the Congress; possibly it has not yet been fixed.

The reconstituted Central Committee consists of Mr. Rajeswar Rao, Secretary (Andhra), Mr. Nambudripad (Kerala), Mr. Bires Misra (Assam), Mr. Narayan Reddi (Andhra), Mr. Parulekar (Bombay), Mr. Manindra Singh (East Pakistan), Dr. Ranen Sen (Bengal), Mr. Yusuf (U.P.), Mr. Dange (Bombay), Mr. Ajay Ghosh (Bihar) and Mr. Ghate (Bombay), the last five being new members. Mr. Somnath Lahiri (Bengal), who was a member of the Committee, has resigned.

The Politburo has also been reconstituted. It consists of Mr. Rajeswar Rao, Mr. Nambudripad, Mr. Dange, Mr. Ajay Ghosh and Mr. Ghate.

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In a statement issued by it on December 18, the Central Committee stated that it had not been possible at the Committee's meeting earlier in the month, to "thrash out the political differences and evolve an agreed political line." The statement added that it was essential for the party to discharge effectively its duties and responsibilities "in the struggle for national liberation."

It is learnt that the whole matter has been referred to the Cominform for a final decision and for the issue of a directive about the lines on which the Party should work in India.

On receipt of the directive the Party Congress will meet to work out a detailed programme.

Meanwhile, to strengthen the Party, efforts are being made to readmit to the organization members who have been "unjustly expelled." Several Bengal district committees are reported to have suggested the withdrawal of the expulsion order on Mr. P. C. Joshi, the former General Secretary, and a review of his case by a commission. An inquiry commission has been set up to deal with the case of Mr. Ranadive and some of his associates for their "Left sectarianism amounting to Trotskyite-Titoite policy."

The new Central Committee, which thinks that no open session of the Congress is possible, is considering how best the Congress may be made representative of all sections of opinion in the party.

The expanded committee is also exploring the possibility of working jointly with all Leftist parties to fight the general elections, and for the withdrawal of all repressive measures, the release of political prisoners and restoration of civil liberties. As a first step, in the trade union field efforts are being made to work unitedly, if possible through amalgamation, with the A.I.T.U.C. and U.T.U.C. in Bengal.

The success of the Chinese Communists in Korea has been a source of great inspiration to Indian Communists. In Bengal, the recent release of a large number of Communist detenus under orders of the High Court has also given a fresh impetus to party activity, and several released members have already started organizing labour in jute mill areas to make up the ground lost during the past two years. A committee has been constituted, with one of the leading party members recently released from detention as secretary, to organize "trade union" activity in Calcutta industrial centres."

This was preceded some time back by a piece of news from Bombay in which the dictum of a prominent Chinese Communist leader was given. In his comments he rebuked the C.P.I. for making exaggerated claims and directed it to *follow, in future, more closely the directions that were sent to it from abroad.*

Apart from the disruptionists, there has been wide dissensions inside the body-politic of the Congress itself. There are separate groups crystallizing out with various nucleii and in West Bengal one such section has left the Congress altogether.

So taken overall, the political picture is dismal and in other spheres hardly promising. It is indeed a bleak prospect for the New Year!

Further, the nation is poorer today by the loss of the last two giants we had in our midst. Sri Aurobindo the Seer had remained detached from the public platform for nearly four decades. But his influence on the mind of the leaders of the nation had only been intensified by that isolation. There was an aura round him like that of the great sages of yore, and from his detachment came inspiration to the fighters for the nation's freedom.

The Divine that manifested Itself in and through a Bengali body as Its instrument has willed to withdraw Its presence from this mundane world. This came to happen on the night of December 5 last. A pall of still sorrow has descended on India at the departure of one of whom Sri Aurobindo had himself sung :

"He who would bring the heavens here,
Must descend himself into clay
And the burden of earthly nature bear
And tread the dolorous way."

Since 1906 India had believed in him as one of the heaven-sent deliverers who with the *mantra* of Liberty would put his own people at the altar of equality in the comity of modern nations. That *sadhana* he saw in fruition on August 15, 1947—a date which happened to be Sri Aurobindo's birth-day in 1872. India has been hoping that as political freedom has come, her people would have now the inclination and opportunity to devote themselves whole-hearted to the service to God and Man, to the ending of inequalities in human society and injustices in human relations.

Since 1910 when he retired to Pondicherry, a vaster vista has been opened before him by Divine Will. India has been following him in her unobtrusive ways through good report and evil; and the world has been increasingly feeling its way towards the realization that in the ancient wisdom of Ind lay the secret and centre of redemption from crises that overtake her almost at equal intervals of time. The news of the passing into the Life Eternal of this Indian seer and sage has helped to strengthen this realization in this wider field. And our feelings can be given expression in the words of Shakespeare, quoted by one of his disciples in anticipation of such a day.

". . . When he shall die,
Take him and cut him out in little stars
And he will make the face of heaven so fine
That all the world will be in love with night,
And pay no worship to the garish sun."

In the Master's own words we find, in the *Life Divine* :

"To fulfil God in Life is man's manhood. We must accept the manysidedness of the manifestation even when we assert the unity of the manifested. All problems in life are essentially problems of harmony."

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Scarcely had we recovered from the shock of the passing of Sri Aurobindo when came the news of the sudden death of the Sardar. The Ship of State is verily without a Pilot today !

We could write chapters and chapters on the qualities and achievements of that stern warrior and Elder statesman. But as yet the sense of irreplaceable loss is the one thought that reigns supreme. The burden on Sri Jawaharlal Nehru is stupendous, and unless vision and inspiration is given him at this critical juncture in the nation's destiny, there will be calamity. The successors to the Sardar that have been chosen by Sri Nehru to take over the portfolios are amiable gentlemen of a very different calibre and metal indeed. We confess their appointment has not in the least allayed our apprehensions about the future.

Pakistan has maintained its intransigent and actively hostile attitude, despite all the futile appeasement attempts by Prime Minister Nehru. We had the information given in Parliament that no less than 81 raids had been made on Indian soil by armed Pakistanis. In West Bengal, we have had a prolonged minor skirmish *on our soil* during the first three weeks of December. The outcome has been as follows:

Cease-fire orders have been given by the West and East Bengal Governments to their police forces posted on the borders of Nadia and Kushtia districts.

During the past three weeks there have been almost daily exchanges of fire between Indian and Pakistani police near the border villages of Bhatupara and Betia, the dispute arising over the harvesting of paddy by cultivators.

The two Governments have agreed to immediate demarcation of the boundary in the disputed border areas by the Directors of Land Records of West and East Bengal.

Our staff correspondent in Dacca writes that joint demarcation of the boundary line in the dispatch border areas is expected to commence in the first week of January.

Comments are superfluous! One merely wonders if West Bengal is inside the Indian Union.

India's "No-War" Letters with Pakistan

Letters exchanged between the Prime Ministers of India and Pakistan on the "no-war declaration" had been placed before the Parliament in its last session.

We do not see that these letters have improved relations between Pakistan and India. We can only praise Sri Nehru's patience, and with that he could display the same virtue, even in a niggardly measure when it concerns critics at home.

In his last letter Sri Nehru said : "I am as convinced as ever that such a declaration would go a long way to clear the atmosphere for a friendly discussion of all the issues that are outstanding between our two countries. In view of the dark clouds of war that are spreading all over the world, such a declaration by India and Pakistan would have a profound

Welcoming the Pakistani Prime Minister's assurance that Pakistan had "no intention of attacking India" and wanted a "peaceful settlement of the Kashmir question" Sri Nehru said : "As I stated before Parliament on November 28, India is pledged to peace and I gave a solemn assurance that we shall continue to work for peace with our neighbour country. There, I think, we must leave the matter for the present."

Referring to Press propaganda, Sri Nehru said that the leading newspapers of India had dealt with the Delhi agreement "helpfully and with a sense of responsibility" and "the tone of the Calcutta newspapers had improved considerably."

Sri Nehru says: "Leading newspapers in Pakistan, however, stand out in sharp contrast and anti-Indian propaganda of an extreme type continues from day to day. This applies more especially to the *Dawn* of Karachi. In its leading articles and its news columns there is unjust and unbridled criticism of India. Fictitious reports appear of economic and political conditions in India. All kinds of base motives are imputed to us; the latest example of this is the gross perversion of our relations with Nepal."

Referring to Kashmir, he says: "You have repeated what has been said before on behalf of Pakistan, and no purpose will be served by my repeating what I have said so often on behalf of India. I would only point out that we are, and always have been, prepared to agree to any reasonable arrangements that would combine effective protection of the security of the State with complete freedom to the people of Jammu and Kashmir to decide their own future."

Referring to Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan's allegation about the setting up of a provisional Government of East Bengal, Sri Nehru said that in April last there had been an announcement to that effect on the air from a secret source and the attempts of the police to locate the illegal transmitter had been without success. But since then there had been no such announcements.

After drawing attention to a reported broadcast in February last on Dacca radio "calling for vengeance on non-Muslims," Sri Nehru said: "I am sure you will agree that stray incidents of this kind are best ignored. In any case I can assure you that I will not tolerate any illegal activities on Indian soil directed against the integrity and security of Pakistan. The large-scale movement of military forces of India last February that you have mentioned, was, as I stated in February, a purely precautionary defensive measure, taken in a period of high tension."

Denying the Pakistani Prime Minister's statement that the Indian representatives had agreed that there was "no question of varying the shares" of the two countries regarding canal waters, Sri Nehru said that Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan had quoted from a report of a sub-committee of the Punjab Partition Committee which had not been agreed to by the Partition Com-

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mittee and the whole matter had been referred to the Central Arbitral Committee.

The statement quoted from the sub-committee's report was also incorrect. The actual words used were: "There is no question of varying the authorized shares of water to which the two zones and the various canals are entitled."

Denying that India was seeking to increase greatly for herself supplies of canal water at Pakistan's expense, Sri Nehru has said that India only proposed to utilize the waters to which she was entitled. But before doing so she had generously agreed not to prejudice any existing irrigation in Pakistan until Pakistan had reasonable time to tap alternate sources.

This had been "fully realized" by Pakistan's representatives when they agreed to the May 4, 1948 agreement. "It is, I confess, a matter of amazement to me that you should still seek to maintain that that agreement was made under compulsion." Sri Nehru adds:

"Pakistan's intransigence as regards the technical examination agreed to between the two countries hardly requires proof. Engineers of both countries had met more than once, but if in spite of this and the mass of factual data available, there was no progress, it could only be attributed to the refusal of the Pakistani Government representative to permit the two sets of engineers to get on with the technical examination of the problem.

It is our firm conviction that, if only the technical examination is allowed to be made in a spirit of mutual understanding and accommodation, not only the richest areas in Pakistan but all other legitimately irrigable areas will get the supply of water they reasonably need.

"I have no doubt that if the tribunal which I have suggested is established and is assisted by the results of such a technical examination, it would not be difficult for it to find an equitable solution of the problem."

Referring to the evacuee property question, Sri Nehru said: "I can only regret that you should still think that the tribunal we have suggested would not serve any useful purpose. I am also disappointed at your refusal to discuss the evacuee property dispute pending a settlement in the canal water dispute, except on the basis suggested by you, namely, that there should be freedom of sale and exchange of urban property.

"In my previous letter I have explained why we feel that this method of approach to the evacuee property problem would not lead to a satisfactory solution. I need not repeat what I have said previously."

Sri Nehru then dealt with the question of Pakistani assets. Characterizing the Pakistani Prime Minister's statement that Mr Nehru had "summarily dismissed" the question of release of Pakistani assets as "doing me less than justice." Sri Nehru has drawn attention to his letter of January 18 in this connexion and India's large financial claims on Pakistan.

Mentioning the sums due to India on stores transferred to Pakistan and Pakistan's share of the expenditure on the Joint Defence Council, Sri Nehru said that it would not be correct to say that negotiations on the subject between the two countries had failed. There had been some correspondence and discussions between India and the Governor of the Pakistan State Bank and the Pakistani Finance Ministry, and some progress had been made in clarifying the issues.

Thanking Mr Liaquat Ali Khan for his invitation to him to visit Karachi, Sri Nehru said: "I attach value to periodical meetings between us as they can help us more than anything to understand our respective points of view to pave the way to a settlement of outstanding issues and, generally, to promote good relations between our two countries."

Nepal

Prime Minister Nehru told the Indian Parliament on December 21 that the Prime Minister of Nepal would issue a proclamation announcing constitutional reforms and "other matters" before the end of December.

PTI adds: Sri Nehru said that India was anxious that there should be peace and stability in Nepal. "At the same time, we felt that the introduction of substantial political reforms was essential for this purpose.

"It was on this basis of respect for Nepal's independence, combined with an urgent interest in political reforms there, that we carried on our conversations with representatives of the Government of Nepal who were recently in Delhi. We explained our position fully to these representatives, Generals Kaiser Shumsher and Bijaya Shumsher, and, at their request, we gave them, on December 8, a Memorandum defining our aims and proposals.

"The Government of India's primary objective is that Nepal should be independent, progressive and strong. For this purpose, they regard immediate constitutional changes, which will satisfy popular opinion and are acceptable to important non-official organizations of Nepalese nationals, as urgent.

"In their (Government of India's) view it is necessary:

"1. That a Constituent Assembly, composed entirely of properly-elected members, should be brought into being as soon as possible to draw up a constitution for Nepal.

"2. Pending the meeting of the Constituent Assembly mentioned in (1) an interim Government which will include persons representative of popular opinion and enjoying public confidence should be established.

"Apart from an adequate number of popular

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representatives, this interim Government should include members of the Rana family, one of whom should be Prime Minister. Members of the interim Government should be formally appointed by the King on proposals submitted by the Prime Minister. This Government should function as a Cabinet, on the principle of joint responsibility, and should frame its own rules of business.

"3. In the interests of peace as well as stability, his Majesty King Tribhuvan Bir Bikram Shah should continue to be King of Nepal. During the King's absence, he may appoint a regent to act on his behalf during that period.

"These suggestions are made in a spirit of sincere friendship and with the sole object of ensuring the stability and progress of Nepal. They are necessarily suggestions of principle. Once the principles are accepted, details could easily be worked out.

"The Government of India will be glad to give any assistance that the Government of Nepal may need in working out the details of a constitution and on connected matters.

"They wish to emphasize that in order that the changes now made should work smoothly, it is of paramount importance that the present authoritarian regime should be liberalized in spirit as well as structure, and that the changes should satisfy all progressively-minded Nepalese nationals."

He had received a reply from the Prime Minister of Nepal which read as follows: "Our representatives who had been to New Delhi have brought with them the Memorandum containing friendly suggestions and advice offered by your Excellency and the Government of India with the sole object of ensuring the independence, stability and progress of Nepal.

"I need not say that any advice and suggestions given in a spirit of friendship by our great neighbour have always been received by us with the attention they deserve. My Cabinet has been actively considering the matter, but as momentous changes are envisaged they are naturally taking some more time to consider the matter than was originally anticipated.

"Careful thought is necessary before we actually decide on steps which will bring about far-reaching changes without jeopardizing the stability and peace of the country. Nevertheless, we are working on the matter with as much speed as is possible and I am confident that we will be able to prepare a proclamation addressed to the people of Nepal announcing the constitutional reforms and other matters before the end of the month. I shall send an advance copy of it as soon as it is ready.

"I should like to take this opportunity of expressing to the Government of India and to your Excellency in particular sincere thanks on behalf of my Government and myself for the kindness and courtesy with which our representatives were received in Delhi, which enabled the discussions to be carried on in an atmosphere of friendship and cordiality."

Appreciating the friendly tone of this reply, Sri Nehru said: "We have no desire to hurry the Government of Nepal. At the same time we cannot ignore the fact that delay in a settlement is likely to make the situation worse.

"The world situation, unfortunately, has grown darker since we discussed international affairs earlier this month. It is our firm conviction that the longer political reforms and a satisfactory settlement are delayed in Nepal the greatr the danger to Nepal's security and internal tranquillity.

"The suggestions that we made in our Memorandum were made in a spirit of sincere friendship and with the sole object of ensuring the stability and progress of Nepal. They were offered after great care and in the hope that these suggestions will be examined and dealt with by the Government of Nepal in the spirit in which they had been offered.

"We have continued to recognize His Majesty King Tribhuvan Bir Bikram Shah; we feel that, in all the circumstances, this is the right course, and any discontinuance of recognition would produce many complications and would come in the way of a peaceful settlement.

"Any other arrangement, such as the replacement of the constitutional head of the Kingdom by a Council of Regency, appointed by the Prime Minister to act in the name of a child King, would make the introduction and smooth working of progressive constitutional changes more difficult."

The Government of India, said Sri Nehru, had observed the strictest neutrality in the internal struggle in Nepal. The officers in the border areas had been instructed accordingly, and they had carried out these instructions.

Within a week of this statement, General Bijay Shamsher Jung, Foreign Minister of Nepal, came to Delhi. On December 27 he saw India's Secretary-General for Foreign Affairs when discussions on the Draft Proposals regarding constitutional reforms and other issues affecting the Nepalese situation were held. The Nepal Government's proposals, while trying to meet generally the principles adumbrated in the memorandum of the Government of India in regard to the convening of an elected Constituent Assembly and formation of an Interim Government for Nepal, it is believed, do not indicate any clear acceptance of the advice tendered by the Government of India on the question of Kingship. According to Delhi reports, Nepal Government's reply boils down to two proposals, *viz.*, their willingness to set up a Constituent Assembly after the present census operations are completed and to form an Interim Cabinet consisting of nine members of whom not more than three would be representatives

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of the people. The census would be complete after two years. The present Nepal Government are also understood to have expressed themselves against the return of King Tribhuvan.

India's Defence

"Prime Minister Nehru told Parliament on December 21 in reply to a pointed inquiry by Pandit H. N. Kunzru, that India now was more secure than 90 per cent of the countries in the world.

After the cheers that followed had died away, the Prime Minister elaborated his point which, he said, he did not make on the basis of the strength of India's armed forces. He declared that, judging from the present world situation, the danger to India in the near future was far less than the danger threatening more powerful and advanced countries both in the East and the West.

The Prime Minister was speaking on the debate on the supplementary demand for Defence services. Referring to the question of a reduction in the strength of the Army, persistently mentioned by some members, he said the matter had been continually under consideration by the Government since 1946-47, but much could not be done yet because of "obvious factors."

The Government were still determined to go ahead with the proposal but would take every precaution so that the general strength of the Army did not lessen. "We would rather have a highly mechanized, relatively small army than a large ill-equipped foot army," he said.

Those elements in the Army who were not properly equipped and not relatively well trained would be demobilized. This would not affect the fighting strength of the Army as these elements were more or less equivalent to a police force."

We only wish we could share the blind optimism of those estimable representatives of ours who cheered Sri Nehru. As for the crazy cranks that are demanding a reduction in the actual strength of our fighting forces, we consider that the Adult Education Board could well make a start by imparting some lessons from Indian History to them.

War and Peace in the Balance

Abroad the sky is darker than ever although there has been a lull in the actual fighting in Korea for the last four weeks or so. The attempt made in the U.N.O. by the Asiatic group to bring about a "Cease-fire" agreement between the U.N.O. forces and China seems to have misfired due to suspicion and hesitation on the part of Communist China. The Chinese U.N.O. delegation led by Mr. Wu have broken off negotiations and have gone back to Pekin by a devious route, *via* Moscow.

That the Chinese delegation should thus proceed to Moscow direct from Lake Success is more than merely significant. The normal course, one should have thought, would have been to report to the home government at Pekin and then Pekin could have held consultations with Moscow. But the order seems to be reversed, showing that the direction and initiative lies with Moscow and Pekin seems to function as the executive headquarters.

The reading of the Chinese riddle is outside our scope for the present. China herself seems to be on the horns of a dilemma. We believe there are still counsels in Pekin that are in favour of continuing the millennium-old friendly relations with India. But at the same time it would be disastrous to ignore the fact that China has virtually surrendered all her rights of independent action by entering the Soviet bloc. And therefore the chances for a successful mediation by the group led by India are doubtful.

The question of neutrality for ourselves has therefore become acute. What if the world conflagration blazes up? We are not prepared for it in the least. And for preparation we need active outside aid on a massive scale. Can we obtain that aid without sacrificing our rights of neutrality? The different political groups here give different opinions. The political trends in India, indeed in all Asia, are further complicated by statements like that of Mr. Hoover in the U.S.A.

This complacent gentleman does not seem to have realized that if war breaks out now, the U.S.A. will not be in the same position of vantage as she was in the previous two World Wars. In them she could sit on the fence and take her time in choosing the hour of her entry in the struggle for world supremacy. Even after her entry she could spend months and months, *ad lib*, training and equipping her fighting forces and developing her reserves while less fortunately placed nations poured out blood and treasure in torrents in trying to beat back the tidal waves of aggression. In the first World War, Russia and France absorbed the entire shock of the mighty war machines of the Kaiser, U.S.A. came in for vast financial involvements and little beyond. In the second World War, France went down but in the West Russia absorbed the colossal forces of destruction let loose on her by Hitler and in the Far East the Japanese could not free 75 per cent of their fighting forces that were bogged down in China. Both Russia and China traded space for time, thereby undergoing titanic sacrifices, and the time thus gained was placed at the disposal of the U.S.A. High Command for equipment and organisation of mighty forces that took their time in launching out against tried and spent enemies in the West and the East.

In the next World War there would be no "shock-absorber" nations, as should be apparent to all sensible persons, in and out of the U.S.A. We have neither the desire not the right to challenge Mr. Hoover's isolationism. But we do find his idea of Uncle Sam posing as Jehovah, sitting in solitary grandeur to pronounce judgment and distribute largesse on the lesser peoples of the Earth, to be ludicrous to say the least. This *bania* mentality has brought Britannia to her present position,

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thanks to her Curzons, Chamberlains and Churchills, and Uncle Sam will fare no better if he is unable to profit by the experience of others.

Indeed, judging by American papers and the speeches of U.S.A. notabilities, all Asia is *terra incognita* to the American pundits, outside a slice of China, and the present-day Japan. The *Reader's Digest* for September 1950, contained an article titled "Why Stalin's Conquest of Asia Must be Stopped." The author William C. Bullitt, is a career diplomat, having served his country as an ambassador both to France and to the Soviet Union. We have very seldom come upon such an exposition of ignorance about Asiatic lands and peoples by a person of high diplomatic rank.

In his opinion, the key to Stalin's conquest of South-East Asia lies in French Indo-China. If the Communist forces of Ho Chi Minh are able to drive the French and the French supported Annamite forces of Bao Dai out of Indo-China then the resulting chain reaction will mean the overrunning of the whole of South-East Asia by the powers of Communism.

His argument runs :

For if Indo-China should fall to the Communists not only Siam (Thailand) but also Burma and Malaya would be overwhelmed in short order.

The Siamese are a delightful people but they are not warriors. They admit frankly that if Ho Chi Minh should conquer Indo-China they could offer no effective resistance.

Burma is open to attack from Siam, Indo-China and China. Today Chinese Communist forces are stretched out along its northern border. The Burma Road, our supply line to China during part of World War II, may now become the supply line for the Communists in Burma. The country has a Socialist government—anti-Stalinist, but weak—and there is a veritable rainbow of dissident forces in open rebellion against the government. There are thousands of Communist guerrillas. Several different tribes are demanding autonomous status. The most important tribe, the Karens, numbers two million. They are non-Communist but by fighting the Central Government they indirectly help the Communists. Riddled with civil strife, Burma is ripe to be taken over by a well-organized Communist effort.

Beyond Burma lies India. There, with the aid of an excellent native civil service built up by the British, a few able political leaders are trying to establish a democratic government based on illiterate and poverty-stricken masses that have never known freedom. Divided by religious hatreds as well as class hatreds, the Indians are natural victims for Communist propaganda. The presence of triumphant Communist armies on the Burmese border of India would be a prelude to such infiltration and agitation that the collapse of India into Communist hands would probably be a mere matter of time.

The British still control Malaya. But they have been so unsuccessful in putting down the Communist guerrillas that on April 29 of this year the London *Economist*, which is careful in its estimates, stated : "If existing trends in the development and continuation of bandit activity are not reversed, Malaya will eventually be lost." Malaya is the world's largest producer of tin. Should Malaya be taken over by the Communists, it would be a serious blow to British, as well as to U.S., economy, since Malaya is an important source of natural rubber.

Indo-China, as the dike which prevents the Communist flood from sweeping over Siam, Burma and Malaya, is today the strategic bastion of the entire area.

Mr. Bullitt and Mr. Hoover both have made it plain that American aid is on the bargaining counter and the purchase medium is the pledge to enter the lists against the Soviet bloc as a satellite of the U.S.A. It is needless to point out that as such, it would mean a very considerable sacrifice of self-respect and self-determination for any nation to ask for aid under such conditions. Thus the Soviets are automatically placed in a position of vantage.

The Soviet Foreign Minister, Mr. Andrei Vyshinsky, signalized his appearance at the General Assembly on November 18 last by assuring that Russia profoundly desired the 'peaceful co-existence' of Capitalism and Communism in the world. He was speaking in a debate on the peace plan put forward by Mr. Trygve Lie, United Nations Secretary-General. Russia has proposed a counter-plan with a six-point programme for a 20-year peace.

The Vyshinsky programme calls for :

1. Periodic top-level Security Council meetings 'with the understanding that the Council shall function with its full and legal membership with the participation of the representative of the People's Republic of China.'
2. Unswerving observance of the principles of unanimity in the work of the Security Council.
3. Unconditional prohibition of atomic weapons and other weapons for mass extermination of people and the institution of controls to ensure the observance of that prohibition.
4. Observance of the principle of numerically equal Great Power contributions to armed forces to be made available by agreements for Security Council use.
5. Technical aid to backward countries without any demand for 'political, economic or military privileges for the countries rendering assistance.'
6. Development of international trade without discrimination.

We, in India, attempt to maintain a detached attitude towards this two Power Blocs controversy and competition. M. Vyshinsky's pronouncements leave us cold, therefore. He called Mr. Lie's "peace-plan" as reflecting "the views of the Anglo-American Bloc"; it was based on "political bias." He omitted all reference to the war in Korea in which the Soviet protege, North Korea, has been charged with "aggression." And the one-month debate between the delegates of the two Blocs in the General Assembly has been unfruitful so far as easing the tension in the world's mind was concerned.

Meanwhile, the situation in the Far East is assuming an ominous shape.

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The world situation *vis a vis* Peace or War was admirably summarized by Mr. L. B. Pearson, Canada's Secretary of State for External Affairs, at the Federal-Provincial Conference in Ottawa on December 4th. A summary of that statement is given below. We might remark that though the tension has increased since then, the position in the main remains as delineated by him.

"The vital question at the present time is how great is the risk of a major war. With developments in Korea and in the United Nations in a state of flux it is particularly difficult to discuss this question with assurance of certainty. If hostilities cannot be localized in North Korea and if fighting spreads into Manchuria, the result may be open war with Communist China. Furthermore, it is only safe to assume that Peking risked armed intervention in Korea on the basis of assurances of assistance from the Soviet Union if intervention should lead to military operations against the territory of China. Therefore war with China might result in Soviet assistance to Chinese forces. Assistance might initially be indirect and voluntary, of the kind which the Chinese Communists claim they are giving North Korea and which could later be said not to constitute official intervention. But just as this kind of Chinese intervention in Korea has led to the danger of open war with China, so similar Soviet intervention on behalf of China might lead to open war with the Soviet Union. It is to be hoped that the autocrats of the Kremlin understand this danger as well as we do.

At the moment the focus of our hopes and fears is Korea. We must strive to find a solution to the grave and menacing problem there. This will be no easy task. Before it can be done, moreover, there must be stabilization of the military front in Korea on a line which can be firmly held. Our military advice gives us reason to hope that, in spite of heavy initial losses, such a line can be established and maintained. When this has been done we can then see where we are in regard to the political aspects of the Korean and Far Eastern questions. The Chinese Communists have now made it abundantly clear that they regard United Nations action in Korea as menacing their interests so greatly that they are willing to risk general war in challenging it. Therefore, as soon as circumstances make it possible, we must take up again the effort to reconcile, on the one hand, the determination of the United Nations to resist aggression and, on the other, whatever legitimate interests the Chinese may have in the future of Korea and the adjacent area. I am not sure that we can reconcile these two, our interest in world peace with the purposes behind their intervention. But we must try, and we must try by some more practical and effective means than mere public statements of good intentions and pious hopes.

During this period when the peace of the world will be in balance and when we shall be walking on the edge of a volcano which is rumbling alarmingly we must not look for easy and spectacular results. We must realize that the Chinese Communist leaders are schooled in the tactics of public abuse which have long been part of the Soviet method of diplomacy. Many of them are completely ignorant of the Western world, are not likely to give us visible or audible help and will, in fact, make our task harder by vilifying us with scorn and slander and misrepresentation. But we need not give way to despair or to fatalistic acceptance of something that is regarded as inevitable and about which therefore nothing can be done except to arm. There is no reason on the side of the free democracies why the efforts now being made through the United Nations to localize and then end the war in Korea should not succeed. We must therefore make crystal clear by our words and, more important, by our policies, that if they do not succeed the responsibility will lie where it belongs—in Peking and in Moscow. If, as we trust, these efforts do succeed the immediate danger of a third World War would for the moment be removed. That would not, however, mean we could rule out of our calculations the possibility of such a war breaking out later. The materials for a fire would still be there and there would still be madmen about with matches.

The Soviet Union already possesses the capability to wage a major war at any time. Its policies, moreover, show it is willing to take the risk of provoking one, even though it may not deliberately desire one. At the present time the Soviet Union possesses great preponderance of power on land; on sea it would be able seriously to interrupt Allied lines of communication by use of its submarine fleet and by other means. The greatest military weaknesses of the Soviet Union are in the air and in its relative deficiency in atomic bombs. The Soviet Union would probably wish to reach a higher degree of preparedness, especially for air and atomic warfare, and to augment its economic potential before becoming engaged in hostilities.

The possibility that this cautious and delaying attitude is the basis of Soviet foreign policy must be weighed against the temptation to take advantage of the passing opportunity offered by relative Western weakness against the apparent willingness of the U.S.S.R. to take chances which may lead to war, and against the bellicose and inflammatory tactics of the Cominform. These tactics, leading to aggressive war in Korea, as well as the expansionist nature of Soviet foreign policy generally, provide the incentive and necessity for Western rearmament and closer cooperation. The effect of this rearmament will become increasingly important after 1951. If, therefore, the leaders of international communism have convinced themselves that war with the West must come at some

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time, they may consider that their best opportunity will be in the months ahead. Because of this and because of recent events in North Korea the danger of major war in the immediate future has, I think, increased. Such a war could result either through deliberate armed aggressive action on the part of the Soviet Union or its satellites or through willingness on their part to take increased risks in spite of the knowledge that major war might result.

The question of whether the risk of a major war will diminish after, say, the end of 1951 depends, of course, in large part on whether the Western world has been able to increase its defences and ensure the necessary unity of action; or whether we can strengthen, as we are trying to do, the United Nations as an agency for preserving peace, for settling disputes, and, in the last analysis, for organizing collective force against an aggressor. The free Democracies are now taking steps to these ends at Lake Success and within the North Atlantic organization. The crisis of the last few weeks in Korea has shown with even greater clarity than before the necessity for doing this and for doing it quickly and effectively. The Democratic world is tragically but inescapably compelled to devote an increasing proportion of its resources to the task of rearmament.

This rearmament is essential and must be given priority for the time being over other objectives; but by itself it is not enough. We must also preserve and increase our economic and social strength. *We must take the steps necessary to rally to our side the peoples of Asia.* We must give political and normal leadership of a kind which will attract and hold the support of wavering powers, especially in Asia. Otherwise the Soviet Union may be able to extend by non-military means, by the pull of its sham but alluring offers of bread with freedom, its domination over large parts of the underprivileged, underdeveloped world with its masses of millions. The forces of Communist aggression in Asia have in the past successfully allied themselves with the forces of national liberation and social reform. The task of the Western Democratic powers is to assist the Democratic Governments in those areas to break that unnatural alliance. For this purpose it is essential that Western countries help Asian Democratic countries in their plans for economic development in order to relieve distress and poverty there, on which international Communism feeds. Within the measure of its resources Canada should do its part to help in this great effort to promote human welfare and hence to ensure peace.

There is some discussion going on at present whether the atom bomb should or should not be used against aggressors in Korea. One important consideration must be the effect of such use on the relations of the Western World with Asia. The military and others may argue that the atomic bomb is just another weapon, but in the minds of ordinary people everywhere in the world it is far more than that and its use has acquired immensely greater significance than any other aspect of war. The anxiety with which the possibility of such use is regarded has been strikingly and increasingly evident of late among our friends in Europe and in Asia. This anxiety is the main reason for the appeal, even in free countries, of cynical Communist peace campaigns.

It is hard to exaggerate the psychological and political consequences of employment of the bomb or threat of its employment in the present critical situation. Strategic use of the bomb against Chinese cities might conceivably reverse the course of military events in Korea now, but at the cost possibly of destroying the cohesion and unity of purpose of the Atlantic community. Certainly its use for a second time against an Asian people would dangerously weaken the links that remain between the Western world and the peoples of the East.

The atomic bomb is the most powerful deterrent element in the arsenal of the free world but it is universally regarded as the ultimate weapon and should be treated as such. There has been mass intervention of Chinese Communists in Korea. In the present critical military situation those who have their own forces engaged (and this applies of course particularly to the United States whose intrepid men are bearing the brunt of the fight) are obviously entitled to have full consideration given to the use of every available means of supporting the ground forces fighting under the United Nations command. This is natural and inevitable; but before a decision of such immense and awful consequence for all of us is taken, there should surely be consultation through the United Nations, particularly with the Governments principally concerned. One of those would be the Canadian Government, which has from the beginning been a partner in the tripartite development of atomic energy. It is of supreme importance to the morale and survival of free peoples that, if war comes, responsibility should be clearly and inexorably fixed. While there is any chance at all of preventing the extension of present hostilities, the advantages of using the bomb or even of threatening its use are, I think, likely to be far outweighed by the reactions among the peoples of the world and especially the peoples of Asia.

In the confused and dangerous international situation of today it is essential to try to see the world steadily, realistically, and as a whole. The obvious Soviet game is to provoke incidents and tensions at various points on border lands between the Western world and the Soviet Union and to try to lead us into the trap of concentrating too great a proportion of our limited resources on one or two isolated border points. It is clear, the Communists are trying to lead us into this trap in Korea. In order to fight the present war in Korea a large part of the immediately avail-

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able forces of the West have been committed to that country. If war in Korea should become war against China (and I repeat we must do everything within the power of statesmanship to prevent this) it will be difficult to avoid committing an even larger part of Western resources to that war. This would mean we would be leaving exposed our most important, and in the long run our most dangerous front—Western Europe. That is still the part of the world where we must concentrate our main effort on building up substantial defensive strength under the collective control of the members of the North Atlantic Pact who are slowly but surely building the structure of a North Atlantic community on political, economic, military and social foundations. At present the increasing power of that community is the greatest deterrent to war."

After describing the uneasy balance throughout the world between the countries under the domination of Soviet communism and those where free institutions still prevail, Mr. Pearson recalled how this balance had been upset by the Communist attack on the Republic of Korea.

"From the outset," he said, "it was clear that this act of open and armed aggression might have consequences which would present us from re-establishing any tolerable relationship with the Soviet world and might even lead to a third World War. One of the most serious charges against the North Korean Government, and against those governments in Moscow and Peking which stood behind it, is that they were willing to run this enormous risk not only for themselves but for the whole world. Ever since the attack on the Republic of Korea, we have believed that the efforts of those who supported United Nations action should be directed solely towards defeating the aggression and thereby halting the chain reaction which might have followed its success. The men who decide the policies of the Soviet Union and of their Communist satellites could gamble with the future of the world in order to extend the boundaries of the system under their control. We were not prepared to gamble in that reckless way. Conscious of our share of responsibility for the preservation of peace and freedom, and indeed for the preservation of mankind, from the mass destruction which modern weapons make possible, we believed and continue to believe that we should not try to do more in defeating this aggression than restore the freedom and unity of Korea."

Mr. Pearson then outlined the military measures which had been taken in an effort to restore stability. After the defeat of the invaders in South Korea, this effort entered a new phase. "What we had now to solve," he went on, "was more than a military problem. We had to determine in what way and at what point we would attempt to re-establish the political position in the Korean area. On a problem of that kind there could easily and properly be a number of different opinions.

"I do not intend to examine the various opinions which were put forward, except to say that in all the discussions of this problem which have taken place at Lake Success, in Washington, in London and elsewhere, we have consistently urged that moderation and a sense of global strategy, both military and political, should be our guide in deciding at what point military operations should be broken off and the work of pacification and reconstruction begun. We still believe that that is the proper rule to follow.

"It is now clear that in a further reckless act the Chinese Communists have intervened in Korea in very large numbers. Their final purpose is not yet beyond doubt, but certainly they have committed themselves to an incursion far in excess of any that might be explained by nervousness over local Chinese interests along the border between Manchuria and Korea.

"In this dangerous situation, it remains our view that if and when the military position is stabilized, we should try to begin negotiations with the Chinese Communists by every means possible. I am aware of the difficulties, I assure you, but I believe that nothing should be left undone which might conceivably result in an honourable and peaceful settlement in Korea. If, for example, providing the military situation is stabilized, there could be a cease-fire followed by negotiations possibly covering more subjects than Korea, in which the Chinese Communists would participate, there might still be hope of reaching such a settlement. At least we would have done our best, and the responsibility for failure could be placed where it would belong.

"I know that the policy I suggest will be called 'appeasement' by some; 'warmonger,' 'fascist,' 'appeaser,' 'red,' 'peace,' 'democracy'—such words are now used so loosely and irresponsibly that their coinage has become debased. So let us not be frightened by words. The action which was taken at Munich in 1938 and which has made 'appeasement' a byword, was open to two charges—that it was short-sighted because it was based on illusions about the nature of the Government which was the aggressor at that time, and that it was shameful because it sacrificed the freedom of one country in the interests of the security of others. Neither of those accusations can be brought against the policy I have outlined. It is not appeasement. It is an attempt through diplomacy to reach a *modus vivendi* with the Asian Communist world. The United Nations Commander in Korea himself has remitted to diplomacy the task of deciding what to do in Korea in this new situation created by Chinese intervention. It is the function of diplomacy to seek accommodation which can be the basis for stable relations between differing countries and systems. We have agreed in the past that some such accommodation with the Soviet Union and its satellites is necessary. In the present

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circumstances I believe it is our duty to make every effort to reach such a settlement, but we must not allow this process or the situation which makes it necessary to weaken our resolve or interfere with our plan to strengthen our defences. Above all, we must not allow it to weaken the unity or the friendly co-operation of those countries in the free world who are now working together so closely for the good purpose of establishing conditions of stability and peace in the world."

Political Conditions

The general picture we have here is a greater awareness about the rights and liberties of the individual than of the society as a whole. We have had long lectures on civil liberty from the Press, platform and the Benches of the High Courts, and we have had plenty of exhortations on patriotism from high above, but we find in general that the common citizen is gradually having his rights and liberties circumscribed and limited by law and law-breaker both alike. A group of youths set a tram on fire or lead a procession through crowded streets during hours of business, thereby disrupting the normal work of thousands of bread-earners, causing waste of time, money and energy and adding to the troubles of the entire community. When they are brought to justice we find that the law has not the power to hold them. If, on the other hand, they are held without trial, there is an uproar in the country about the civil liberties of the individuals. We do not advocate detention without trial, but we have to put forward the question as to whether the liberty of the individual to disrupt society, that is to say to indulge in anti-social crimes, is the objective for which we have been striving all these years. The police have utterly failed to stop political crimes. In Madras, Hyderabad, Assam and West Bengal Communists have at times been vigorously active. The police have not only failed to secure previous information about their future plans so as to forestall them, but they have more miserably failed to apprehend the culprits, secure evidence and get them convicted. Many of the cases have ended either in discharge or with nominal convictions. In such cases either wrong persons were caught or the police curiously failed to get adequate evidence. The cost of police administration has continued to go up proportionately with the increase in their ineffectiveness. We must reiterate our opinion that there have been flaws on the judicial and legal sides as well. The High Courts of Justice must not be held sacrosanct. There is an idea in the heads of the eminent gentlemen who adorn the Benches of our High Courts that their actions and their pronouncements must be beyond all criticism and that a High Court judge like Caesar's wife is beyond all criticism and reproach. To them we must say that the rights of godhead cannot be assumed by them and that in any democratic society *vox populi* is truly and really *vox Dei*. Justice must be even-handed but it must be Justice and not legal quibble.

Industry

This year's picture of our industry is a curious one. On the one side we witness the thwarted greed of industrial adventurers who have obtained control of industry through speculative intrusion. Their knowledge of industry is poor in the extreme. Their capacity for long-term planning is nil. Their sole point of efficiency lies in their ability to set up unholy combinations with the corrupt officials, evade taxes, plan blackmarketing by creating shortages and inflate profits by substituting inferior basic materials in their products. The overall picture of these three and a half years of freedom is one of sliding down the gradient. In reality, iron and steel and jute are the only well-organised industries that we possess. In the former efficiency is going down month by month and in the other ruthless get-rich-quick method of the "temporary" Indians is leading the country to chaos. The textile and sugar industries have proved instruments of unmitigated evil for loot and exploitation of the poor defenceless consumers. A countrywide blackmarketing in poor man's cloth and sugar needs has been rampant throughout all these years of freedom. But for the inefficient Ministries of Industry and Supply and the corrupt officials these evils would and should have been checked and prevented long ago. The nationalised industries, although few in number, have become costly luxuries. Eight government owned and managed collieries have succeeded in "earning" us a net loss of Rs. 1,32,30,175-9-0 during 1950 while company-managed collieries have simply coined money. To support our statement we append the following official table :

Statement referred to in reply to part (c) of Starred Question No. 707, by Shri Naziruddin Ahmad, for 6-12-50, showing the verified *f.o.r.* cost per ton of each colliery separately with the respective output for the financial year 1949-50 as also the Control rate of similar grade of the market coal.

	Name of Colliery.	Output during 1949-50 Tons.	Average cost per ton.	Control price of same quality. Steam Coal Rubble and Smithy Nuts.
1.	Kargali	6,07,822	25 3 2	14 6 0
	,,			14 0 0
2.	Bokaro	11,99,495	11 8 5	14 6 0
3.	Jarangdih	30,398	25 5 8	14 0 0
4.	Sawang	37,244	22 1 3	14 6 0
5.	Bhurkunda	1,46,362	16 10 6	14 6 0
6.	Argada	95,748	13 13 2	14 6 0
7.	Kurharbaree	1,88,304	27 13 3	16 4 0
8.	Serampore	1,85,656	28 4 9	16 4 0
9.	Talcher	1,27,478	17 4 8	15 6 0
10.	Duelbera	65,326	22 2 4	15 6 0
11.	Kurasia	2,48,843	11 1 8	15 8 0

On the other side of the medal we have the picture of organised labour. Under the guidance of

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disruptionists who are directly or indirectly controlled by Moscow, or under the control of shortsighted hotheads as in Bombay, efficiency is being deliberately sacrificed resulting in a disastrous rise in cost of living. While pampering union labour, who constitute not even two per cent of our population, the labour leaders forget what additions they are going to make to the already too-high cost of production and what the burden will mean to the poor consumers. The Ministry of Labour at the Centre is in very inefficient hands. Today, organised labour is gradually trying to attain control by means which entail the suffering of 98 per cent of the population. Labour leaders seem to have thrown overboard all thought of the welfare of the country as a whole.

We have the picture of a national planning before us. The Planning Commission has submitted a semi-progress report for the first half year. Towards the end of September the Planning Commission announced the outline of its Rs. 1800 crore outlay project which was to serve as a basis of discussion for the London Commonwealth Conference which finalised the Colombo Plan. There is a considerable family resemblance between that and the present Rs. 1840-crore Colombo Plan, writes Mr. S. B. Rangnekar in the *Economic Weekly* of Bombay. The Colombo Estimates of expenditure are identical with the Planning Commission (September) estimates. At a glance, the expenditure on the Six-Year Plan for India as included in the Colombo Plan is as follows :

Agriculture	.. ..	Rs. 608 crores
Communications	.. ..	„ 702.7 „
Fuel and Power	..	„ 56.6 „
Industry and Mines	..	„ 180 „
Social Welfare	.. ..	„ 291.3 „

Expenditure on agriculture and instruments for moving agricultural products will form 71 per cent of the total expenses, only 10 per cent having been allocated under the head Industry and Mines. India's potentiality as an industrial country has been fully recognised all over the world. The present tendency to convert India once again into an agricultural country must be seriously considered. We refrain from giving details of the plan here for want of space; we must content ourselves by referring to Mr. Rangnekar's very able article on the subject in the *Economic Weekly*, dated December 23, 1950. But we must register our apprehension that our Six-Year Plan, an offshoot of the Colombo Plan, smacks definitely of an attempt to put our national planning on a reverse gear. Eminent gentlemen have been placed in charge of national planning. But we must confess that we are unable to praise those planners who aim at increasing our agricultural land by 3½ per cent and food production by 10 per cent in six years time and that after an investment of more than Rs. 1300 crores! We have no hesitation in predicting failure for their efforts unless the administration is remodelled entirely in order that they have a solid foundation on which to build. We believe that greater emphasis on small projects would have done greater good and would have made us less dependent on foreign money, foreign machinery and foreign experts which, if denied or withdrawn at a crucial moment, would bring untold misery and loss. Today, India cannot be boycotted but if this plan is put into operation, threat of boycott by U. K. and U.S.A. would remain a source of perpetual danger to us. The Bihar Food Minister admitted the other day that the small irrigation schemes have been complete failure because nothing had been done by the Departments. This is also equally dangerous for the country. Today our planners, big or small, stand on shifting sands of power-politics, speculative and rapacious capital, intransigent and grossly inefficient labour and a thoroughly corrupt, lazy and inefficient administration.

Trade

The picture in the field of trade is no better. Some gain has been claimed after devaluation but it is yet doubtful whether the net balance will be in our favour taking into consideration the immense suffering caused to the consumer due to the sharp rise in prices following devaluation. Ordinances, speeches, statements and press conferences came one after another in torrents but the price-level remained where it was. Blackmarketing thrived as even before. Jute became an object of international blackmarketing and crores of dollars went into the pockets of the jute exporters and mill managing agents. Export duty on jute was raised to Rs. 1500 per ton in order to mop up the surplus dollars left after meeting all costs of production and carriage to U.S.A. While the country is going severely short of cotton textiles, huge orders for the export of coarse and medium cloth from the U.S.A. have been accepted. There were talks of State Trading in jute and jute products but nothing tangible emerged. The import control machinery had proved such a great handicap to the trade that an inquiry had to be undertaken into its working.

Transport

As in food, industry and commerce, transport has also remained at the same low level of efficiency. Despite enormous expenditure of foreign exchange and large-scale importation of locomotives and other railway materials, railway travel has become even more lacking in all amenities than it ever was during the last decade. Bribery and corruption are still rampant and transport of materials is now a more intense headache than ever before.

Post—Telegraph—Telephone

The Post and Telegraph Department was regarded as an example of efficiency in organisation and efficiency in Indi

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until 1942. Today sending materials by post has become a gamble as we know to our cost. In the matter of communication by post, telegraph or telephone, degeneration seems to be the motto of the day. The stoppage of Sunday delivery and the introduction of the ridiculous "Own Your Own Telephone" schemes have been the two outstanding "achievements" of the Ministry of Communications both of which have proved oppressive for the general population. Similarly in Radio and Broadcasting, there does not seem to be any planning. Lack of enterprise on the part of direction is becoming more and more prominent every day.

Public Health

The general picture here is also one of stagnation with a few bright spots here and there. We must remark in this connection that the medical profession as a whole does not seem to have realised that it has any national responsibility. The medical associations are fairly well organised all over the country but we have received as yet no indication of a clear-cut progress or any definite coherent and insistent calls from them, indicating their willingness to co-operate with the nation for the betterment and welfare of the people they serve. The Ministry in charge at the Centre and in the States do not seem to possess any vision nor do we find them exhorting the people to help themselves.

Education

The picture here is of utter absolute muddle at the Centre and little better in the States. The University Commission has submitted its Report but we have witnessed no attempt on the part of the Education Ministry to implement its recommendations. The same muddle and indecision continue in the field of secondary and primary education. Some provinces like Bombay, Madras, U.P. and Bihar have gone ahead with their programmes of expansion of primary education but in many of the States practically nothing has been done in this direction. Many of the school text-books contain the same ancient howlers. Educationists have been busy throughout the year as before in making money by producing school text-books. No effort has been made to reform our universities on whose Senate about 90 per cent of the members continue to be nominated. The result here has been just as one could expect with the present set-up in the Central Ministry of Education.

Technical Aid to India

The three years since the 15th August, 1950, have demonstrated how our people are inadequately equipped to play a decisive part in the material competitions of the modern world. We attempt to import "experts" from outside to give a shape to our grandiose schemes of re-construction and renovation of India's economy. And for reasons unexplained, we have only found it possible to indent technical advisers from Far Western countries; Germany, Japan and the Soviet Union have either not been approached or these countries have refused to be helpful.

Placed in this predicament, we have to make the best of it. In this view of the matter, we are glad that the United Nations Economic, Social, Cultural Organization has been moved and agreed to help India. Sometime ago, an agreement was signed at Delhi between our Government and this world organization. The account given below will give us the history of this transaction. Between the signing and implementation of the agreement, there will be a time lag. We must not lose patience with this weary waiting. We cannot be choosers when our scientists and capitalists are so inadequate in number considering the vastness of our needs. A Delhi report tells us that an agreement was signed here by Dr. M. S. Adiseshiah, Head of the Technical Assistance Service, UNESCO, on behalf of UNESCO and Dr. Tara Chand, Secretary, Ministry of Education, on behalf of the Government of India in connection with the programme of technical assistance to be rendered by UNESCO to India during 1951.

This is the second agreement to be signed with specialised agencies of the U.N., the first agreement having been entered into with the Food and Agricultural Organization last September.

During his visit to Florence last May to attend the fifth General Conference of UNESCO Dr. Tara Chand had made an official request to UNESCO on behalf of the Government of India for assistance under its expanded technical assistance programme. The request pertained to a number of schemes of national importance for which technical assistance was considered necessary, the important ones being the establishment of a Scientific Bibliographical Centre, the establishment of a Higher Technological Institute and the provision of specialists for work in various educational and research institutions including the National Laboratories.

UNESCO has agreed to provide the services of ten specialists in various subjects during the first year of the programme. Two of these specialists will be working in the National Laboratories, three in the Indian Institute of Technology, Kharagpur, three in the research laboratories of the Central Waterpower, Irrigation and Navigation Commission and one each in the Birbal Sahni Institute of Palaeobotany, Lucknow and the Central Institute of Education, Delhi. The Government of India will provide for these specialists facilities, such as furnished accommodation, medical care and hospitalisation and the cost of transportation within the country.

The recently concluded Indo-U.S. technical assistance agreement, under President Truman's Point Four programme, was signed at New Delhi on December 24 by the U.S. Ambassador in Delhi, Mr. Loy Henderson, on behalf of the U.S.A., and Sir G. S. Bajpai, Secretary-General, External Affairs Ministry, on behalf of India.

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Under the agreement, the two Governments undertake to co-operate in the interchange of technical knowledge and skill and in related activities designed to contribute to "the balanced and integrated development of the economic resources and productive capacity" of India.

Comprising five Articles, the agreement will serve as a basic one, and individual contracts for specific projects will be entered into as and when necessary. It also makes provision for co-ordination and integration of the technical programmes operated in India.

India's share in the first year's allocations by the U.S. Congress for bilateral technical aid under the Point Four programme has been provisionally fixed at $1.2m. The country's requirements of U.S. experts and of facilities for training Indian scholars in the U.S.A. have been assessed.

Three U.S. experts are at present working in India on agricultural projects. Two Indian Government officials will shortly leave for the U.S.A. for training in agricultural extension methods. These arrangements are likely to be brought under the agreement signed today.

Since the authorization of the Point Four programme by the U.S. Congress last June, five specific projects for India have been approved. Three of these are under way. Two are agricultural projects while the third is in the field of child welfare. Two other projects, approved but not yet under way, call for sending three U.S. geologists to India for the development of ground, water and mineral resources.

Deshmukh on India's Financial Position

Sri Chintaman Deshmukh delivered the annual address this year at the yearly general meeting of the Associated Chambers of Commerce of India.

Sri Deshmukh's speech may be regarded as a presentation of the Financial picture of the Indian Union purely in so far as it concerns the industrialists of India. The Common Citizen will find nothing inspiring in it nor is their any hope or promise in it of any easing of the tension in the year to come.

The two main concerns of the vast majority of the nationals of India are that of rising prices and shortage of essentials to the point of scarcity. With regard to the former Sri Deshmukh has tried to explain away failure, without indicating whether the Government was still grappling with the problem or it has thrown up the sponge. The second question has hardly been touched.

With regard to wasteful expenditure by governmental departments, there is no doubt in the mind of any reasonable person that there is enormous scope for saving, both at the Centre and in the States. This matter has also been sketchily touched by Sri Deshmukh in his address. Indeed from what he has said there is little hope of any remedial measures being initiated.

In his address Sri Deshmukh said : "We are meeting at a time when the international atmosphere is surcharged with grave apprehensions. Let us hope that the efforts which are being made to relax the tension and to avert the possibilities of a world conflagration are crowned with success. The prevailing unsettled conditions, while making the solution of our economic problems even more difficult, lend a sense of urgency to our endeavours in that direction and underline the necessity of a closer understanding and collaboration between the Government and the public. Recent international developments abroad have accentuated the severe strain to which the economic situation in the country was already subjected as a result of succession of natural calamities of unusual severity at home.

"I think it will not be out of place if I mention here some of the measures taken by the Government of India to check the upward pressure of prices exerted by these factors. As you know last year following the devaluation of the rupee, there were price cuts in essential commodities like cereals, cotton yarn, cloth, pig iron and steel. A reduction of 3 to 15 per cent was made in the issue price of food partly through a cut in transport and distributional charges and partly through a reduction in procurement prices. As a result of these price reductions, the general price index fell to 381.3 in December last, representing a reduction of about 3 per cent from the October 1949 level. It did not however prove possible entirely to check the upward pressure on prices generated by devaluation and by June 1950 most of the gain had been lost, the price index rising to 395.6 by that time.

Sri Deshmukh said that the commencement of hostilities in Korea also resulted in rise of the general index to 405.2 in July this year and the rise continued, the high-watermark being reached in the first week of October when the index stood at 413.5. Since then, he added after some slight fluctuations, it had fallen to 411.3 for the week ending November 25. Comparative figures were available for October 1950, which showed an increase in our price level of about 4 per cent as against the pre-Korean war level, he said. This, however, represented a slower rate of increase than in the U.K. and U.S.A., where since the outbreak of the Korean war, the corresponding rise in price level was 7 per cent and 8 per cent respectively.

Outlining Government measures to check inflation the Finance Minister said that soon after the outbreak of the Korean war, Government passed the Essential Supplies (Temporary Powers) Amendment Act, prescribing drastic penalties for hoarding foodgrains. The Centre assumed powers to make laws for a period of one year in respect of two subjects in the States' lists, *viz.*, trade and commerce, and production, supply and distribution of goods. In September last, the supply prices of goods ordinance was passed. Very recently, a Prices Advisory Board, consisting of representatives of various interests, had been formed to advise Government of price policy and on the best means of executing such policy. Imports have been liberalised and a new Open General Licence was issued. Arrangements were being made to avoid competitive purchase of cotton in order to keep

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down the prices within the ceiling fixed. It was the intention to introduce monopoly procurement of food in all States in order to secure supplies to the maximum possible extent for the rationed areas; but the sudden worsening of the food situation in several States as a result of the severe drought in October had introduced serious complications with which we are wrestling at the moment, he added.

Refuting the allegation that economic problems have been subordinated to political considerations, Sri Deshmukh said that Government did never allow politics to interfere with their economic policy, especially in regard to food procurement prices. Neither it could be said that the taxation policy of Government has been influenced by political motives. "In determining our policies," he added, "psychological conditions have naturally to be taken into account, and if that is to be dubbed as politics, there is no governmental action in the economic sphere which can be considered to be free from politics. Economics is not an arithmetical problem but essentially a problem of human reactions and human relations."

On Indo-Pak Trade Sri Deshmukh said that the continued difficulties of Indo-Pakistan trade, which began with Pakistan's decision not to devalue her currency, had been a source of disappointment to all of them. The present situation could not be improved until a suitable exchange rate was fixed. He also said that the absence of a settlement was due to no lack of effort on the part of India Government. "We suggested to Pakistan a conference between the Governments of the two countries to discuss all issues arising out of devaluation along with other measures calculated to help in the restoration of normal trade relations. Pakistan Government were not, however, prepared even to place on the agenda of such a conference either the exchange rate of Pakistan currency or the minimum prices fixed by them for raw jute."

He said that India supported Pakistan's application for membership of the International Monetary Fund because "the settlement of this issue could be brought about by an objective scrutiny of the par value of Pakistan currency by the International Monetary Fund which has the necessary experience and authority." Pakistan's membership became effective in the middle of July this year, Sri Deshmukh said, they had hoped that the question would be taken up by the I.M.F. as the par value of member's currency was determined normally within a period of two or three months from the date of its membership. But owing to the pre-occupation of the Fund staff with other matters, the discussion had to be delayed to give more time to the Fund's technical staff to complete their study of this question. He had hoped, the Finance Minister added, that this study would be completed last month but recent information, however, went to show that this discussion was likely to be postponed for a further period.

Stating that India was keen to solve this deadlock, Sri Deshmukh said, "All that we desire is that the par value of the Pakistan rupee should be fixed as a result of an objective study free from all political predilections." He hoped that it should not be impossible to arrive at some arrangement to maintain the trade relations between the two countries pending the decision of the International Monetary Fund. He assured that political differences between the two countries, had not been allowed to "influence us in our economic relations with Pakistan."

Expressing Government's concern for jute industry Sri Deshmukh said Government were fully conscious of the importance of avoiding to take any hastily conceived measures which might affect adversely the long-term interests of the industry. Government, however, could not, he added, look with indifference on any section of the public indulging in practices which were detrimental to the interests of the country. He welcomed the co-operation of the industry in putting down these activities. The Finance Minister said that their decision to raise the export duty on Hessian was prompted by the expectation that with the considerable resultant curb on the scope for dubious practices, it would be possible for the industry to exercise more effective control over their members and their associates and that Government would not be driven to have recourse to more drastic alternatives. On the question of State trading, he said, Government were fully aware of the complexities of this expedient and its manifold social and economic implications and he assured that no action would be taken without full consideration of all aspects of the question.

On the criticism that the principal cause in the general and steady rise in the cost of living index and thereby in the cost of production, must be attributed to the deficit budgets of the Central Government, Sri Deshmukh said it would be wrong to attribute as inflationary effect to the deficits of the Central Government. He explained that though there had been deficits in the capital Budget since 1946-47 to the tune of about Rs. 500 crores during the same period, there had been deficits in the country's balance of payments also which had reduced the external assets of the Reserve Bank of India by Rs. 800 crores, which was higher than the deficit in the Central Government's Budget. He recognised that if the deficit financing could have been avoided altogether, the effects of the adverse balance of payments position during the last few years would have been positively disinflationary. The alternative to this deficit financing of Budget would have however been the discontinuance of the rehabilitation of railways and the few important works which were being undertaken at the public sector.

Further, a substantial part of the Budget deficit was due to the settlement with the U.K. for stores and equipment badly needed for the defence services and the pensionary liabilities of the Government of India.

Sri Deshmukh announced that Government had been engaged on a scrutiny of expenditure in order to find out possible avenues of economy. But he also laid stress on the raising of sufficient resources for our development programme, which 'is as important as economy in expenditure.'

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He said, the constitution of the Planning Commission in this country had proved timely, not only for co-ordinating our development plans but also in the larger context of the move initiated by the Commonwealth countries for the economic Development of South and South-East Asian countries. The co-operative economic development plan which had been evolved at the Conference recently held in London includes, as an integral feature, a Commonwealth technical assistance programme first outlined at the previous Conference of Commonwealth Ministers at Sydney under which India would receive as well as render technical assistance. "In addition to this, India is likely to receive technical aid under President Truman's Point Four programme, and negotiations between India and the specialised agencies of the United Nations, as well as for the bilateral aid direct by the U.S.A. are in progress," he revealed.

The Finance Minister felt the necessity of improving stock exchange quotations "before we can hope for any considerable investment in new flotations." "It is essential to restore genuine investment activities in the stock market and one of the causes which keeps the genuine investor away is the activities of the speculator," he said.

Sri Deshmukh emphasised the desirability of creating out of profits adequate reserves for financing trade and industry, and the shareholders to be content with moderate dividends.

Speaking on the labour relations, the Finance Minister urged that labour and employer should work harmoniously and settle their disputes through some method of adjudication and arbitration. He appealed to the Trade Union leaders to wean away workers from the fold of those who advocated indiscipline and violence.

He felt that reference to Tribunals of questions relating to retrenchment as a result of rationalisation was justified. He also favoured the idea of granting gratuity.

Referring to the criticism of the awards of Labour Tribunals, he said, Tribunals gave awards after great deliberation and after hearing both sides. The presiding officers were drawn from the ranks of Judicial officers, serving or retired, and it would not be fair to charge them as being partial towards workers.

He pointed out that when employers were not satisfied with the award of the Industrial Tribunals, they could appeal to the Labour Appellate Tribunal. It was mainly at the insistence of the employer that the Appellate Tribunal was set up with a view to securing uniformity in decisions concerning labour matter, he said. He, however, felt that it might be necessary to devise some further means for ensuring that the overall economic considerations were kept in mind and that the benefits which were extended to labour did not imperil the development of industry.

The Finance Minister said that with a view to giving the necessary incentive to trade industry and commerce, the rigours of wartime taxation had been considerably softened during the last few years and there had been a progressive reduction in the rates of income tax and super tax at all levels of income.

The Finance Minister disclosed that Income Tax (Amendment) Bill would be introduced in the near future. It would be a fairly comprehensive measure. While he agreed that business should be left to organise itself in the manner best suited to it, the incidence of income tax on business must be independent of considerations arising out of the peculiarities of the methods of business organisation. He, however, said that Government had realised that the rule requiring the distribution of profits up to certain limits by privately controlled companies should be elastic and proposed to make provisions accordingly.

In conclusion, Sri Deshmukh said : "India today is at the cross-roads of destiny, and I have no doubt that she will take the right road. Surveying the Indian economic scene, I am heartened by the signs of stability that I can discern through the welter of immediate difficulties. These, especially in the matter of food, are serious, admittedly, but with careful management they should not be insurmountable if the people face the situation with cool heads and stout hearts. There is increasing understanding between Government and industry, and with forbearance on both sides there is no reason why industry and labour should not settle down to harmonious relations. We in Government have a lively realization of the importance of maintaining law and order and of creating economic conditions conducive to increased production of wealth. In a scarcity-weary community it is not always clear to one sector what its duty is to others: but it is for the leaders of public opinion in their various sectors to influence choice of action in the right direction. With internal stresses thus abating India offers a favourable field for enlightened and imaginative capital assistance from abroad. That, like the quality of mercy, will be doubly blessed."

Bombay Food Conference

A Conference of the Food Ministers of the Centre and the States met at Bombay for the discussion of the overall food position in the country. The representatives of all the 22 States and Chief Commissioners' provinces agreed that there should be a unified policy for food. The States resolved that they must act unitedly in enforcing controls on the movement of foodgrains from one place to another, within or without the State. The decision to import sufficient foodgrains has been taken. An eight-member committee has been formed to go into the question of the abolition of rationing in the villages. The Committee will evolve a unified system of distribution within the States. The members of the Committee are the Food Ministers of Bombay, Madhya Pradesh, Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Bharat, Sourashtra and West Bengal.

Sri Munshi made it clear to the Conference that India, under the present circumstances, could not give up her controlled economy in foodgrains. But this, he added, was different from maintaining that there should be complete uniformity throughout the country.

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"In my view," Sri Munshi continued, "the main pillars of controlled food economy today are: (1) Maintenance of a reasonable price level and (2) Government control of distribution arrangement to prevent suffering by the middle class and certain vulnerable sections of the people."

The Food Minister reiterated that Government's self-sufficiency plan envisaged a complete stoppage of foodgrain imports only after March 1952. But, he added, exceptions in the plan would be made for building a reserve, meeting an unusual calamity and to meet a deficit resulting from a diversion of acreage from foodgrains to cotton and jute in national interests.

"There is no question of restricting imports next year under the self-sufficiency pledge because the deficit in the year is very large," Sri Munshi said.

The Food Minister called upon the States to co-operate "in meeting this challenge of scarcity during the coming year" and combine into a "syndicate for feeding the whole country."

Sri Munshi warned the Conference that on account of the drought in the "rice bowl" of India, the availability of rice for distribution in 1951 would be negligible. He appealed to the North Indian States for a "gesture" to reduce their rice consumption to the absolute minimum and divert all their rice supplies to the rice-eating States.

Sri Munshi also thanked the surplus States of Madhya Bharat, Punjab, PEPSU, Madhya Pradesh and Orissa for their "magnificent" assistance to deficit States during the current year.

Late, during discussion Sri Munshi is understood to have given the Ministers an overall picture of the food situation in the country for the coming year. He was stated to have pointed out that in the next year the deficit would be at least 5.5 million and might probably exceed that figure if the reported crop failure in Madras was serious and the present estimated shortage 2.4 million tons in Bihar "upsets calculations."

The conference discussed the food position of various States, both surplus and deficit, with a view to determining the supply position.

Several States, particularly Uttar Pradesh and Madhya Pradesh, complained about decontrol of gram by the Government of India. This, they said, had affected their procurement as a large section of cultivators refused to part with grain when they were unable to get gram at reasonable price.

When the question of abolition of rationing in rural areas came up for discussion Bombay's Dinkerrao Desai made a strong plea for the continuation of the present system. Any change in the policy of abolition of rationing in villages, he is understood to have pointed out, would "spell disaster" not only to the deficit States but to the country as a whole.

Sri Desai presented in detail the viewpoints of the State in a memorandum presented to the conference. Bihar and Mysore are understood to have supported Bombay's stand on this question. Madras and most of the North Indian States favoured reduction of rationing commitments by abolishing rationing in villages.

Sri Ravi Shankar Shukla, Chief Minister of Madhya Pradesh, who is also in charge of Food portfolio, is understood to have urged through a separate note to the conference the establishment of grain banks in each village before any step was taken for the abolition of rationing in rural areas.

Sri Shukla said that every village in the country should possess, through these grain banks, conducted on a co-operative basis or through governmental agency, at least one year's stock. This would create proper "psychological atmosphere" for derationing in rural areas, he stated.

Sri Shukla denied that surplus States were not co-operating fully or doing their best and said they were sending out every available ounce of foodgrains. In his own State there was no rationing but it was also free from blackmarketing and hoarding. His Government were selling foodgrains through their own shops but allowed 25 per cent of the total foodgrains to go into the free market. This, he said, prevented hoarding.

In its concluding session, the Food Conference unanimously agreed that distribution arrangements in States should continue to be controlled and directed "with suitable adjustments" and austerity measures must be stiffened.

The Conference accepted the conclusions of the Sub-committee with regard to the nature of control and the manner of its enforcement.

The Committee's recommendation in this respect was: "Each State should in consultation with the Centre maintain the arrangements which best serve the purpose of meeting the situation in the State in the coming year."

The Conference fixed the target of imports of foodgrains for the year 1951 at 3.7 million tons.

The Conference emphasised, however, the need to take all steps to meet the critical food situation during the next year as it was thought that the international situation might create unexpected difficulties in the way of imports.

The six-point conclusions agreed to by the Sub-committee and endorsed unanimously by the Conference are:

(1) As a result of natural calamities in all except four States, the food position in the country has been very grave. Apart from internal difficulties, the international situation has been growing difficult. It is affecting both availablities and shipping. It is, therefore, imperative to take all possible steps in accordance with a unified policy and direction to meet the critical situation during the year 1951.

(2) The misunderstanding in the country as

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regards the self-sufficiency pledge should be cleared. According to it foreign imports have to be stopped by March 31, 1952 except for—(*a*) Building up reserve, (*b*) Making good diversion to other crops in national interests, and (*c*) Meeting the deficiency arising from natural calamities.

It is implied in the pledge that the deficit areas have to be helped by the country as a whole thereafter. But so far as the coming year is concerned, the pledge does not interfere with securing sufficient imports. The target of import for 1951 is fixed at 3.7 million tons. At the same time, international situation might create unexpected difficulties for which the country must be ready.

(3) Any theoretical consideration of control or decontrol is out of question in the context of the present situation. The controlled economy in the matter of foodgrains must continue. The price level has to be maintained in so far it may be practicable. Distribution arrangements must continue to be controlled and directed with suitable adjustments. Austerity measures must be stiffened.

(4) As regards the nature of control and the manner in which it should be enforced, each State should, in consultation with the Centre, maintain the arrangements which best serve the purpose of meeting the situation in the State in the coming year.

(5) The Grow More Food drive and controls are part of an integrated system, and every step should be taken by the States to see that interdependent activities are controlled by a uniform and effective policy and that till the next kharif season efforts should be made to grow short-term supplementary food in the areas wherever it is possible.

(6) The situation though critical is under control and the Centre and the States are mobilising all available resources to see that the country is enabled to face it with as little hardship as possible. At the same time the public will appreciate that under no circumstances should they give way to panic, which only aggravates the situation without providing any remedy.

Effort therefore should be concentrated on publicising measures adopted and both public men and the Press should co-operate with Governments in sustaining the morale of the people. At such time it is of the highest importance that all parties and interests should combine to support the Governments in their endeavour to meet the situation.

Food

Food continued to cause deep anxiety during 1950. The question that comes uppermost in the mind is : Are we really deficit ? The quantum of shortage is still undefined. The official figure was given by Sardar Patel in October last as 6 to 7 per cent. But we believe that wastages in transit, in storage and by vermin have been very high and we shall not be surprised if a serious enquiry into wastages reveal the total coming to 6 or 7 per cent. In West Bengal, such an inquiry had been undertaken by a Committee constituted for the purpose, but when wastage figures began to mount up, the enquiry was hurriedly shelved. Besides wastage, there are pools in some provinces like U.P. C.P., where people consume food beyond a reasonable quantity. Provinces known as surplus are Assam, Orissa U.P. and C.P. Through sheer neglect of food production, Assam is being converted into a deficit province. Provinces like Bengal, Bihar, Madras and Bombay are deficit. So also are Hyderabad and Mysore.

The needs of the deficit areas are being met from two sources, procurement from surplus States and imports. We must say that statewise procurement has failed. Amongst the outstanding examples was Assam from where on the one hand huge quantity of food is being smuggled into Pakistan, and on the other we have the ludicrous picture of the food Minister going on hunger strike demanding food from the Centre. In surplus States, the State Governments have pandered to the greed of peasants and have subjugated the urgent need of the nation as a whole to party-politics inside the State. U.P. is an outstanding example.

Mr. Munshi has declared in the Parliament, while admitting their inability to make India self-sufficient in food by March 1951, that come hail, come storm and all the instruments of heavenly wrath, the target date of March 1952 for food self-sufficiency would stand and shall be adhered to by the Government. But we believe that all talk of self-sufficiency by any date, 1952 or 1962 or 1972 is useless unless the Centre can bring the State Governments of surplus zones to their senses. As things stand today the entire economy of the nation is being jeopardised by the corruption, folly and inefficiency of the procurement departments. In West Bengal large-scale smuggling is going on across the Bengal-Bihar border. Lakhs of maunds of rice find their way into Bihar from Bankura, Burdwan and Maldah. This smuggled rice is being officially procured by the Bihar Government.

"Grow more food campaign" has been a costly farce. Up till now no Minister of first class calibre has been put in charge of "grow more food campaign" either at the Centre or in the States. Rather we have the paradox of finding the highest authorities in the land shouting from housetops that our one and only problem is food self-sufficiency and at the same time we witness the least efficient among the Congress retinue being given the task of devising ways and means.

Gigantic multipurpose schemes are being put forward. There also, the choice of men drafted for translating the schemes into action is in the nature of a grim joke. For example, in the D.V.C. men in control are undoubtedly esteemable gentlemen, but without the least knowledge, capacity or calibre requisite for

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gigantic scheme of this type. We are importing talent from abroad but these are specialists, and unless they are supported by an administration of a far superior type to what is there today, gigantic waste and delay is bound to be the outcome. The same applies to all the multipurpose schemes so far as food production is concerned. The general picture that we have on the food front is one of indecision and drift and a very costly muddle.

Primary Education in Uttar Pradesh

There is an element of vagueness with regard to the control and superintendence over Primary Education in our country. The village-centred ideal that Gandhiji placed before us made all attempts at reform and reconstruction the legitimate field of Gram Panchayats. But we have not been following that ideal in this as in other fields, creating a confusion between the ideal and the practicable or what is regarded as practicable by the politician and the administrator. The following, summarized from a Lucknow report, illustrates this condition of things :

In 1946, the United Provinces Government took an important step in the field of education by adopting the ten-year plan for the expansion of education in rural areas. The idea was that 22,000 primary schools with a complement of 66,000 teachers should be started within the next ten years. It was hoped that these new schools, in addition to the existing Disrict Board schools, would enable primary education to be made compulsory. Public enthusiasm, however, made the Government revise its plan and make it a five-year scheme. Financial stringency has slowed the pace, the number of schools opened this year having had to be reduced from 4,400 to 550.

An idea of the progress made so far may be formed from the following figures. 11,550 schools have already been started with 28,744 teachers. A sum of Rs. 25,911,000 has been so far spent on them as recurring charges. The value of the equipment supplied comes to 2,049,000. Up to now 4,148 buildings have been put up at a total estimated cost of rupee one crore and twenty-nine lakhs, of which the Government has contributed Rs. 32 lakhs and 36 thousand in cash and timber and the public Rs. 97 lakhs and 8 thousands in cash, kind and labour.

The question of ultimate control of these institutions has always been before the Government. The Minister for Education has stated more than once on the floor of the Legislature that a dual system of educational control is not good and the management of these schools shall have to vest in some one authority, Government, District Boards or *gaon sabhas*. District Boards have been pressing Government to transfer these schools to them. Government appreciate the reason for this demand and after taking all relevant factors into consideration, have now decided to accept it.

In West Bengal, the same vagueness prevails. Below University Education, the Government has been able to get control over all branches of education. In this process they appear to have forgotten how non-official initiative has played the most helpful part in spreading educaiton in Bengal, east and west. Under this new dispensation this source of inspiration may dry up, though the Uttar Pradesh example of the people paying Rs. 97 lakhs 8 thousands out of Rs. 1 crore 29 lakhs, the cost of school buildings, may prove our fears to be unreal. But this narrows the field of experiment, the seed-plot of every forward-looking move. The caricature of Basic Education that the West Bengal Government has made proves, however, the reality of our fears.

Attitude of the Sikhs

Sometime ago Shree Ram Singh Randhawa of Amritsar sent us a cutting from the *Tribune* (Ambala Cantt.) of September 29 last containing a letter published in it explaining the attitude of the Sikhs in post-1947 India. The writer of this letter was Sardar Hukum Singh, President, Shiromani Akali Dal, New Delhi. We feel that we should take note of the comments of this letter though it was not addressed to us. Because it ventilated the "object minority consciousness" of a section of the Sikhs. His criticism appears to be directed against the Hindus in East Punjab whom he described as "a strong politically conscious minority suffering under an acute persecution mania" who have emerged out of the partition "as an absolute majority in the new Punjab," transforming "all their past frustrations into an intensely aggressive communal consciousness."

The words used by Sardar Hukum Singh ring familiar to us; the Muslim League used these and poisoned the atmosphere of India with results which even Sardarji's "virile" community could not forestall or halt. We, Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs of India, have none of us been able to give a good account of ourselves. For good or evil, about 7 crores of Muslims of India are in Pakistan today; the rest have been suffering from the folly of Muslim League leaders. If the Sikhs are not particularly careful Master Tara Singh's leadership will hasten them to the same predicament.

We give general support to the idea of a Punjabee-speaking State or Province as we do to every linguistic area demarcation if the other conditions are satisfied. But we have our doubts whether the Punjabee-speaking State of the Sikhs' conception will solve the problem. The special correspondent of the Rashtriya Swayam-Sevak Sangh's weekly organ, *Organizer* of Delhi said something on this topic which throws fresh light on it. The letter appeared in its issue of December 18 last.

> Nobody is opposed to a Punjabi-speaking Province as such. The real question is: what is to be the basis for demarcation of this Province and what place is to be given to Hindi and Nagri script in it. With the resettlement of millions of Punjabi-speaking refugees from the West Punjab in the East Punjab, the Punjabi-

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speaking area of the Punjab has become coterminous with the existing boundaries of the Punjab including Pepsu, Himachal Pradesh and Delhi. A Punjabi-speaking Province, therefore, must mean expansion of East Punjab so as to include all these units and not any further vivisection of the already truncated Punjab.

The trouble does not, however, end here. There is the Sikh insistence on the Gurumukhi Script. The *Organizer's* correspondent suggests a middle way which may be given a trial. "About the language the best course is to give equal place to Hindi and Punjabi, as the language can flourish only if it is taken out of the shell of Gurumukhi script. Nagri script, in which Punjabi was written even before the Gurumikhi script was invented in the 17th century, can clothe Punjabi language as well, even better than Gurumukhi. The language problem, therefore, cannot be solved by excluding one or the other but by giving equal place to both the scripts. That would be in the best interests of the Punjabi language and the millions who speak it and take pride in it. So far as Hindi is concerned, there cannot be any difference of opinion about its place in any Province unless its people deliberately decide to commit suicide by confining themselves within the narrow Provincial boundaries."

Blatant Folly

The Dravidian Federation has been battling against "Aryanism" and all that it has meant in the south of the Vindyas. A section of the Tamilians have been at the forefront of this agitation. They have now been expanding their functions trying to organize a boycott of North India men and things, North India finance and business concerns. The sentiment behind it has been explained by a Madras weekly, and it is true that the people and the Government understood the "method" of this madness. Says our contemporary:

> "The agitation that has been inaugurated by the Dravidian Federation against North Indian exploitation of this country, is based on the excellent principle of economic self-sufficiency of this Province. The agitation does not mean that the North Indians who have settled down here should be packed up and sent out. On the other hand, North Indians and South Indians should remain in this province as the citizens of this Province and help the growth and development of this Province economically. The sponsors of the agitation do object—and they are very serious about it—to the exploitation of this Province by the North Indian capitalists for their own advancement and benefit. What is happening here is that North Indians come here, trade in this country, accumulate wealth and carry away that money to their homes in far away Gujarat and Marwar, which makes this Province poorer, because this Province does not derive such benefit by people of this Province going out and trading in other parts of India."

There are obvious dangers to this line of justification to which a Madras Minister appears to have drawn the attention of enthusiasts in the anti-North India cause. The *Sunday Observer* attempts an angry retort on it:

> "Mr. Bhaktavatsalam referred to the Tamilians who have settled in Bombay, Calcutta, Delhi and other places. We must beg to state that they went as glorified coolies to serve the North Indian masters as secretaries, typists, steno-typists and clerks. We do not think that even one in a hundred of South Indians is carrying on business on a large scale in any of the up-countries like North Indians who are exploiting South India. If, as a result of this agitation, they were to be sent out of those places, we would welcome them back and they can flourish much better than they are doing in those far-off places. Let us not weep over the plumage while we allow the bird to die."

The paper says that it has not sponsored the agitation, but as publicists "who want to study every problem of this country on its merits," it makes this attempt to understand, and in a way to justify this boycott move. For, they are "following the excellent example set by countries like Burma, Malaya, Ceylon and Africa, nothing more, and nothing less." We have often to wade through masses of crudity and unbalance in course of our duty as journalists. But the above two quotations totally astound us by their blatant folly. Is Mr. Ramaswamy Naicker planning to stage a Malan or a Goonesimha coup?

"Refugees" Want to go to Pakistan

Certain North India daily papers featured some time ago a news announcing the formation of an Association which propose to strive for the return and rehabilitation of "refugees" in their "original homes" in Pakistan. Rana Jang Bahadur Singh, Editor of the *Times of India*; Sri Ranbir, Editor of the *Daily Milap*, and others sponsor the movement. In a statement they explained the purpose to which the energies of their Association will be directed.

"The complicated problem of rehabilitation of 'refugees' numbering several millions, uprooted from their hearths and homes as a result of the Himalayan blunder of the leaders, has not only been baffling the Government of India, but also eating into the vitals of the country. Though the Government have spent crores of rupees, the problem stands where it was. Lakhs of persons are still homeless and without any shelter. Lakhs have no means to provide themselves and their dependents with two square meals a day.

"Mahatma Gandhi was correct when he stated that the most effective method of rehabilitating the 'refugees' was to devise ways and means for their rehabilitation in their original homes. The Father of the Nation had been striving hard to bring it about when the cruel hand of death snatched him from our midst. His mission thus remained un-fulfilled.

"After three years of trials and tribulations, we have realised that Mahatmaji's was the only sane advice. We feel an irrepressible urge to go back to our homes. Even those who have, fortunately, been well-placed after the partition, have a yearning to return to their homes and settle there once again.

"Now, in order that non-Muslim 'refugees' from

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the other side of the border, could regain their lost homes, and enjoy the status which they enjoyed before the partition, we the undersigned form ourselves into an association with the sole object of making the mission of Mahatma Gandhi, a success."

We publish this statement without trying to damn it with faint praise. The organizers of the Association are responsible people. And the step they have initiated is fraught with consequences whose features are unclear today. But we join issue with them when they unnecessarily go out of their way to stigmatize as "Himalayan blunder of the leaders" their decision to accept the Mountbatten Plan. In February and March, 1947, when the fire of Muslim separatism had been burning in a blaze in the Punjab, we do not remember to have read of any statement by Hindu and Sikh leaders questioning the need for a parting of the ways from Muslims.

Sardar Patel without whose agreement no partition plan could have been carried into effect did in speeches made at the Nagpur and Banaras Universities specially try to throw light on the factors that decided the issue in his matter of partition. The Muslim League was prepared to pay the price of blood in having their Pakistan because the League leaders had at their back the expressed and unexpressed support of the British bureaucrats in India. With the Muslims satisfied they were scheming to use the Princely Order with a view to keep India weak by Balkanizing her territory.

This game "the leaders" forestalled. And we do not remember that at that time any Hindu or Sikh leader was prepared to go as far as the Muslims, realizing that such a tactics would prolong alien rule over India.

The statement revives a useless controversy. To recall the true perspective of that great decision and to defend the memory of Sardar Patel from imputations with regard to his wisdom and sense of realities in India, we unwillingly enter this controversy. The use of Gandhiji's name in this connection is not legitimate. The world knows that he regarded the demand for Pakistan as a "sin," and as a man of religion he fought against it to the last. But even he appears to have had doubts about the matter, strangely prescient of things to come. The following from the *Harijan* of March 16, reporting part of his "Walking Tour Diary" of February 18, 1947, would go to support our contention :

> "Q.—Do you support evacuation of the Hindus from the affected areas if the League Government or the majority community agrees to give us due compensation?"
>
> "A.—He had supported the proposition from the non-violent standpoint. It was applicable to all provinces whether the majority was Hindu or Muslim. What could the Government do if the majority had become so hostile that they would not tolerate the presence of the minority community. In his opinion it would be improper for them to force the majority into submission nor could they undertake to protect the minority at the point of the bayonet. Suppose, for instance, that the majority would not tolerate *Ramdhun* or the clapping, would not listen to the fact that Ram was not a person but the name was synonymous with God, and that the Hindus believed in clapping, suppose further that the Muslims would not tolerate that, he had no hesitation in saying that the minority should evacuate if adequate compensation was paid."

Bihar's Welcome Move

We publish gladly from the *Bihar Herald* of Bankipur the following news and comments on a matter which had poisoned relations between citizen and citizen in India. It is a welcome move.

If the *PTI* message be true (past experience leads us to expect strings attached to such announcements) the Government of Bihar have decided not only to abolish communal representation in the services, but also to abrogate altogether the procedure of asking candidates for the Provincial services if they were natives or domiciled citizens of the State.

Our objections to these age-old practices were only two. Firstly, they prevented the growth of an Indian Nationalism and encouraged narrow Provincialism. Secondly, they gave us a sense of inferiority. It amounted to an admission that we were not able to hold our own in competition with people of other Provinces. There may have been a time in past when our graduates were apprehensive of external competition, but today we are proud to think that the products of our University are not inferior to those turned out by any other Indian University. By taking the bold step of abolishing all distinctions between the citizens of India wherever they may come from, Bihar has thrown a challenge to other Provinces to follow in her footsteps if they dare do so....."

Dr. Malan in Desperation

Dr. Daniel Malan and the White racialists he represents, are in a desperate mood. Faced by world reprobation, they have been uttering threats to all their critics and to people who really wish them well.

South Africa's Prime Minister warned Britain on September 11 last, not to 'poke her nose' into South African affairs. Criticising members of the British Parliament—'even Cabinet Ministers'—who made adverse criticism of South Africa, Dr. Malan told the Nationalist Party's Transvaal Congress :

> "South Africa is no longer a British colony; South Africa is a sovereign, independent country. We do not poke our nose into the affairs of Britain and we expect of Britain that she should not do so with us.
>
> "If Britain wanted to bring about an estrangement with South Africa, they must continue on the course they have set.
>
> "I say this in no sense of hostility but in all friendliness in the hope that it will be taken to heart.
>
> "We regard Britain as our friend. We are anxious to retain her friendship. We want to co-

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operate with Britain and other members of the Commonwealth, but it must not be onesided."

Taking their cue from their leader two other South African Cabinet Ministers rebuked the British War Minister, Mr. John Strachey, for saying that he "very much disliked the policy of the present South African Government."

Economic Affairs Minister Eric Louw said:

"Mind your own business and keep your nose out of South Africa's affairs."

Defence Minister Francois Erasmus said:

"Mr. Louw has taken the words out of my mouth."

Mr. Louw addressing the Transvaal Nationalist Party Congress said that he was surprised that a British Cabinet member should express himself in such unpleasant terms about another Commonwealth country.

In view of his own recent visit to Britain, the present visit of Finance Minister, Mr. C. C. Havcher and the impending visit of Mr. Erasmus—all on matters of interest to Britain and other Commonwealth countries—he found it surprising that a British Cabinet member should express himself about South Africa in terms such as Mr. Strachey had used.

On November 28, South Africa's Nationalist Minister of Lands, Mr. J. G. Strydom went one better by saying that

"The United Nations was a danger to South Africa because it was interfering in the Union's domestic affairs; its coloured member States were trying to dictate how South Africa should treat its Indian, coloured and African population. Mr. Daniel Malan's Nationalist Government was not only fighting against the United Nations but against the leaders of the United Party Opposition who were becoming allies of India and Pakistan."

The United Nations Special Political Committee recommended that South Africa, India and Pakistan should go ahead with Round Table talks on the Union's treatment of its 300,000 inhabitants of Indian origin before April 1951. Earlier the Committee decided it was competent to deal with India's complaint against the Union's treatment of Indians.

Mr. Strydom declared :

"It should never be forgotten that the former United Party Government under the late Field-Marshal Jan Smuts had been 'equally guilty' with Britain, France and the United States of the destruction of Germany—the only bulwark against Communism. The Nationalist Party had been reviled during the war, because it opposed that policy. But today Russia and its satellites were so powerful that Western Europe including Britain could be overrun before the United States could do anything to help."

These narrow-minded politicians have good reasons to take up this attitude. Even the U.S.A. press have become critical of them. To cite one instance, the mass circulation magazine *Life*, in a 16-page photographic study of "South Africa and the Problems," in its issue of mid-September last, said that 'the black problem' threatened 'the peace and security of the Union.' The photographs, many in colour, were the work of Miss Margaret Bourke-White who, *Life* claimed, had 'explored South Africa's great issue, and dilemma—the black problem.'

Through centuries of White control the problem has grown steadily graver until today it threatens the peace and security of the Union and has aroused grave international concern over South Africa's stewardship of human liberties. In an unabashed outbreak of racialism that tries to pass off as nationalism, South African champions of White supremacy have spread a new doctrine of segregation called *apartheid*.

Native reserves are often bare of young men because more than half of the able-bodied are syphoned into the gold mines. The work is arduous, the pay low. The only raise in 30 years was given in 1944 to bring the scale to 30 cents a day plus food and lodging.

Confronted by the civilized world's criticism, the Malanists have thrown reason to the winds and developed this desperate mood, because they have grown conscious that the days of their power are coming to an end.

Spain

There has been speculations in the West about making it possible for Spain under General Franco to join the United Nations Organization. The United States Government has been credited with taking the initiative in the matter. The real pressure for this step appears to be coming from the Spanish-speaking States of the two Americas, who could not be ignored by their northern neighbour. There is a world of prejudice against General Franco for his part in aligning himself with Mussolini's Italy and Hitler's Germany, for killing the republican movement in the country. We have seen hints thrown out that it was the Protestant Churches which in their ill-feeling against Roman Catholicism were really creating this prejudice as Spain is a Catholic country.

But there are other standards to judge Spain by. The following from the *World Interpreter* of New York sets it out : "In the city of Barcelona, the real economic capital of the country, in 1940, 5,675 bank cheques were protested, in the value of 8,364,000 pesetas. In 1943, the number of protested cheques had risen to 64,151 in the amount of 405,878,000 pesetas. During 1949, the value of cheques protested has almost tripled.

This reflects not only a financial situation, but a mentality created in the Province of Catalonia where uprightness and commercial honesty were always comparable with those of Britain. A popular anecdote is revealing.

Senor A offers Senor B a carload of sardine tins at 18,000 pesetas. Senor B sells them for 30,000 pesetas to Senor C and he, for 40,000 pesetas, to Senor D. Finally Senor E, a far-sighted man afraid of dying from hunger should there be a war, acquires the carload for 56,000 pesetas.

Three days later Senor E telephones indignantly to

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Senor D. "I've been cheated," he cries into the phone. "You sold me sardine tins, and now it turns out that the tins are empty."

At the other end of the wire Senor D exclaims: "But man alive! Why did you open the tins? They were not to eat! They were just to do business with!"

Europe's New "Neutralists"

The news that the Governments of the United States, Britain and France have as good as agreed on the scheme for the enlistment of German military formations to halt the Soviet Union's dash west-ward has not caused the world any surprise. Mr. Churchill and other schemers of a European Federation have been announcing from the house-tops that the Soviet Union if and when it decides to move west can reach the English Channel within a week, and to forestal this drive German military knowledge and skill are indispensable. In the light of these developments, the article from the *Life*, reproduced below, reveals a state of things that appears to cause a certain amount of anxiety to the American Administration:

'Neutralism' is the popular new word in Europe. Its devotees, the 'neutralists', are a growing party in practically every West European country. The 'neutralists' want to sit it out in case of war between the U.S. and Russia. Born of the cold war, the phenomenon of European neutralism is something that must be reckoned with in the continuing evolution of U.S. foreign policy. It could be dangerous. But if 'neutralism' in its present connotations is analyzed a bit, the menace shrinks to proportions that should be manageable.

Like 'isolationism,' neutralism covers a multitude of attitudes. Some European neutralists are undoubtedly defeatists; others believe in varying degrees of appeasement of Stalinist bullying tactics. Some use the word to express a grudge against the U.S. A few professed neutralists may be secret Communists who employ the word for their own non-neutral ends. But the newest brand of neutralist in Europe is neither a defeatist nor an appeaser nor a secret Communist. He is simply a person who has come to take hope that Europe can be made strong enough to stand on its own feet. As such, he is a harbinger of good things, an indication of reviving European health and aplomb.

In France the new neutralist is responsible for much of the steam behind the drive for the Schuman plan: obviously a strong Franco-German steel industry would do much toward making Europe a self-sufficient entity. Since it is precisely the aim of such U.S. policies as the Marshall Plan to promote a Europe capable of standing on its own feet, this particular drive of the new French neutralist is to be commended. In Western Germany the new neutralist is a somewhat more worrisome phenomenon. But the German neutralist in the Rhineland doesn't worry the Germans in the Western sectors of Berlin, where there are no neutralists. "If we can take care of the Reds out here," said a prominent Berlin German official recently, "we can handle the neutralists back there."

The new European neutralist is on the U.S. side precisely insofar as he works to make Europe a genuine world force. The neutralist is, however, the victim of an illusory analysis of the nature of the struggle between Russia and the U.S. if he thinks it can at any moment cease to involve him. A strong Europe, so the neutralist argues, could stand aloof in the event that the cold war between Russia and the U.S. passes over into hot war. But this is to assume that the U.S. has some special quarrel of its own with Russia. The U.S. quarrel with Russia is Europe's quarrel—and humanity's.

The plain fact of the matter is that the cold war has little immediate meaning apart from Europe's own integrity. There will be no hot war between Russia and the U.S. for Europe to stay out of unless Russia bids for world domination by grabbing eiher Europe or South-east Asia.

A liberal Dutch journal, the *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant*, puts the case succinctly. 'Europe's weakness, Southeast Asia's weakness,' says the *Courant*, "are the *cause* of the cold war." (The italics are ours). It follows, therefore, that a Europe strong enough to stand on its own feet and to project its strength into Indo-China and Indonesia would automatically remove the cause. It is for this reason that the new European neutralists need not worry the U.S. unduly just so long as they continue to work for a powerful and united European community.

Jadavpur Engineering College

This college is the only remnant of the National Education Movement inaugurated in Bengal in 1906 coincident with what has come to be known as the "Swadeshi Movement." It held its annual convocation on December 10 last; Acharya Chandrashekhar Venkata Raman, scientist and savant, delivered the address of the occasion. Speaking from his own experience of Bengal where he passed about 25 years of his life, eventful of research and pursuit of truth, he referred to the "idealism" of the people who were found always more responsive to appeals to their "faith in the virtues of academic achievement" than to their material interests. By his contributions to the world of modern scientific knowledge, the Acharya has earned his right to speak of our inadequacies. This right he exercised when he uttered words that 'point the finger to the seat of our complexes.' Acharya Chandrasekhar said:

> "It was often found in this country that men occupying high position talked of the uselessness of pure science and of academic knowledge. This attitude towards knowledge was not going to lead them anywhere. The question was whether they, in this country, were going to remain content by getting the new inventions from the West, by getting ideas, equipments and experts to fit and look after the equipments from the West. Engineering could not progress by depending on others. They in India, would have to start from the beginning piling up knowledge and building up character and strength to free problems. They must have to think out original ideas and anticipate their future problems. What was wanted was leadership as India had

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shown in the past in the fields of literature, philosophy, etc. Let the past give them strength to face the great problems before them. They were formidable problems to be faced in Bengal. If Bengal failed, India failed. If any part of India suffered, everybody suffered. There was a fundamental unity among them. They had great problems and they had to solve them by abiding faith in human values, not on the economic value, but on the virtues of knowledge. Knowledge was the root of power and if they wanted power, they must have knowledge."

This call to self-confidence is more than ever necessary when in carrying out schemes of better life for our people, foreign knowledge and foreign "experts" have been proving to be more of a liability. Speaking of the special subject of engineering, the address highlighted the value of knowledge distinct from its application to material life. "Knowledge was moving forward. If they were not going to keep away from modern civilisation and they wanted India's progress in industry and engineering, success must be achieved in the wide front of knowledge by an aggressive pursuit of knowledge in the sense that they did not want to be mere followers of others in the field of science, but wanted to be leaders striking out new ideas which might seem utterly useless but sooner or later would find practical application. The whole history of modern science and its relation with engineering had demonstrated that science went first and engineering came afterwards. Engineering showed the way of making money, while men of science showed how to make it. Science showed the way and engineering came afterwards to grab the money."

Jubilee of the Philosophical Congress

The Silver Jubilee Session of the Indian Philosophical Congress opened at the Senate House of the Calcutta University on the 19th December last. Acharya Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan presided over the ceremony and opened the proceedings with an *extempore* speech. The report that has appeared in the press does not tell us how the philosophers in India proposed to "break through this vicious circle" that encompasses the modern world except that "India is a state of mind, not a country, not a geographical expression. It is a direction of the human spirit. It is a perpetual foe to every kind of fanaticism. This has been true of India of these years. And if we live in the fundamentals of these great souls then we hope to survive to preserve ourselves against any action."

The confusion in the world of activity could not have grown if there had been coherence in the world of thought. India's ambassador to the Soviet Union should have been able to illustrate from his experience gathered there how the renovation of human values worked under Soviet auspices renews his faith in the present and the future. And his dissertation on "the spirit of the present age"—"the spirit of science"—leads us not far. And his insistence on the value of "the individual" in the evolution of the "new order" renews a fight that Soviet philosophy appears to have gained by relegating the individual to the position of a cog in the wheel of the State. "As philosophers, as human beings," we have a general idea of the causes and consequences of the world *malaise*. But a way out we find not in Acharya Radhakrishnan's speech. He leaves us to "the young men and women throughout the world (who) are silently working for bringing about a new social order where tormented people of the world may find peace and unity. The solitary thinkers are there working for another world. We can catch the sound, fainter perhaps than others but persistent, the sound of things growing, of roots thrusting, of bonds bursting, of young men and women shaking off their chains and striving for a new world into life where man may see the face of happiness. The philosophers of the world should strive to sustain the new world with faith, to produce the men who subordinate national, racial and religious divisions to the ideal of humanity. That is the message which our old wisdom gives."

The message of "our old wisdom" is not open to challenge. Science has laid the foundations of "an one world" morality. But the question that tests the intellect of the modern world is how in the life of modern men and women, this morality can be enforced. Acharya Radhakrishnan's speech does not throw light on this concrete problem.

Phani Bhusan Adhikari

The death of this savant severs another link with the Uttar Pradesh forged by Bengali enterprise in the field of scholarship, in the spread of modern education in the area. He left his mark as professor of philosophy in the Hindu University of Banaras, and after retirement therefrom was connected with Rabindranath Tagore's Visva-Bharati at Santiniketan for some time. He dies full of years and honours in his 84th year. The traditions of devotion to knowledge are being carried on by one of his daughters, Srimati Asha Aryanayakam at Sevagram where she is head of an educational institution where experiment in Gandhiji's Basic Education is being carried on. We tender homage to his memory and extend our sympathy to his children. May his soul rest in peace.

William Christopher Wordsworth

The death of this educator of youth in Bengal revives memories that were generally friendly as between the teacher and the taught. Wordsworth came to Bengal during the time when sensitiveness to foreign rule had developed so profoundly that relations were liable to be strained on almost any pretext. Prof. Wordsworth could maintain an equable temper bespeaking a balanced nature aware of the difficulties of the situation. He retired from service before his time and joined the Calcutta *Statesman* as one of its assistant editors thereby becoming the educator of a wider public. He left India in 1947. To the members of his family we tender our sympathy.

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THE SARDAR PASSES AWAY

Irreparable Loss to the Nation

By C. L. R. SASTRI

". . . this fell sergeant, death,
Is strict in his arrest."—Shakespeare : *Hamlet*

The history of Indian politics, viewed from a certain angle, is but a history of the mortality among her distinguished sons and daughters. Untimely death and disability have formed the warp and woof of that memorable fabric. As far as human memory can reach back it has been a sickeningly heart-rending story alike of promising careers cut short in mid-career and of proved veterans that could well have been spared to us for a few more strenuous years. Necrology has, in consequence, played a by no means insignificant part in our gubernatorial addresses. It is indisputable that the one thing resoundingly certain of life is death : all flesh is as grass and mutability is the order of the day. But a fact loses none of its poignancy by being elevated to the status of a truism.

Atropos, then, with her celebrated shears, has been incessantly active with the thin-spun lives of our politicians : in a manner of speaking, today they may be with us, but tomorrow their places may know them not. It is not necessary for me to dig up the remote past to attest the truth of this statement : recent events bear it out no less remarkably. Both in the united and in the partitioned India it has been the same sad story—with death as the star-actor. As the Philosopher Prince would have put it : "Marry, this is miching-malecco: it means mischief."

"The Rest is Silence"

We need hark back no more to the India that was united : it has gone the way of "the many Ninevehs and Trecatempoli": the comparison between that and the present partitioned India might be spared in the interests of our equanimity. India gained independence —or was supposed to have done so—in August, 1947. By the end of January, 1948, the "Father of the Nation" was assassinated in broad daylight by a fanatic of unity. Much has been written on the loss sustained by the country as a result of it; and by abler pens than mine. I shall, therefore, refrain from adding even a drop to that veritable Niagara. Besides, has not the Home Minister of Bombay silenced all further comment on it by saying, in his usual forthright fashion, that God willed it? As everyone knows, he is a man of few words, and when he speaks he must be supposed to lay down the law on the subject. So then, the matter is closed : the rest is silence." Hon'ble Shri Morarji Desai has spoken : "the rest is silence."

The Trio

The Mahatma and the Pandit and the Sardar formed a distinguished trio and were at one time deemed to be indispensable to the proper governance of our beloved Motherland. Exaggeration is the essence of politics, and even in that "dark backward and abysm of time" some sceptics, like myself, dared to question the validity of that oracular dictum: it seemed to us that we had encountered it once too often and that, like most thunderings from Sinai, it was in dire need of some sort of deflation. The death of the first, and the greatest, of that distinguished trio furnished it, and furnished it much earlier than even those sceptics dared to hope. Indeed, looking at it now from the distance of three years, it appears to have caused no more than a tiny ripple on the otherwise placid waters of life : that enigmatic entity, "society", recovered from its shock almost in a trice and people went about their lawful occasions much as though there never had been such a thing as ascetism in public life. I am not suggesting that the death of the Mahatma was not, as the saying is irreparable: I am suggesting only that one failed to discern the infinite pathos of it by a look around at the familiar places. They swiftly ceased to bear any signs of a recent cataclysm. If this were the case when the greatest of India's sons died what, one shudderingly asked oneself, would be the case if someone much smaller than he were to be removed from our midst in his own good time? "Death, where is thy sting?" could then be uttered more bravely.

December 15, 1950

Not very long after that tragic event—as these events are reckoned—our one and only Sardar passed away in Bombay. The news of his death on the morning of December 15 in a city dear to him by long association was nonetheless shocking because it had not been entirely unexpected. Everyone knew that he had been ailing for months and months past, and his leaving New Delhi for Bombay a few days earlier was looked upon by many as his last journey. And so it proved to be, notwithstanding a momentary recovery.

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That recovery was followed by a relapse that proved fatal. The Sardar died full of years and of honour. Nor was there anything tragic in his death—except the inevitable tragedy that is inherent in death in general.

March 29, 1949

There would have been—if he had died on March 29, 1949, instead of, as he did, on December 15, 1950. On that earlier date the plane by which he was to reach Jaipur for inaugurating the Union of Greater Rajasthan next day had a forced landing within 30 miles of the city. For about four hours there was no news of him. As someone has put it, those were tense moments for our people. Seldom had public anxiety reached such a high pitch. Equally intense was the nation's relief when news was received of his safe arrival in Jaipur for keeping his engagement. Congratulations poured in from all parts of the country. On his return to Delhi the jubilation in Parliament was beyond description. The members were not satisfied until on their behalf the Prime Minister presented to the Sardar a large silver trophy mounted with a replica of the plane in which he travelled. It was characteristic of him that he heartily laughed over the incident and treated it as a "vast entertainment."

Irreparable Loss

The Sardar was, essentially, a Stoic: he could, therefore, afford to treat the incident as a joke—and to pass on to the other items on the agenda of life. It could never have been a joke to the country. The country loved him and the country needed him. The country needs him still. If I may venture to say so, he was the only politician among contemporaries of whom that could be said—with any degree of veracity. The oft-quoted word, "irreparable," can be applied to him with a greater measure of truth even than to his Master. The Master's work had been done when he fell a victim to the assasin's bullet. Probably Bombay's Home Minister was right in giving it as his considered opinion that Providence willed the Mahatma's death. The Sardar, however, had still some work to do if so be he had been spared to us for a while longer. And I say it that have not always been his wholehearted admirer.

That, however, is wrapping it up in a small parcel, as the immortal Sam Weller would have put it. There have been occasions when I went at him ruthlessly—notably in the matter of his titanic quarrel with the redoubtable Dr. N. B. Khare, one-time Premier of what now goes by the name of Madhya Bharat. The Sardar fully lived up to his reputation as the "Iron Man" of the Congress in that episode of his career—and lived up to it *wrongly*. There had been opportunities enough for him to live up to that reputation *rightly*; but he sadly missed them.

The "Dharsana" Episode

It was in 1930 that I first came to regard him as a hero. Those were the days of the "Salt Satyagraha" and of the Mahatma's famous Dandy march. My politics were then—as now—"sicklied over with the pale cast of" Liberal "thought"; and the cockles of my heart were not warmed by all that ballyhoo. Came the day, however, when I could no more regard the movement with the same spirit of detachment. To be a Liberal was not to discard the name of "patriot"; and though Congressmen will no doubt laugh heartily over it, I have all along been both a Liberal and a patriot. When I read in the papers about the police's indiscriminate *lathi* charges on the innocent non-violent Satyagrahis—both men and women—and especially about their *lathi* charges in Dharsana where the Satyagraha was led by the Sardar's daughter, Miss Maniben Patel, I could no longer restrain myself and converted myself, mentally, into an out-and-out Congressman. There was some sacrifice involved in this—inasmuch as I risked the vehement displeasure of my father who was a Liberal in thought, word and deed. I ceased to be a Congressman again—after the senseless Gandhi-Irwin Pact of the following year. Consistency is not always the hobgoblin of little minds, and the Pact came to me as a veritable shock after all the preceding *Strum und Drang*. My flirtation with the Congress came to an end as abruptly as it began.

What did not come to an end, however, was my respect for the illustrious Sardar and his no less illustrious daughter. I have always believed that the movement would have ended in complete success—and not in that namby-pamby Pact—if it had been under the uninterrupted control of the Sardar. But that was not to be. Leaders given to endless vacillation have no business to be in charge of such dynamic movements, and the country would have been spared a deal of bother if either those movements had not been started in the first instance, or having been started, they had, throughout, been under the spirited guidance of "Iron Men" like the late-lamented Sardar. The Sardar was a born leader; but on very few occasions did it fall to his lot to lead. That was one of the tragedies of Indian politics. He was not only not the man to conclude such meaningless Pacts as the Gandhi-Irwin Pact aforementioned: he was not the man who would ever have demeaned himself into defining "Poorna Swaraj" as the "substance of independence." I was among those who were aghast when I learnt that that was how the Mahatma—who originated the Satyagraha—defined it to Mr. George Slocombe of the *Daily Herald* at the time of the latter's interview with him in the Yeravada gaol. I could well have imagined what ribald mirth it would have provoked in the hearts of Congressmen if that definition had come from the lips of one of the poor Liberals. But it is a mad world, my masters, and what is really the high-

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water-mark of moderation is apt to pass off as dare-devil extremism in a Congressman. It has always been so: what is merely cussedness in the Captain is rank blasphemy in the soldier. But the Sardar's mind was ever crystal-clear: verbal jugglery was anathema to him and he abhorred wrapping anything in cotton-wool—in folds and folds of it.

Integration of the States

Nowhere was the Sardar's clearness of mind more in evidence than in the historical integration of the five-hundred and odd States which the British bequeathed to us as a legacy. The other legacy that they bequeathed to us was the never-to-be-sufficiently deplored partition of our beloved Motherland. Having (God be praised!) been left to himself he could, as we have seen, tackle the first problem with his customary thoroughness. I have a feeling deep down in me that he would have come out in equally shining colours if he had been left to deal with the second problem also "on his own lonesome", as it were. The Sardar has never been a lover of partition. He was the one man who could have called the bluff—both of the Muslims and of the British. But, for certain sentimental reasons, the higher hierarchy of the Congress did not deem it politic to leave the partition problem in his sole charge: there would have been too many wigs on the green!

The higher Congress hierarchy, however, did immensely well to assign the task of the integration of the States to him and to no other; and, in this connection, I cannot help regretting that that hierarchy should have chosen to place Kashmir in different hands—with what tragic effects he who runs may read. But we should be thankful to small mercies, and it was an inspired Sardar who came to the task of the States. By a characteristic blend of cajolery and coercion he contrived to liquidate all these States—barring one, as I have already insisted. This is no place to go into details. The point for us to remember is that he finished his job in a blaze of glory.

His Unique Service to Delhi

I have, earlier, referred to the Sardar's historic tussle with Dr. N. B. Khare, and referred to it in rather disparaging terms. The firmness that he displayed there was misplaced, and the country's misfortune was that where that firmness was really needed it was, to say the least, conspicuous by its absence. There is a time for "coming" the Iron Man "over" someone, and there is a time, too, to refrain from doing so. When the Sardar "steam-rollered" the venerable doctor of Nagpur it was certainly not the right time. His firmness was sorely required at the time of Partition and afterwards. And then he displayed his unique quality only once. It was during the Delhi riot days of 1947. He and the R.S.S. saved Delhi from Muslim domination. His blood will curdle

down the corridors of time if only for that tremendous service to the Hindu cause. Thereafter the giant slumbered again. I cannot remember his strength in action in the days that followed. A Hindu to the core—and a warrior at that—he, like several others not noticeably as strong as he was reputed to be, seemed to have allowed himself (for reasons of mistaken "loyalty") to be caught in the toils of a spurious "secularism" and thus was perforce impelled to let the rights of his fellow-Hindus go by default. I can write columns upon columns on this aspect of the matter—piling Pelion on Ossa, as it were—and do so with "my head hanging down in shame" that the only resolute Hindu Cabinet Minister could not always bring himself to sponsor the Hindu cause and to keep the barbaric Muslim hordes at bay.

The Two Loyalties

The Sardar, at any rate, was no double-distilled idiot and he could not, I am certain, have been taken in by all the muck that has been written and spoken in honour of that much misunderstood word, "secularism." But—and here is the rub—there was such a thing as "loyalty" to one whom, to please and to placate the Mahatma, he agreed—*malgre lui*—to look upon as his "leader," and he permitted a lesser "loyalty" to over-power the greater—namely, the loyalty to the nation as a whole. Had he been able to see the two loyalties in their correct perspective there would have been—I am prepared to lay all Lombard Street to a China orange, as the saying is—no dastardly partition of the country, no post-partition riots, no Kashmir idiocy, no "secular" nonsense, no anti-Mahasabha and anti-R.S.S. campaigns, no impotent ending of the Hyderabad "police action," no "symbolic links," and no "neutrality" stunts. He was the one man who could have put old Liaquat in his place *at any time*—even in the notorious "Joint Cabinet System" days of 1946—*but his hands had always been tied*. Of his own volition he was content to play second fiddle to one who, by rights, ought to have played second fiddle to *him*: there lay the tragedy of recent Indian politics. He—and no other—should have been the Prime Minister and he should have acted according to the dictates of his own "inner voice" rather than, in an *un*characteristically weak moment, abandoned the role of "skipper" of the team to one who, on all counts, was no match for him and could not have been if he had tried with "both his hands," as Humpty Dumpty would have put it. "First things first" should have been the slogan. As it turned out, however, the slogan became: "First things second and the Hindus to be always at the loser's end—for 'secularistic' reasons."

The Tragedy

Sam Weller once respectfully admitted to his

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was apt to run away like a wheel-barrow with the wheels well greased." I am apt to do the same—in the totally different context of the grievances of the Hindus against Muslims in the first instance, the British in the second, and Congressmen in the third. At a pinch I can bring myself to forgive the first two but never the third. It is not so much that they are "secular": it is that they are spurious. *They are simply bad coins that fail to ring true.* But the Sardar was, in essence, and left to himself, a genuine coin, and thus was neither "secular" nor spurious at heart. The misfortune was that he considered himself to be a mere soldier on the battle-field for ever owing obedience to his two Generals—one dead and the other living. Leaving the Mahatma alone for the present, he should never have let his loyalty to the Pandit run riot in the way it did. Had he had sufficient real "iron" in him to obey the monitor "within" the face of India would have been entirely different today. But, alas, he willed otherwise; "and oh, the difference to us!"

Apollo in the House of Admetus

It was a notable godsend to the Muslim irredentists that our departed patriot chose to consider himself only as a soldier on the battle-field ever alert to do even the most unpatriotic bidding of his two Generals instead of following the dictates of his own conscience and being the *Generalissimo,* the Chief whom everyone in the Congress fold had to obey. Many writers, in their obituaries of him, have been at pains to stress the peasant strain in him, the strain of blind obedience to those whom he elected to regard as his superiors. I repeat with all the vehemence at my command that it was a double tragedy—his own and his nation's, the Hindu. For when all the "secularist" wine has been drunk and but the "lees" remain over people—now in a state of semi-coma—will begin to realise that there is a distinct nation on earth called the "Hindu" and that, if only he had willed otherwise, the Sardar would have been its most shining ornament. But, as has been stated above, the Sardar's *role,* as he mistakenly conceived it, was that of a mere soldier on the battlefield. *He was really Apollo serving in the house of Admetus.* But he did not know that he was Apollo, and the Admetus in the case was equally ignorant that he was Admetus.

Mr. Attlee's Historic Statement

Just after the Simla Conference of 1945, convened at the instance of the late Lord Wavell, the Sardar visited Bombay where he made perhaps the most soul-stirring speech of his life, denouncing alike the British and their born stooges, the Muslims. But he soon appeared to forget what he had spoken then. He made out a devastating case against both. He, no less than the Pandit, repeatedly swore against the very conception of Pakistan. But when the real test came they faltered and failed to make the maximum capital out of Mr. Attlee's historic statement on the floor of the House of Commons on March 15, 1946 that *no minority in India would be permitted to wreck the unity of the country.* If any statement was ever unambiguous it was this; but neither the Mahatma nor the Pandit, nor the Sardar had the gumption to take advantage of it. I shall leave it to my readers to imagine what huge capital our *Muslim* friends would have made out of it if that statement had been conceived in *their* interests. British statesmen, I need hardly point out, have never been guilty of being over-generous to the Hindus. They are not, *even now* —else, look at Kashmir. But even on the rare—the too rare—occasions when they "unbend" a little towards us we tragically fail to make the most of it. It is a sad commentary even on the Sardar's own reputed "strength" that he also lacked the courage to regard that statement as the Hindu's "Magna Charta" and to fling it at the faces of the Muslim "die-hards" and "last-ditches."

Puerile Reasoning

Everyone knows what happened ultimately *in spite of Mr. Attlee's statement.* The Muslim minority was allowed—*by Congressmen*—to disrupt the unity of our beloved Motherland. The Sardar was often in the habit of pleading that he had imagined, when he gave his *imprimatur* to the partitioning of the country, that the Muslims, having got their "Stan," would henceforth cease to be a thorn in our flesh and that all would be well with us on this side of our own 38th Parallel. A man of the Sardar's sterling commonsense should not have put forward that puerile reasoning. But our public is extremely gullible, and it swallowed it with hook, line and sinker.

Conclusion

I could have written more, but I am pressed for time. The country has lost its most distinguished Congress leader in the death of the Sardar. I have but one complaint against him: he should not have deemed himself only as a soldier on the battlefield, ready to obey the orders of his Generals. He *only* among Congressmen was of the stuff of which Generals are made: had he conceived himself as such, and not as the other, he would have, assuredly, died a man of *fulfilled* renown."

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THE LOSS OF SARDAR

News has just reached me of the end of Sardar Vallabhbhai's earthly life. For several years past he was more like my eldest brother to me than just a leader. It is always difficult for me to write about one with whom I feel a sense resembling that of identity.

I have got so much used to death, that it has ceased to upset me too much. And yet the loss of such dear and respected souls like Jamnalalji, Mahadevbhai, Gandhiji and now Sardar, not to mention others not known to the world, each leaves on the mind a lesson, which is painful. Habit enables me to bear it with seeming composure, and to perform my duties without showing signs of being unhinged; but the interest in worldly life diminishes with each such loss of friend.

The world will mourn the Sardar's death, as it has mourned so many others. Even his opponents will pay, for a while, glowing and sincerely-felt tributes. But after a time, the world ceases to miss them. It instals new heroes and transfers its worship to them.

Personal friends, however, miss them for good and irreplaceably. The Sardar's death is such a one for me and so many others like me. But since it has to be borne, it must be so done with fortitude.

Wardha, 15.12.50 K. G. MASHRUWALA

Life for Duty

Just as the December number of the *Sarvodaya* was about to be issued today, news was received of Sardar Vallabhbhai's demise. The editor of a magazine needs must write something immediately, and so the printers postponed printing for a time and the editor sat down at his table to write. What he will write, God only knows.

It was only a few days since the *yogi* Shri Aravinda passed away and now we have the news that the Sardar is no more.

One of the newspapers writing on the *yogi* Shri Aravinda said that it was not possible for us yet to measure the loss we have sustained by the demise of such a great man. Men of coarser intellect will not even feel its touch, they will not be even aware of it. It requires a subtle and refined intellect even to realize this loss. This in short is the gist, in my words, of what the paper wrote in connection with Shri Aravinda's death. But the loss due to the Sardar's demise, even men with the grossest intellect will realize in an instant.

The service rendered by a *dhyana-yogi* (contemplative thinker) who strives to raise the spiritual level of human life remains concealed in the region of the unmanifest. The service rendered by the active (*karma-yogi*) social worker who spends his life in solving the problems facing society and in making people's life happy, being in the manifest, is visible to the naked eye. We have lost almost within the period of a week two such benefactors of ours, men of diametrically opposite natures.

But both of them have completed their *sadhanas* and have left us enough material to guide us. That the Sardar could survive the death of Gandhiji was due solely to his strong determined will and the inspiration and grace of God. That he desired to live after Gandhiji was simply for the good of us, his countrymen. Hence it was that he buried his grief at the loss of Gandhiji in his own breast and attended wholeheartedly to the duties before him.

We should learn this very lesson from their lives and should apply ourselves to the task in hand without being overpowered by grief. प्राप्तं प्राप्तमुपासीत हृदयेनापराजितः । (With the heart even undaunted, one should discharge whatever duty comes to him.)

Paramdham, Paunar, VINOBA
15.12.50 —*Harijan*
(Translated from the Hindi *Sarvodaya*)

———:O:———

AGRICULTURAL COST : A STUDY IN ITS METHODOLOGICAL APPROACH

BY PROF. D. C. BISWAS, M.A.

"Among persons interested in economic analysis, there are tool-makers and tool-users."
—A. C. PIGOU.

"The gap between the tool-makers and the tool-users is a distressingly wide one, and no economist can fail to have sympathy with the impatience of the politician, the businessman, and the statistical investigator, who complain of the extremely poor, arid or even misleading information with which the analytical economists provide him . . . It is natural enough for the practical man to complain that he asks for bread and the economist gives him a stone. But the answer of the economist to such complaints should not be to fling away his tools and plunge into the tangled problems of the world, armed only with naked hands."
—JOAN ROBINSON

As the title suggests, this essay is a critical study of the methodological aspect of calculating the cost of cultivation. The subject is important and raises issues of a very complex and intricate nature. It requires a thorough analysis and critical examination of the issues involved. It is convenient therefore to examine at the outset, the broad features of the problem and connected matters and then eventually to pass on to the theoretical treatment of the subject in all its bearings, bringing into prominence those particular aspects which need emphasis, without

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naked hands." The object of this analytical study is more to throw light on the intricacies and initiate a theoretical discussion which may help evolve a scientifically sound technique of calculating agricultural cost than to attempt a formulation of a set of principles of cost calculation.

No apology is perhaps necessary for a discussion of this sort, because this sector of Indian agricultural economics still remains practically unexplored. As far as known, discussions that have been made of agricultural economics in this country primarily centre round the problems of uneconomic holdings, agricultural prices, and of re-orientation of the entire agricultural system of India; but very little attention has been paid to the methodological aspect of cost study. As a result, there has been no uniformity of principles of economic analysis underlying the various schemes of cost investigation undertaken by several well-known institutions, each in its own way, having no co-ordination among them. Mention may be made of the Punjab Board of Economic Enquiry, the Indian Council of Agricultural Research, some universities, and the Indian Central Jute Committee, which have collected wealth of information on cost, but as a basis for any policy making these cost data, could not be utilised being considered to be of doubtful validity. This is an evidence of the fact that the sponsors of these schemes of investigation are not unanimous about the economic principles of methodology which is responsible for the wide divergence between their estimates of cost. It is, therefore, felt that this part of Indian agricultural economics, which has so long been left void, requires exploration and light that will enable us to set the analytical process on a right track and arrive at uniformly reliable estimates of cost which can serve the administrators as a dependable and valid standard of reference. Another point of considerable importance in this connection is the structural formation of agricultural cost, which is a related subject but not an integral part of the methodological study. This subject, too, has been left practically unattended to; at least, it has not been given the attention it deserves. If possible, a separate study will be undertaken for a fuller exposition of the topic.

Determination of agricultural prices in parity with industrial prices has assumed great importance in the present-day discussion of agricultural economics. This is what it should be. Fixation of industrial prices is a less difficult job than that of agricultural prices for obvious reasons. Industrial concerns are well-organised units with well-defined establishments. Precise financial records and accounts are maintained, annual balance sheets prepared and published, and their true economic position, so far as loss or gain is concerned, is clearly understood. Whereas in agriculture, farms are not well-organised, no account of any sort is maintained, and of course no attempt is made to prepare any profit and loss account. Loss or gain they go on with their profession as usual because no alternative avenue is open to them. Farming is more a way of life than a business proposition with them; the stimulus is self-supply rather than farming for profit. If they reap a bumper harvest and find a good market for the commercial crop, they thank their stars, if not, they blame their ill luck and bear it with silent stoicism. This much is the economic sense of the Indian farmers. To what extent economic motive is operative in their formulation of farming policies is a question very difficult to answer. Take, for instance, their individual distribution of land under different crops. Whether their decision in respect of it is influenced by economic forces or by natural (*e.g.*, agronomical and meteorological) factors or by both is a hard question to solve statistically. Here and there some attempts have, of course, been made to discover whether any correlation exists between the acreage under a particular crop and its price in the preceding season and the result obtained is stated to be significant.* It is, none the less, problematical to assume that the former's decision is the resultant, pure and simple, of the interaction of the economic forces at play. It is a well-known fact that agriculture in India is a 'gamble in mónsoon'. Sometimes it so happens that in a majority of cases extra-economic factors, *e.g.*, natural phenomena, play a decisive role in the making-up of the cultivator's decision. †

Whatever be the cultivator's response to economic causes, there is no gainsaying the fact that his economic position is interwoven with the entire socio-economic fabric. Of the economic causes, however, price alone is, doubtless, a major factor in the present-day disequilibrium of the national economy and reflects its harmful effects through extremely disparate movement of relative prices. It, therefore, requires to be adjusted and stabilised to bring about a much-needed equilibrium in the socio-economic relations of the people. Stabilisation of prices makes it imperative to study the normal cost of production, more so in agriculture, because in this sphere elements of uncertainty are too many and price fluctuations,

* "Indian Cultivator's Response to Prices" by A. R. and H. C. Sinha and J. R. Guha Thakurta, *Sankhya*, Vol. 2 and 3, p. 155. The authors have calculated the co-efficient of correlation between the prices and subsequent acreage changes in respect of three commercial crops, cotton, linseed, and groundnut and obtained a fairly high co-efficient of the order of O. 6. Yet they maintain that in estimating crop areas by statistical methods it is necessary to take both the meteorological and economic factors into consideration.

Jute : Some Aspects of Demand and Supply—By Messrs. Ghosh and Basak. (Indian Central Jute Committee's publication). The co-efficient of correlation between price and subsequent acreage under jute for the period 1918-1938 has been found to be 10.701.

† *Report of the Commodity Prices Board*: Gokhale Institute of Politics and Economics Publication No. 20, p. 15 : "There are a large number of limitations on the extent to which any individual producer can change within a short period the area normally devoted by him to production of individual crop."

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addition, cause havoc to the agriculturist. If floor and ceiling prices can be correctly determined and enforced and fluctuations are allowed only within a small amplitude, the farmer's economic position is likely to be partially stabilised—an achievement of no small significance.

The industry, too, is likely to be adequately benefited in so far as it utilises agricultural raw materials, and will stand on a surer footing in respect of a major item of cost. It may seem platitudinous to narrate the economic benefits which are expected to accrue from stabilisation of agricultural prices at a normal level having a steady relationship to the long period trend of costs and prices, yet consideration of these positive benefits lends added importance to the study of agricultural cost.

Fixation of prices of primary products like industrial raw materials, *e.g.*, jute, cotton, etc., or of foodgrains is a very responsible job. Industry can not be made to suffer to make agriculture remunerative or vice versa, and at the same time relative prices of different agriculutural commodities should not be allowed to disturb. Industry and agriculture are complementary, one to the other, in a balanced and unified economic system, and any disturbance in price relations will affect this system very adversely. The task is, therefore, too delicate and involves a great responsibility; as such, uncoordinated *ad hoc* surveys of these vital economic problems haphazardly planned and hurriedly conducted ought not to be taken as the basis of any important policy making. Such a course will inevitably lead the national economy to disaster. Correct and proper appreciation of the problem in its right perspective is all that is needed first to plan an efficient investigation into this basic economic problem. A thorough discussion on an academic level is called for at this stage in order to help elucidation and correct appreciation of the intricate issues involved. State intervention to justify itself ought to be based on a sure foundation so that it can achieve its avowed object of removing the anomalies obtaining in the socio-economic relations rather than aggravate them.

So, the theory on the subject should be reviewed and adapted for the purpose against the background of the broad features as outlined above. Price fixation requires a careful study of both price structure and cost structure. What are the elements that enter into price and in what proportions? An analysis of these inter-related matters which are responsible for price formation leads automatically to the consideration of cost structure. In agriculture as in other fields of production, the cost of production is inextricably linked up with the resources of the farm. Farmer's resources and status have an important bearing upon his cost of production. Bearing this in mind the unit of land in relation to which cost is to be calculated should be decided upon. The fundamental issue, therefore, in any study of agricultural cost in the perspective of Indian system of small-scale farming is what should be this unit—should it be a plot or a farm? This point is important because Indian agriculture is beset with diverse problems of intricate nature and their influence on cost can not be overrated. Cost in relation to a plot is something to be isolated and as such very difficult to determine unless it is considered in the context of the whole volume of efforts and sacrifices made by a particular farming unit in its entire farming enterprise in a particular period of agricultural rotation. And many other similar difficulties are associated with the plotwise study of cost irrespective of the farm. The convenient and uncontroversial course is to take the farm as the unit. An exploratory survey of the structure of farms and of farmers' status in different agricultural zones will reveal the inter-related nature of the problem and corroborate this view. As such a rightly thought-out scheme of investigation into the basic economic conditions of Indian agriculture is, therefore, a prior necessity for a sound and efficient technique of cost calculation to be devised. The weakness or strength of farming units, the influence of which is invariably reflected on cost will also be revealed thereby. This aspect of the study has a specific importance from the standpoint of relating price to cost.

In the light of the foregoing considerations the case of the farm as a productive unit for the purposes of agricultural cost determination is therefore established. But the question arises—cost of which farm governs the supply price? The usual practice with the general public is to talk of average cost in connection with fixation of prices. The Prices Sub-Committee of the Policy Committee on Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries have, however, recommended in page 48 of their report the cost of the representative farm or more accurately the representative cost as the suitable basis of price fixation. The Commodity Prices Board have rejected the cost of production approach and suggested, instead, the principle of adopting *ad hoc* measures, so to say, to regulate internal prices of individual products as warranted by external prices, as an expediency to meet the temporary phases of the present abnormal economic situation, and ease out the process of restoration of the dynamic course of economic events to normalcy. So, there is no unanimity of opinion.

Theoretically prices have a tendency to equal normal cost in the long period under competitive conditions, and normal cost is not the average cost except in constant return industries. In diminishing return industries, however, the normal cost of production is the marginal cost, that is, the cost of production on the margin of profitable application of capital and labour. And this is the cost "to which the

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price of the whole produce tends under the control of the general conditions of demand and supply." On this principle, therefore, the average cost of the marginal farm or intensive marginal cost of the intra-marginal farms determines the supply curve in a competitive equilibrium. Average cost of unit production over the entire range of production in a particular diminishing return industry is theoretically ruled out. Agriculture in an old country like India is definitely a diminishing return industry, especially in its present organisational set-up, and, because of this basic truth, the technique of marginal analysis is the appropriate analytical device that can be logically adopted in calculation of agricultural cost in India. For application of the principle of marginal analysis it is necessary to have information on the size and resources of each individual farm, because the scale of agricultural operation has a significant effect upon unit cost of production. This information will also reveal on what principle—extensive or intensive margin—a particular farm is operating, and the stage—above or below the margin—it has reached.

Let us examine at this stage the implications of the three sets of values that can be derived according to the three concepts, namely, average, representative, and marginal. The average cost may be computed from the entire observed data on cost or from the data of the farming unit which represents the average of the sizes and resources of all the farms investigated. The representative cost may be taken as the most frequently occurring cost in the farms under investigation or as the cost of the most representative farm or land. The marginal cost is, as has already been pointed out, the average cost of the marginal farm or the marginal cost of the intra-marginal farm or land. In all likelihood, two values will be obtained in each of the former two cases and on'y one value in the third case; that is, to make more clear, two values will be obtained for the average calculated in two different ways as indicated, so also two values will be obtained for the representative cost.

In customary discussions of the average and the representative cost, the farm does not come in prominently as is necessary to evaluate the effects of its size and resources on cost. The Prices Sub-Committee have, however, made a specific recommendation to study cost of production on the representative land with particular reference to the size and resources of farms. In order to study the combined effects of soil quality and farm size, etc., on cost, it is necessary to calculate separately the cost in respect of each category of land in each farm.

An explanation is necessary for the theoretical rejection of the average cost. Let an hypothetical case be taken to illustrate the implications of the three different types of cost which will explain the reasons for rejection or acceptance of one or the other cost.

For an easy grasp of the discussion that follows on this point, a table of imaginary data is inserted here. The data refer to an hypothetical frequency distribution, on the average cost basis, of 100 farms producing a total output of 100,000 maunds of sugarcane under conditions of diminishing return. (See Table).

Let it be assumed that there is an effective demand in the market for all these 100,000 maunds of sugarcane as produced by these 100 farms under conditions of diminishing return, and that the whole output is sold without loss to any of them. All the farmers are not of the same efficiency and all cane-growing land is not of the same fertility. Both efficiency and ferility are widely varying variables. farms are distributed over a range between the most efficient and the least efficient farm, and land over a range between the most fertile land which yields the highest producer's surplus and the least fertile or marginal land which yields no surplus. In case of

TABLE

Hypothetical frequency distribution of 100 cane growers, on average cost basis.

Average cost	No. of farms	Cumulative no. of farms	Quantity produced	Cumulative output	Total cost in each cost group	Diff. between price and cost (price : overall average cost)	Diff. between price and cost (price : marginal cost)	Diff. between price and cost (price : representative cost)
Rs. as. p.			Mds. (000)	Mds. (000)	Rs.	As.	As.	As.
1 0 0	2	..	4	..	4,000	(+) -/8/-	(+) -/12/-	(+) -/10/-
1 2 0	3	5	6	10	6,750	(+) -/6/-	(+) -/10/-	(+) -/8/-
1 4 0	6	11	10	20	12,500	(+) -/4/-	(+) -/8/-	(+) -/6/-
1 6 0	15	26	15	35	20,625	(+) -/2/-	(+) -/6/-	(+) -/4/-
1 8 0	24	50	20	55	30,000	nill	(+) -/4/-	(+) -/2/-
1 10 0	40	90	30	85	48,750	(—) -/2/-	(+) -/2/-	nill
1 12 0	10	100	15	100	26,250	(—) -/4/-	nill	(—) -/2/-
					148,875			

N.B.—1. The market price is assumed to be Re. 1/12/- at which the entire output (100 000 mds.) is sold in an uncontrolled market. (2) The marginal production is 15,000 mds. (3) The marginal cost is Re. 1/12/- which is equal to the market price. (4) The number of marginal farms is 10. (5) The value of the mode is Re. 1/10/- because in this group occurs the largest number of farms; the representative cost is therefore Re. 1/10/- being the typical cost. (6) The overall average cost is approximately Re. 1/8/- (Rs. 148,875 divided in 100,000 mds.)

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intensive cultivation, each intra-marginal farm or land has a series of cost per unit production for a corresponding series of different quantities of output produced, and this series constitute what is called the supply schedule or supply curve. The proportions of the different classified categories of land in the composition of the total land holding of a farm are not the same for all farms. Cultivation in each category of land has been pushed to the margin in order to raise the total volume of the crop, 100,000 maunds.

The fact that the whole quantity is sold without loss to any farmer is a conclusive evidence that the marginal cost of the intra-marginal farms or land as well as the cost of the least efficient farm or least fertile land is covered by its market price. Had it not been so, *i.e.*, if the price did not cover the highest or the marginal cost, the least efficient farms would have switched on to the production of some other crop and intra-marginal farms curtailed their production to bring the marginal cost in parity with price. Maybe, this change-over may not prove easy and take place forthwith due to the static and rigidified system of agricultural practices, which is an instance, in point, of the hindrances to automatic operation of the law of demand and supply. This fact accounts for the average cost not being always the minimum cost under equilibrium conditions and points unmistakably to the undeveloped nature of the agricultural economy, the consequences of which react adversely upon the economic position of farmers, at least, in proportion to the business part of their farming. On the basis of this fact it may be argued that price fixed on marginal cost parity unduly remunerates the least efficient farmers to the detriment of consumer's interest. As against this view it may be said that this is a case of maladjustment of economic functions, which is associated with the stage of economic development obtaining in a particular socio-economic setting. Its incidence, as such, should fall on the entire society. State intervention in such a situation is therefore advocated to remove the socio-economic mal-adjustments. However, this is a digression and has got little bearing on the question of methodology. The automatic process of adjustment of supply to demand to bring about a cost-price parity is implied in the assumptions made in the theoretical exposition of the long period competitive equilibrium in a free economy on which rests the classical theory of value. These assumptions constitute the limitations to the usefulness of the marginal technique in analysis of realistic economics and will be discussed in a relevant context.

In the light of the foregoing considerations it will be easy, now, to compare the average, the representative, and the marginal cost, and assess their relative significance. The average cost is, ordinarily, taken to be the true representative cost, as it is affected by all the items in the observation. The true representative character of the average depends upon the distribution being normal or nearly so without any extreme value at either end; otherwise no statistical ingenuity can make it representative. But, in connection with price-fixing, the concept of representative cost has been introduced to mean the most frequently occurring cost (*i.e.*, typical of the largest number of farms having a common type of land) and, as such, it is more analogous to the statistical measure, mode, than to the arithmetic mean. These two values are identical in an exceptionally ideal situation of a perfectly symmetrical distribution which is very uncommon in the domain of agricultural economics. In any other situation, that can be visualised as to the behaviour of cost in diminishing return industries, especially under conditions of small-scale and uneconomic farming, the average cost (*i.e.*, the arithmetic mean) is likely to be less than the representative cost (the mode); and, therefore, the latter covers the cost of a larger number of farms than the former. This conclusion is doubtless hypothetical, as it is deduced partly from *a priori* assumptions and partly from empirical observations; for this reason the representative cost (the value of the mode) cannot have a greater claim to validity and reliability unless verified empirically.

The price, fixed in parity with the average cost, will not at all be remunerative for a great many farmers; those who are on the margin will be ousted altogether, and others will have to curtail production. The principle of representative cost is also not free from this defect, but, in this case, the number of producers likely to be hit is very much less. As a basis for price-cost parity the representative cost has been recommended on practical considerations and for lack of reliable quantitative information on marginal cost. But, here too, the problem of the least efficient farmer yet remains and his output is essential to make up the total supply for which there is effective demand at a price which just covers his cost with little or no margin of profit in a free economy. The intra-marginal farms or land will also lose some amount of producer's surplus due to price-fixing on the representative cost principle.

So, it appears from the above considerations that the marginal cost is the only logical basis for price-cost parity. And this parity is also free from the objections raised by the Indian Commodity Prices Board to the parity formula recommended by the Prices Sub-Committee, referred to above, on the American model of relating price to cost with reference to some base period parity.

Of the three types of cost, the average, the representative, and the marginal, as a basis for price-fixing, the last is theoretically the most sound, though difficult for calculation. The average cost is definitely unsound in an increasing cost industry, though its calculation is quite easy. The representative cost is the *via media*; it is the average cost of the farms belonging to the largest frequency (modal) group. It is neither theoreti-

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cally very unsound nor does it involve any difficult process of calculation, (unless it be a case of bi-modal or multi-modal distribution). As against the marginal cost principle it may be contended, in the present context of inflationary spiral, that in theoretical consideration of the logical basis of cost-price parity, the essential object of price-fixing should not be missed or relegated to the background. The purpose of price-fixing is not merely to stabilise price at a suitable level but also to bring relief to the consumer by reducing the price level. The contention can be very easily met. All things being equal, the price can not fall below the cost of the least efficient farmer, because in that case he will be ousted and the more efficient producers will curtail production. As a result, the demand will go unsatiated with consequent rise in price. So, there is no way out but to relate price to the marginal cost, *i.e.*, the cost of the least efficient farmer. Cost is definitely a function of demand in the long period competitive equilibrium. In a diminishing return industry with demand for its product inelastic, or moderately elastic at higher levels of its relative price, the greater the demand the lower will the margin of production be pressed and higher will be the cost at the margin. There can be no evading this hard economic reality.

The final choice being made of the particular type of cost to be determined, we enter into the second phase of our theme—the procedure to be adopted and the elements to be taken into consideration in determining the cost. Let it be assumed that marginal cost is our final choice and for determination of which the marginal tool is to be employed. The conditions precedent for its applicability have already been noticed. These conditions obtain only in a perfectly competitive set-up and, as such, are very abstract and take us far from the real world. The agricultural economy, particularly in India, does not satisfy them fully. The reasons are :

On the supply side :

1. Farming, as already stated, is more a way of life than a business proposition; self-supply rather than commercial profit is the incentive;
2. Cultivator's response to prices is very slow, which is attributed to the existence of frictional agencies which impede the smooth movement of the economic wheel;
3. Transport difficulties restrict accessibility to markets, thereby rendering them imperfect to a certain extent;
4. Staying and bargaining power of cultivators is very negligible;
5. Lack of mobility of labour and capital obstructs the quick adjustment of supply to demand; and

On the demand side :

1. Competition amongst buyers of important commercial crops, *e.g.*, jute and cotton, is restricted by formation of groups;
2. The greater bargaining capacity of buyers.

It is quite evident from the above considerations that agricultural competition is influenced by certa characteristics which do not conform exactly to t financial assumptions underlying conventional theor

In view of the above limitations the marginal t is to be applied with certain modifications to suit t real problem. On the marginal cost principle, ea farm has its own cost curve, and the industry as whole may be likewise conceived as having a separa overall cost curve. A technique is, therefore, to b devised, on the lines of the marginal concept, whi will be an approximation to it but not exactly t same, to suit our problem which is circumscribed b many limitations as narrated above. A suitable m *media* can be devised on the basis of average cost o each farm. Such a method will not deviate fundame tally from the marginal approach but at the same tim will afford us an appropriate approach to our tangl problem. A scale of cost for the whole industry c thus be constructed, though on the basis of averag cost of individual farms yet neglecting their individu cost curves. It has already been noted that th average cost of the marginal farm which is equal t the normal price under competitive conditions, is th same as the marginal cost of intra-marginal farms What is the average cost of an intra-marginal farm The marginal cost of the intra-marginal farm minu the economic rent is equal to its average cost. This i true for all positions of the margin, and for eac position of the margin there is a correspondin average cost of each intra-marginal farm. A scale cost constructed on the principle of average cost o individual farms with reference to a particular yea may not hold good for other years because of a likel shift in the position of the margin in different years but it will furnish us an important information abou the different cumulative quantities of output produced and the number of farms producing at and below eac level of cost, and is, therefore, substantial advance i the analytical process. To make it clear, let us refe to the hypothetical distribution of 100 farmers in th above table. There we find the number of cane-growers and the quantity of output in each cost group. Th highest cost group represents the marginal farms, thos above it the intra-marginal farms. The relative posi tions of the intra-marginal farms are obviously deter mined with reference to the position of the margin Similar consideration may be made of the differen quantities of the output produced at different cos levels. Thus a scale of costs can be constructed (as i Table above) to demonstrate the manner in which th individual costs are scattered in an ascending orde with the cumulative output and acreage at and below each level of cost. To make this scale of costs a stabl and valid standard of reference it should be cons tructed for each homogeneous agricultural region on a solid foundation of facts observed over a number of years covering, at least, one complete agricultural cycle of yield variation.

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THE PROGRESS OF HISTORICAL RESEARCH IN INDIA

By Sir JADUNATH SARKAR, C.I.E., D.Litt.

The ambition of making original research in Indian history was planted in my heart just after I had done my B.A. examination. That was in April 1891. In the same year I wrote my first historical paper, a narrative of the fall of Tipu Sultan, which was printed in the magazine of the Eden Hindu Hostel, named the *Suhrid*. It was based entirely on printed English sources,—the only materials then known to me, but was not a mere *rechauffe* of standard historical works. Today, after carrying to its natural conclusion the detailed study of the Decline and Fall of the Mughal Empire (1650-1803) in which I had been engaged for fully half a century, I have at last the leisure to make a comparative survey of the course of historical research among us during the past 60 years.

What a contrast does such a backward glance present to our view! Our workers have made wonderful progress in this field, and have advanced from high to higher, hard to still harder tasks with the passing of the years. Their method of work and the quality of their productions have steadily improved.

Contrast our earliest Buddhistic researchers such as Krishna Behari Sen and Ramdas Sen with our latest, say Beni Madhab Barua and Probodh C. Bagchi. Or, in the field of British Indian History, place the works of our pioneers, Rajani Gupta and Akshay Maitra by the side of the achievements of modern students like Brajendra N. Banerji and others. Or, the earliest edition of the Sanskrit *Vrihaddevata* and *Lalita Vistar* by Rajendralal Mitra with the later editions of the same books by Prof. Macdonell and Lieumann respectively. The two groups of workers seem to belong to two different ages or to two different races, so vast is the difference in quality between their works.

And, yet, these early Bengali scholars were uncommonly intelligent and industrious, but the fruits of their labour have been superseded by those of our latest workers. Of this there are two causes: first, a difference of methodology, and secondly, an immense increase in our historical materials and "critical apparatus" over what were available to Rajendralal or Krishna Behari Sen.

The modern method of historical investigation runs in two channels: the research worker must try to reach the very fountain-head of information, and he must hear all the witnesses, as far as possible, before he can attain to the true facts. When Buddhist studies began in Bengal, our scholars depended solely on Burnouf's French translations of the Sanskrit-Buddhistic literature transcribed by Brian Hodgson or the English translations of Pali works by Cowell and Rhys Davids. But today it will not do. Unless we can go to the original Sanskrit and Pali sources themselves, and confront Mahayan works with Hinayan works, true research is impossible. And, we must also study the vast collections of Buddhistic and Tantric MSS. and even sheets of paper dug out in Khotan and Mongolia by Stein and Le Coq, Grunwedel and Peliot, as well as the retranslations of early Indian works now preserved only in Chinese and Tibetan versions. If the net is not thus extensively flung and the fisher does not go down to such depths, the resulting research work becomes a mockery.

In the field of Indo-Muslim history, the only resources of our old school for the Mughal Empire were Khafi Khan's *History* (completed in 1734) and *Siyar-ul-mutakharin* (completed in 1785), and for Bengal *Riyaz-us-Salatin* (written in 1788), because English translations of these were available. But not one of these books is an original source, except for the few passages where Khafi Khan narrates what he heard from his father and Ghulam Husain what he himself saw. On the Mughal imperial period research truly worthy of the name cannot be attempted even by reading the original Court-annals (called *Namas*) of these Emperors composed in the Persian language by their order. For these Court-annals, though contemporary works, were not the very fountain-head or original source of information about these Emperors, because they were written on the basis of the official despatches and news-letters (sometimes day to day) which were stored in the Delhi Record Office and placed under the eyes of the elegant Persian authors whom the Emperors appointed to write their annals. These *Namas* were really digests of the original documents, just like the official histories of the two World-wars which every European State is now slowly compiling.

For the history of the Mughal Empire under Aurangzib and throughout the 18th century, I have used the veriest raw materials, namely, the despatches and private letters of the nobles and generals, and the news-letters from camp and court (often daily), all in the Persian language and as yet unprinted. Several thousand pieces of this class have been collected by me. In addition, from 1730, despatches and state-papers in the Marathi language are available, and happily these have been mostly printed. Then come, in the later 18th century, the letters of the British Residents

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at the Indain Princes' Courts, most of which have been edited by us for the Bombay Government.

The seeker after truth regarding our people's past, is like a pilgrim ever climbing upwards to the very source of the Ganges. Secondly, he must, as far as humanly possible, assemble all the materials, written in different languages and now preserved in many different countries and cities. Let him beware of hearing one side or even only a few witnesses and thus pronouncing a one-sided judgment. Such conclusions cannot stand the scrutiny of time.

This new methodology makes it imperative for our research students to learn a number of languages, besides English, so as to go outside the narrow circle of translated works. In Europe it would be considered incredible that research is attempted without a knowledge of the language or languages in which the original sources of information on that subject are written. It is my firm belief that research in the history of the Delhi Empire in the 17th century is impossible without an adequate knowledge of both Persian and Marathi and for the 18th century these languages are the indispensable keys to the knowledge we seek. So, let our young workers provide themselves with this linguistic equipment before beginning to dig deeply. For my history of Shivaji, I had to study the original sources by learning Persian and Marathi and a little Portuguese, besides English, Sanskrit, French and a little of Rajasthani Hindi.

Now, what is the prospect of historical research among our people in the years to come? It cannot be denied that the remarkable progress we have made in modern research, has been entirely due to European teaching, European example, and sometimes conflict with European workers in the same field. Today the independence of India has removed this very potent stimulant, or necessary irritant. It is, in the altered political condition of India, all the more necessary that we should intensify our industry, sharpen our vigilance, and above all curb our natural tendency to self-glorification. For, in the realm of scientific research there is no halting, no rest; sleep means death; the arrest of progress is at once followed by a retrogression, and the flame of knowledge, if it once goes out for want of adequate oil, cannot be kindled again except at an immense cost of time and labour.

We, therefore, after the withdrawal of our European teachers, must see to it that we create among our own people an unbroken succession of efficient teachers,—what is called a "school of history" in English, or *Guruparampara* in Sanskrit. This throws an immense burden or responsibility upon our leaders of thought.

Secondly, we must build up full and varied research libraries, completed after years of persistent effort and wise alert purchase by boards of experts with adequate funds. Research is impossible without materials, and the materials include not only manuscripts, but also rare printed books, sets of learned journals, works of reference—like the *Encyclopaedia of Islam* (now not available even for Rs. 2,500 a set), maps, *catalogues raisonnes* of manuscripts in Europe, State libraries, and detailed survey maps, and illustrated coin-catalogue. Such libraries have to be built up in each regional circle of India, and not concentrated in the capital of this continent of a country.

The University of Syracuse in the U.S. purchased and brought away from Berlin the entire library of the famous Prussian historian Leopold von Ranke, including every scrap of notes and loose papers written by him; these are now being catalogued and scholars all over the world will flock to Syracuse for conducting their research. Similarly, the Indological library of Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar was purchased for Rs. 32,000 by the Bombay Government and taken away from Calcutta to Poona, so that the new-born University of Poona has been able to start research on ancient India in its very second year. My own life-long collection of rare books and Persian and French MSS. on Indo-Muslim history is now unique in India in several of its contents, besides being complete for British Indian history, especially the Sepoy Mutiny.

But what I have described so long is the external apparatus of research. We need above everything else that pure flame of the quest of truth, that fanatical devotion to our aim, regardless of fame or gain, which is the mark of the true scholar. Such a scholar will easily rise above the temptation to be satisfied with the cheap praise of his countrymen, or the recognition of one of the mushroom Universities which are springing up all over India, wherever there is a dialectical variation. The true scholar is a national of the Republic of Letters, which transcends the narrow bounds of provinces, countries and languages, and places its students at the bar of the world-court of scholarship. Let recognition by that Court be the secret ambition of every one of our research workers. National chauvinism does not go very far,—and even where it goes it only acts as a delusive will-o-the-wisp.*

* Reply to addresses presented to Sir Jadunath Sarkar at the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, on his 81st birthday, 10th December, 1950.

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LONDON LETTER

By Major D. GRAHAM POLE

London has been gay during the past week with flags and bunting and glittering cavalcades in honour of the visit of Queen Juliana of the Netherlands and her husband Prince Bernhard, Prince of the Netherlands. The Dutch Queen has captured the public imagination. It is not only because, as one critic points out, 'she is the representative of one of those dynasties, never very common and now grown rare, who have justified their position over centuries by an outstanding record of public service.' It is because, like the late King Gustav of Sweden, she has brought a new quality into constitutional monarchy. He dispensed with a coronation ceremony; she has abolished the court courtesy and prefers instead a friendly handshake. Each has come nearer to the common people and at the same time lost nothing in stature and dignity. Juliana has often visited this country but never before as Queen. During her three days' visit she twice drove in state through the streets of London. Seated in an open horse-drawn landau—preceded and followed by a sovereign's escort of Life Guards, but not surrounded by them—she could see and be seen by the cheering crowds who on each occasion turned out to greet her in spite of the most unpromising dismal November weather. She seemed to many to be very like the women in the 'Dutch Interior' school of paintings for which her country is famous. (It has indeed been often remarked that her hands are to be recognized over and over again in these paintings). There is the same sense of gentleness backed by tremendous force of character. It was suggested recently, at a meeting of the United Nations, that nationalism is the only force in the world today capable of combating Communism. But nationalism can be a larger selfishness and is often tempted into aggression. In a constitutional monarchy, on the other hand, the idea which is embodied is that of public service. And it follows that people who cheer such a monarch are in fact cheering their better selves. Discussing this point the other day—and reflecting that here we turn out to cheer a Juliana while in a communist country they turn out to cheer the winner in the latest duel for increasing industrial output—and how much richer is our lot—someone added: 'And here we don't *have* to turn out to cheer unless we want to!'

Critics and apologists have poured out a spate of words on the subject of the Government's handling of the Sheffield-Warsaw Peace Congress. The Home Secretary undoubtedly was in a very difficult position. Only a week or two before a scientist engaged here in the most secret atomic research had taken himself off to Russia. He was a naturalised British subject and his treachery was very recent evidence that Communists are a law unto themselves. Moreover in Korea we are at war with Communist aggression and we cannot afford to take risks. Against this background therefore it is not very surprising if the Home Secretary looked at the business simply from the point of view of security. But when he decided to impose a strict scrutiny at the ports, to turn back anyone who failed to pass that scrutiny, and turned back so many that the organizers of the Congress decided that it was not worth while attempting to meet in Sheffield and transferred the meeting to Warsaw—then he unwittingly transformed the situation and perhaps gave the Communists many more propaganda points than they might have made at Sheffield or Warsaw. It has been suggested that instead of banning the Congress to members of the Labour Party and prohibiting their attendance, a better method would have been to allow all who wished to attend. The vote for peace would then have been overwhelming but another view than that of the Communists would have been heard and might possibly have swamped the Congress.

To turn to opinion here. There is an uneasy feeling that other things besides the Sheffield Congress fell down. Hospitality for instance. This is a particularly dreary winter and, as Mr. Harold Nicolson remarks, "We do not in the least enjoy the spectacle of elderly foreigners being turned back in hordes to face the rigours of a Channel passage." But most of all we feel that harm has been needlessly done to the cause of free speech—that men and women behind the iron curtain, who live for the day when they can re-join the free world, may wonder whether we are as vigilant of our freedom as we used to be. The Russians of course are making the most of it. *Pravda*, in accustomary style, proclaims that "this openly Fascist act has exposed Mr. Attlee as an ordinary policeman in the hire of the American aggressors." (Ordinary policemen, one might point out, are not in the hire of aggressors. Where do these dictatorships get their ideas!).

The fact is that we have missed a great opportunity. When the Communists decided to hold their "World Peace Congress" in the murky industrial gloom of Sheffield, it was a challenge. It should have been met with imagination as well as with defensive measures. No one here seems to have thought so, but a distinguished French writer, M. Bertrand de Jouvenel, has had a lot to say on this point. He has written a remarkable letter to this week's *Time and Tide*. In it he hands us a trumpet with which, had we but blown it, we might have blown down the Iron Curtain as assuredly as Joshua blew down the walls of Jericho! He suggests that when the project of a Communist Peace Congress to be held at Sheffield was first put forward, the British Government should have welcomed it. On terms. It should have made it known that the Congress would be favoured by all official means

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"on the sole condition that the Soviet Government gave the same facilities for a similar congress, of, say, the partisans of liberty, to be held in a Russian town." What an obvious idea and what a brilliant one!

M. de Jouvenel continues that people in general do not realise the extent to which Russia is a Closed Empire. He says that a Benedictine monk commented the other day that "for the first time in history a State is so well closed that one cannot even enter it in a spirit of willing martyrdom." And his opinion is :

> "We should tirelessly put Moscow in the position of refusing the reciprocity of free entry and free speech. We should offer them to swap great orators, ask them to send Mr. Molotov over on a lecture tour with his own translator as against Mr. Eden in the same conditions. We should offer to give them an hour of time on our own broadcasting system in exchange for the same on their system, and so forth."

I hope this letter will be read by Mr. Eden.

Meanwhile it is ironical to think of Russian Communists holding a Peace Congress in betrayed, tragic Warsaw. And it does not seem as if the Congress is bringing prosperity to the city: rather the city is being mulcted instead. An astonishing report appeared last week in the *Daily Mail*. It described the hospitality meted out to two English women delegates. Names and addresses are given so there is no reason to doubt its veracity. These women are accommodated free in workers' flats. They sleep in centrally heated rooms to which servants bring hot water and tea. A bottle of beer is on the night table—strange habits they think we English have!—but if bought outside it would cost five shillings. There are cigarettes at ten to fifteen shillings a packet, some apples as well at three and nine pence each. A 'bus with guide-interpreter drives them to lunch where the wine laid on is worth £3 a bottle. So it goes on all day. But can these women really be impressed ?

The guide-interpreter, who is also a spy, is everywhere present in Warsaw. An *Evening News* correspondent recounts how, immediately after he had telephoned his first story to London, such a 'guide' was fastened on to him. Her name was Maria and she described herself as being there to help the Press generally. But watching him was her only job. One of the matters especially espied on was any attempt on the part of anyone to get into touch with diplomats residing in Warsaw. Plain clothes agents were posted outside every non-Communist embassy and consulate *and the homes of all their staff*. When this correspondent visited the British Embassy he was trailed by three men in a Citroen car. When he left the Embassy, they were on his tail again. In the Press buffet at the Congress he got into conversation with an American diplomat, Mr. Joseph Robinson. Maria promptly disappeared to be succeeded by an Agent who came and asked to see their passes, rejected the American's, and forced him to leave under escort. Both the American and the correspondent asked the Agent for his authority. But all he would show them was the Dove of Peace which he wore embroidered on his arm-band. In such an atmosphere it is not surprising that the correspondent abandoned the idea of trying to get in touch with ordinary Polish families. 'It is not what will happen to you, but what will happen to *them*,' he was told by the British residents. By the State Secrets Act of 1949 it is a treasonable offence to give political, economic, or *social* information to an unauthorised person.

Before leaving this subject it is worth recalling one thing. The revolutions in Poland, Hungary, and Czecho-Slovakia were not spontaneous. These countries were sold out to Russia and their present regime is guaranteed by the Red Army. Mr. Hugh Seton-Watson has just published a book, with the title *The East European Revolution*, and it is described as indispensable to anyone who wishes to follow East European affairs. The reviewer, Mr. Ian Dawson, draws attention to the fact that Eastern Europe is now the victim of Russian economic imperialism. And he continues :

> ". . . Eastern Europe is being driven to create a heavy industry to balance the Ruhr-Lorraine complex and provide the USSR with urgently needed capital equipment . . .
>
> "The capital for the transformation of Eastern Europe comes from the overworked sinews of its own people, and the product goes in large measure to strengthening the Soviet Union strategically and economically, the process which Marxist theory describes as exploitation of surplus value."

Exploitation of surplus value ? Exploitation of human beings!

Communism has been described as a new religion. It must be unique amongst religions in that it was conceived in hate. In a footnote the other day I came across a list of Karl Marx's *hates*. These included the gods, the Christian religion, his parents, his wife's uncle, his German kinsfolk, his own race ('Ramsgate is full of fleas and Jews,' he amiably reported), the Prussian reactionaries, the labouring population, which he called the Lumpenproletariat, 'parliamentary cretinism', and the British Royal family ! One cannot help echoing feelingly his mother's rueful comment. 'What a pity Karl did not make a little Capital instead of merely writing about it. . . .'

Apart from the visit of Queen Juliana, the principal news on the home front is the strange action of the Liberals and the effect which it is likely to have on politics. So strange is their action that in any other age they would have been thought to be bewitched. The witch in question is Lady Megan Lloyd George. She, with two other Liberals, have apparently decided that they will not use their votes to impeach the Government. There are only nine Liberals in the House of Commons but their votes were always an

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anxiety to the Government. The spectacle of a Government always just scraping, and once in a while just missing, a majority is undoubtedly unsatisfying and perhaps even demoralising. But upon whatever *principle* can three Liberals decide to drop the division lobby overboard? Already they have darkened counsel. Liberals, if anyone, should have views about the question of continuing controls. But they abstained from voting on the Opposition amendment concerning controls.

This split in the Liberal Party is all the more unfortunate because it reproduces the Asquith-Lloyd George split of more than a quarter of a century ago. Association of ideas will prove very potent and there can be little doubt now that the general public will despair finally of the Liberals, who must seem to them to be more occupied in splitting up than in getting on with the business of the country. Lady Violet Bonham-Carter, Asquith's clever daughter, has perhaps rather unwisely, rather too completely, pulverised the new dissidents. She has described Lady Megan's conduct as 'so subtle and intricate, it would be understood only by Freud.'

I will end on a different and more human note. Recently there has been a furore in the Christian world because, in this Holy Year, the Pope has promulgated a new dogma. In the English countryside, we take a more domestic view of our religion. Thus a Lay Reader writes a delightful article in a current weekly. There is a vacancy in the parish living just now and until the appointment of a new Rector it falls to him to read Morning and Evening Prayers. He pokes gentle fun, not at any beliefs, but at some of the prayers. "The more you publicly recite Morning and Evening Prayers," he says, "the more you are aware of their blemishes. They have not moved with the times as smoothly as you imagined. . . . It is a strain to pray for the High Court of Parliament when you cannot ask for deliverance from the bureaucracy!"

Amen !

Westminster, London, December, 1950.

———:O:———

PROBLEM OF POPULATION AND FOOD SUPPLY IN INDIA

By Prof. C. B. MAMORIA, M.A., M.Com.

The haunting spectre at all the present-day discussions is the problem of Indian over-population. The phenomenal growth of Indian population, taken in conjunction with the grinding poverty of the masses, has given rise to an acute controversy as to whether India is over-populated or not. Over-population in the Malthusian sense is said to take place in an old country where population expands more rapidly than the supply of food. When such over-population takes place, equilibrium is restored by what Malthus calls, "positive checks," *viz.*, starvation, epidemics and wars, and failure of crops due either to drought or floods, etc. In India, it is a well-known fact that tens of thousands of people perish every year due to epidemic diseases, mal-nutrition and sometimes actual starvation.

According to the modern notion of "optimum population," a state of over-population comes into being as soon as the actual population exceeds the optimum number. According to Prof. Adarkar, under given conditions of the arts of production and the progress of science, there must be an optimum point at which real income per head is likely to be maximum owing to the free interplay of natural resources on the one hand and the facilities of economic co-operation on the other. "In other words, the optimum is the figure which in view of the total economic resources of the country can enable the population to enjoy the highest possible standard of living. The optimum is not a fixed value, for it naturally varies according to the extent of resources, and it should be interpreted as a curve rather than a figure. A country whose population at any time falls below this optimum may be considered 'under-populated,' which means that an increase in its population would enable it to improve its standard of living. Similarly, a country whose population is at any time higher than the optimum may be said to be 'over-populated.' If the actual population figure for a country tends to come closer to the optimum population, *i.e.*, if the demographic movement makes an improvement of the standard of living possible—demographic tension will become less. On the contrary, it will be accentuated and may become alarming if the movement of population is such as to increase the divergence between the actual population and the optimum population, thereby producing a gradual decline in the standard of living."[1] It is thus in terms of conformity of the actual standard of life with the highest that is physically and economically possible that the population situation has to be judged. It is this relationship that gives significant connotation to such terms as 'over' and 'under' population. According to this optimum concept over-population can take place in a nation of millionaires, if it can be shown that with a slight diminution in

1. *International Labour Review* : "Population" and Social

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number the per capita income would have been higher than it is.

With this brief theoretical discussion, let us see whether India can be described as being a victim of over-population. At the very outset it may be pointed out that there are two views on this question. On the one hand, it is maintained that the grinding poverty of the masses, exceptionally high death rate, acute food shortage, despicably low standard of living of the masses, continuous fragmentation of holdings and steady increase in the number of landless labourers is a positive proof of the excess of number over the equilibrium norm. The rapidly increasing population has upset India's rural and urban economy. Due to poverty we have been so much crippled that both our agriculture and industries cannot be developed in the light of the modern technological methods. We are thus caught in a vicious circle so that our agriculture and industries, instead of being complimentary and mutually helpful, have become reciprocally inhibitive. It is held by the supporters of this view that in the creation and feeling of this economic deadlock the rapidly growing population is greatly responsible.

On the other hand, it is held with equal vigour that the poverty of the masses is the outcome of the sheer Imperialistic exploitation. They say that the sub-human level of existence in the country is not a proof of over-population : nor is it an index of the country's inability to support the existing size of population but it is simply the product of the present economic and social organisation which fails to utilise the natural resources of our country to supply the needs of the people. If the resources are not properly utilised, people are bound to suffer whatever be the size of population.

> "Labour and resources are like the positive and negative of electricity which do not generate power until they contact. In India, the contact is yet to be established and hence we are poor. The day when 800 million hands apply themselves with a plan to the exploitation of our resources, the poverty will disappear."

Thus, according to this school of thought, there is nothing wrong at the population end. The cry of over-population is a mere piece of British propaganda raised by the apologists of the British rule and imperialist economists contrived to shift the blame for the growing poverty in India on the Indians themselves. In brief, their considered view is that the development of India's resources has been impeded by British rule and once that is removed population will take care of itself.

As things stand at present, India is suffering from over-population, in a rather acute form. It will be idle to deny that India is suffering from a 'devastating torrent of children.' This is particularly true of the middle class families. The lower class people too, have too many children but in their case a child is an assest, for young children are made work at an early age and thus help to augment t family income.

Dr. R. K. Mukerjee has warned that the pop lation of India has increased but the food supply h not increased to the same extent. He concludes th India has fallen short of food for 48 million of t average men, provided that agriculture seasons a normal, and droughts and floods do not occur. support of his view he gives us the following table:

India's population (in 1931)—353 millions.
India's population capacity on basis of her fo supply (in 1931)—291 millions.
India's food-shortage (in 1931)—42 billion calori
India's present population (in 1935)—377 millions
India's addition to food supply (between 1931 a 1935)—30.3 billion calories.
India's present food supply—280.4 billion calories.
India's present food needs—321.5 billion calories.
India's present population capacity (1935)—3 millions.
India's present food shortage—41.1 billion calories.
Present number of "average men" estimated witho food (assuming that others obtain their norm daily ration).

Thus, according to Mukerjee, there is a food def ciency of 12 per cent for our population in a year o normal harvests.

Mr. P. K. Wattal calculated that during 1913-14 t 1935-36 population increased at a rate of nearly on per cent per annum, while the crop production disclose an average rate of increase of 0.65 per cent per annum This suggests that the increase of population has ou stripped the production of food.[3]

Prof. Gyan Chand estimated that the cultivate area increased by 11 per cent, while population multi plied by nearly 21 per cent between 100 and 1934.[4]

Dr. Thomas gives the following indices of popul tion and production during 1920-21 to 1931-32:[5]

	Population	Production— Agricultural	Industri
1920-21 to 1921-22	100	100	100
1922-23 to 1923-24	102	111	99
1924-25 to 1925-26	104	112	115
1926-27 to 1927-28	106	113	137
1928-29 to 1929-30	108	111	130
1930-31 to 1931-32	110.4	116	151
1934-35 to 1935-36	115	121	201

It follows from the above that agricultural pr duction has kept pace with population, and that in dustrial production has increased much faster th population. In the decade 1920-30, population i creased by 10.5 per cent, but agricultural productio increased by about 16 per cent and industrial produ tion by 51 per cent during the same period.

Dr. Thomas takes a thirty-year period and com

2. R. K. Mukerjee : *Food Planning for Four Hundred Millions* pp. 25-26.
3. P. K. Wattal: *Population Problem in India.*
4. Gyan Chand : *India's Teeming Millions.*
5. *Indian Journal of Economics* (Conference No., April, 1936) p. 745.

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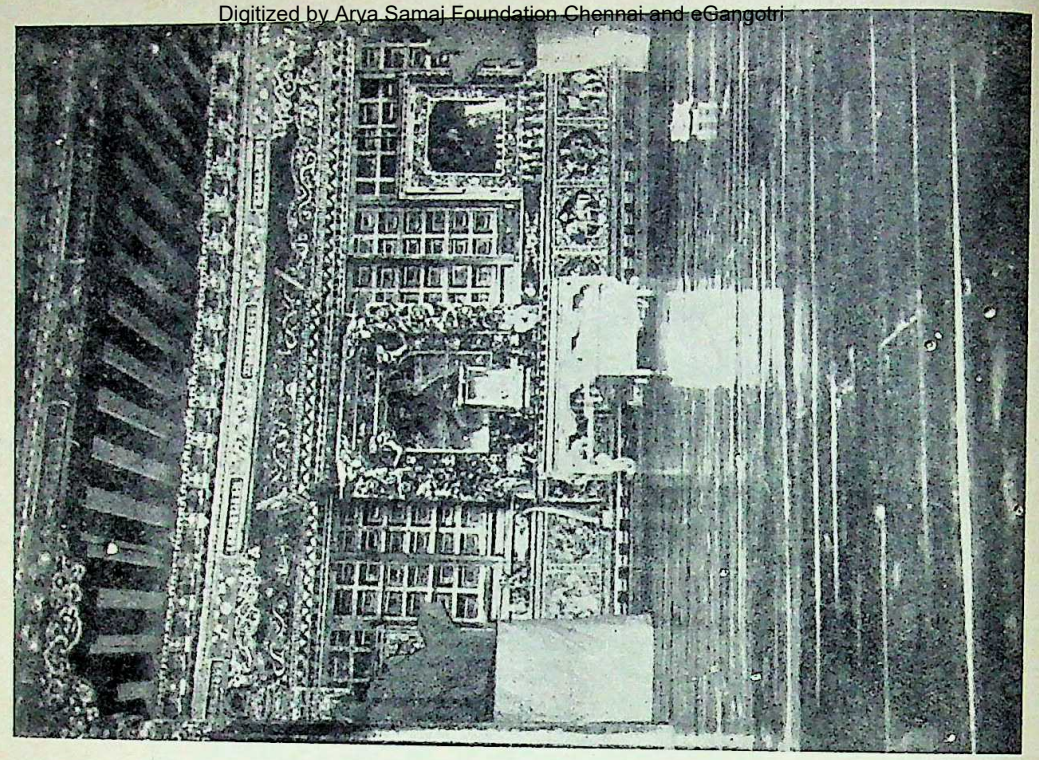
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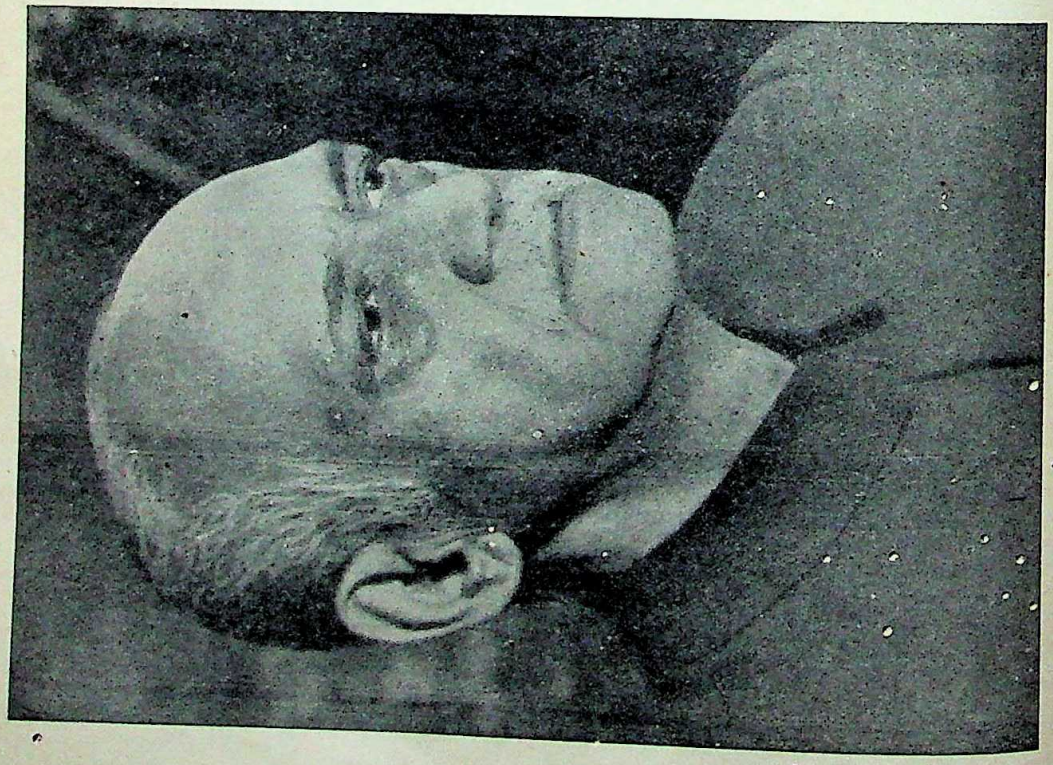
Sri Aurobindo—Lying in State

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Padmasambhava-pitha in the interior of a monastery in Tibet



Sir Jadunath Sarkar

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to the conclusion that whatever period is taken, there is no indication that population has outstripped production as shown by the following figures :

Period	Population	Agricultural production	Industrial production
1900-01 to 1904-05	100	100.0	100
1905-06 to 1909-10	104	103:0	142
1910-11 to 1914-15	107	123.5	187
1915-16 to 1919-20	103	124.5	255
1920-21 to 1924-25	109	120.0	251
1925-26 to 1929-30	113	129.0	289

From the above it is clear that during the 30 years, population increased by 19 per cent, but if the first and the last quinquennial is compared, the increase is only 13.5 per cent. Thus when population increased by 13.5 per cent production increased by 29 per cent. Dr. Thomas, therefore, believes that population has not increased faster than production in a comparative sense and holds that production has been keeping pace with population.

This fact is further proved by the following table :[6]

Commodity	Weight	1911-14	1915-19	1920-24	1925-29	1930-34
Rice	52	100	115	107	104	114
Wheat	15	100	104	107	104	116
Barley	5	100	97	89	76	77
Maize	3	100	118	105	108	112
Bajra	4	100	118	120	128	127
Jowar	8	100	125	143	164	164
Gram	7	100	109	126	104	112
Sugar	6	100	118	116	123	173
All commodities	—	100	113	111	110	120
Population	—	100	105	101	107	112

If the majority of the population in India are under-nourished, this must be, according to him, due not to the rapid increase in population, not to any lag in the food supply, but probably to the bad distribution of the present income.

The findings of the United Nations Conference on "Food and Agriculture" held at Hot Springs (in 1943) also points to the same direction. It says that

> "Three-quarters of 1,150 million inhabitants of Asia were living below decent health standards and of them India probably has the largest share."

During the war years the food situation in India worsened by acute shortage in the country of energizing foods like milk, fruits and eggs. As a result of heavy slaughter of cattle for meeting the military requirements of meat, the civilian population including the invalids and children were deprived even more of milk and fruits than food-grains.

"The situation was aggravated by complex circumstances some of which were unavoidable, but some were such as could and should have been avoided. Among the unavoidable circumstances might be mentioned natural calamities like widespread disease in the *aman* paddy crop of Western Bengal and the cyclone of October 1942, war-time curtailment of transport facilities, Government purchases for military requirements, keeping of slightly more food for their families to eat by the underfed peasants and some holding of stocks by consumers due to fear of invasion.

"Among the avoidable catastrophes were uncontrolled inflation, bottlenecks in transport arrangements, half-hearted and haphazard controls of Government over commodities in different parts of the country, lack of co-operation between Central and Provincial Governments, and between the Government and the people, and the country-wide activities of the profiteers."[7]

From the twin standpoints of direct relationship between the growth of population and of resources, as also from that of the population growth and what would be needed to produce the highest per capita income, our situation is unsatisfactory. The general conclusion to which the Famine Enquiry Commission arrived would, therefore, seem to be amply justified. They observed :

> "In relation to the existing state of development of her industrial and agricultural resources, India is, in our opinion, over-populated. Pressure of population, which of course, varies in intensity in different parts of the country, is shown and felt in various ways; by the general trend of food imports and exports; by the decrease in the size of holdings, the fragmentation of holdings—and the increase in the number of landless labourers, all related to the fact that the total area under cultivation has not increased as rapidly as the population, so that the per capita has decreased ; by continuing poverty of the mass of the people, and by the widespread existence of mal- and under-nutrition, in spite of the growth in total industrial and agricultural resources and in the total wealth of the country."[8]

The acute food-shortage has caused a serious anxiety to all. While before the war there was a "dearth of money and a deluge of food," in the post-war period there has been a "plethora of funds and a paucity of food." The war no doubt led to scarcity of food and price control drove it underground and hoarding, profiteering, blackmarketing and corruption intensified it. But the root cause of this over-all food-shortage in a predominantly agricultural country is the extremely low yields of crops and their under-production due to various causes. With the shortage of food material there is an acute shortage of prime necessaries of life and the country is faced with "a whole array of dangerous and enduring enemies—poverty, squalor, ill-health, illiteracy, under-nourishment and unemployment."

According to one estimate by Dr. Rajendra Prasad, the total all-India requirement at present is about 64 million tons of cereals while the average production is only 54 to 59 million tons including

6. Thomas and Shastry : *Op Cit.*, p. 90.

7. L. C. Jain : *Indian Economy During War*, p. 15.

8. *Famine Enquiry Commission Report*, p. 90.

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about 3 million tons of grains produced annually. Furthermore, for sometime past we are falling short even of our average annual production :[9]

Production in lakhs of tons

Average for five years ending	Rice	Wheat	Jowar and bajra	Total (4 cereals)	Difference from the average
1943-44	282	106	112	500	..
1944-45	301	106	109	516	16
1945-46	284	92	88	464	—36
1946-47	302	81	85	468	—32

Thus it will be seen that views are extremely divergent, and statistics of production have been used to support totally divergent views. To find out whether the food supply in India is adequate or not we must know accurately (*a*) the total quantity of the food available for consumption and (*b*) the actual diet requirements of the people, and with regard to both, the information we possess is extremely inadequate. But there are certain accepted facts which might help us to arrive at a conclusion. Firstly, during the past few decades, while the population of India has been increasing the increase in net area sown with crops has been extremely slow and gradual.[10] Secondly, the proportion of the total area under food crops has declined while that under commercial crops has increased. The average under food crops has not kept pace with the growth in population and there is an actual fall per head.[11]

Decade by decade we are having an increasing number of people than are necessary fully to utilise such resources of agricultural production as we have.[12]

There has been a striking deterioration in food situation. India not merely shows a deficit in quantity of food production in relation to popula increase, but steady deterioration of the quality of foodgrains. There has been a continuous increase the production of inferior foodgrains at the cos wheat and rice during the last 40 years. The follo table gives the index numbers of production of cereals between 1910-38 :[13]

Relative expansion of less nutritive cereals

Cereals	1910-15	1915-20	1920-25	1925-30	1930-35	1935-38
Superior cereals :						
Rice	100	114.0	108.4	107.2	110.2	103.5
Wheat	100	96.2	93.4	93.0	97.8	104.2
Inferior cereals :						
Jowar	100	157.4	167.0	210.8	207.8	209.7
Barley	100	224.2	202.6	172.2	173.4	157.1
Bajra	100	114.0	105.0	126.0	125.0	125.0
Maize	100	114.0	100.0	106.0	112.0	105.0

It is evident that during the period 1910-38, w the production of such cereals as rice and wheat creased by 3.5 and 4.2 per cent respectively, jowar creased by 109.7 per cent, barley by 67.1, bajra by and maize by 5 per cent. Inferior cereals are cheap to grow and this also decides the nature of consu tion of subsistence farmers.

The decline in the average per head under food cr might not mean a smaller food supply per head i had coincided with an increase in the yield of cr but there is little evidence to show that the yi per acre has increased during the past few yea The spread of improved varieties has been very s and research has been concentrated hitherto m on commercial than on food crops. Broadly, th fourths of sugarcane, half of jute and nearly fourth of wheat and cotton are under impro strains. This conclusion is borne out by the follo figures:[15]

9. N. P. Bhoumick : "Food Problem in India": *The Modern Review*, August 1950, p. 106.

10. *The Famine Enquiry Commission—Final Report* (1945), p. 78.

Year	Population in millions	Net per capita shown Average net area sown (mill. acres)	Per capita area sown (acres)
1911	231.6	208	0.90
1921	233.6	205	0.88
1931	256.8	211	0.82
1941	295.8	215	0.72

11. "During the period 1908-09 to 1917-18, 0.89 acres per head of population were devoted to food crops, while during the period 1928-29 to 1932-33, the average has sunk to 0.79 per head and to 0.61 per head in 1942-43. In fact, the population had increased by 28.7 millions but the area under food crops went up only by 2.6 million acres; only 0.09 acres per head. The non-food crops, on the other hand, kept pace with the population, the average per head being 0.044 in earlier and 0.057 in the later of the two periods."

12. W. Burns : *Technological Possibilities of Agricultural Development in India*, p. 21.

The decline in acreage per head under food crops is revealed more clearly by the following estimates made by Dr. W. Burns :

Year	Average per head under food crops (including all foodgrains—sugarcane, vegetable, fruits, condiments and spices)
1911	0.83
1921	0.86
1931	0.79
1941	0.67

13. *National Planning Committee Report* on "Population," p.

14. Yield of selected crops :

Crop	1931-33	1934-36	1937-39	1940-42
Rice	852	806	766	731
Wheat	607	639	671	764
Cotton	78	91	89	102
Groundnut	939	868	857	870
Linseed	272	238	241	260
Sugar (raw)	2,985	2,442	2,832	2,915
Jute	1,263	1,039	1,094	992

15. It has been estimated that the increased yield per acre case of improved varieties is at an average two maunds per rice, and jute; one maund for jowar and bajra; 1.75 maunds per nuts; 0.5 maund per cotton-seed and 200 maunds per sugarcane.

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Acreage in million acres

Crop	Total (acres)	Under improved variety. (acres)	Percentage under improved varieties
Rice	83.43	3.58	4.3
Wheat	33.61	6.96	20.6
Millets	38.69	0.34	—
Gram	16.90	0.33	—
Groundnut	5.86	0.22	3.4
Cotton	26.00	5.04	19.2
Jute	2.18	1.12	50.0
Sugarcane	4.00	3.22	80.0

So much about the quantitative aspect of our food situation. If we look at the qualitative aspect of the food supply position, the degree of maladjustment becomes still more acute. It is a well-known fact that mainly owing to extreme poverty of the masses and partly because she herself does not produce enough "protective food" like milk, fruits, vegetables, eggs, etc., for her people, that Indians, in general, cannot afford to have a nutritive diet. Hence, they have to remain content with a diet far below the essential required of health. A glance in the following table will reveal it (prepared by the Nutrition Advisory Commission of Indian Research Fund Association):

Articles of consumption	*Ill-balanced diet*	*Balanced diet*
Cereals	20 Ozs.	14 Ozs.
Pulses	1 „	3 „
Green and leafy vegetables	2 „	4 „
Root vegetables	2 „	6 „
Fruits	0 „	3 „
Milk	Negligible amount	10 „
Sugar and Jaggery	—	2 „
Vegetable oil, ghee	0.5 to 1.0	2 „
Fish, eggs, fruits, meat		1 Egg

Sir Byod Orr has rightly remarked in this connection that

> "Permanent under-feeding and periodic starvation is a rule in India. In normal times about 30 per cent of the population do not get 'enough' to eat, while a much larger section of the population have to be satisfied almost invariably with ill-balanced diet containing a preponderance of cereals and insufficient "protective foods" of higher nutritive value. Intake of milk, pulses, meat, fresh fruits and leafy vegetables and fish is generally insufficient."

On the basis of rationing standards, the Government of India has calculated the deficit as two million tons. What would be the deficit if we adopted the nutrition standards? Let us adopt the standard of our famous nutritionist Dr. W. R. Aykroyd and calculate the food-shortage in the country. In his "Ideal Composition of Diet" Dr. Aykroyd prescribes an intake of 19 ozs. of food-grains for every adult (his adult value is 80 per 100 of population). On that basis our food deficit comes to about 10.5 million tons for 1947-48.[16]

In this connection Dr. Aykroyd has frankly remarked:

> "To the nutrition worker our food situation in India is thoroughly unsatisfactory in normal times . . . The majority of the population lives on a diet far remote from the most moderate standards of adequate nutrition. If India depends entirely on what she can herself produce, a very large increase in the production of various foods is necessary to raise the existing standard to a satisfactory level. These may be roughly indicated as cereals 30 per cent increase, pulses 100 per cent, milk and milk products 300-400 per cent, meat, fish and eggs several hundred per cent, vegetables, particularly green leafy vegetables 100 per cent or thereabout."[17]

CRITERION OF AGRICULTURAL OVER-POPULATION

(1) *Man-Land Ratio*: Apart from the loss of equilibrium between food and population—even in the absence of adequate statistical data, there are certain symptomatic phenomena which tell us of the heavy pressure of population on land. The major effects of the incidence of the human factor on the physical basis of the country are reflected in the principal ways indicated as follows:

> "Owing to the slow rate of economic expansion, the rapidly increasing population had to remain in villages, thus causing over-crowding,[18] which reacted on the agrarian structure of the province and led to excessive splitting of the peasant properties and impoverishment of the soil."[19]

Over-population on the farm-land reduces the standard of living and cash resources of the individual peasant. Therefore no agricultural development which need capital can be carried out, the yield per acre declines, and the competition of overseas agricultural exporting countries—with technical aids at their disposal—reduces the possibilities of export at the time of fall of world prices. This in turn lowers the income per head of rural population, and reduces the internal market. Still less money is available for improvement or for education of the farming population in new directions.[20]

Since India is an agricultural country, man-land ratio is an important criterion for measuring the

16. Population in Indian Union 337 millions
Population in terms of adult-man value 269.6 „
Requirements of population in basis of 19 ozs. per adult 52.2 Tons
Production of foodgrains 47.6 „
Net supplies available (after deducting twelve and a half per cent for wastage and seed requirement) 41.7 „
Deficit foodgrains 10.5 „
—Vide: *Commerce*, 30th July, 1949

17. Vide: *Commerce*, 30th July, 1949.

18. Indian land supports a population of 148 per 100 acres as compared to 31 per 100 acres in Poland; 24 in Czechoslovakia and Hungary; 30 in Rumania; 42 in Yugoslavia; 33 in Bulgaria, 48 in Greece and 6 in U. K.

19. L. Nation: *European Conference on Rural Life*, Roland (1910), p. 9.

20. J. E. Russell: *Agrarian Problems from Baltic to Aegean.*

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pressure of population. Attempts have been made to estimate population pressure with reference to the cultivated area; 2.5 acres per capita are said to represent, according to Prof. East, the minimum size of cultivated land necessary for keeping the individual in health and efficiency.[21] Keeping in mind the fact that in many parts of India two crops are raised during the year, and that food requirements may be less in the East (due to warm climate) than in the colder countries of the West, we may safely assume that 5 acres is the minimum size of an agricultural holding necessary for the subsistence of a family of five souls. Judged by this standard of one acre of cropped land per capita the following table bears ample evidence of over-population :[22]

Provinces	Population in millions	Crop area in millions of acres	Crop area per capita in acres	Co-efficient of over population
Bengal	50.1	23.0	0.47	2.10
Bihar and Orissa	37.6	24.0	0.63	1.58
U. P.	48.4	36.0	0.74	1.35
Madras	46.7	34.0	0.74	1.35
Punjab	23.5	26.0	1.12	0.89
C. P.	15.5	24.5	1.58	0.63
Bombay	21.9	33.0	1.61	0.62

The crop area per capita in different provinces varies from 0.47 acres in Bengal to 1.6 acres in Bombay. In terms of nutritional potential this area is miserably small. Dr. O. E. Baker (Agricultural expert from U.S.A.) has calculated that the per capita requirement in respect of cultivated area for different standards of dietary is as follows :

A.	Emergency restricted diet	1.2 acres
B.	Adequate diet at minimum cost	1.8 „
C.	Adequate diet at moderate cost	2.3 „
D.	Liberal diet	3.1 „

Even for what would pass as emergency restricted diet in U.S.A., the per capita area under food in India has, it would appear, to be doubled for anything like adequacy, leave alone liberty, the whole land area of the country would not suffice if the existing population number and the yield capacity were to continue.

(2) *Increasing Subdivision and Fragmentation of Holdings* : A common feature of the agricultural land is the great reduction in the size of the holding by successive sub-division. So that not only are the holdings too small for agricultural operations, they are too small for subsistence also. The Kumarappa Industrial Survey Committee revealed that in Wardha district, the average (family) holding is not above 10 acres and may be taken as 5 to 7 acres of land.[23] The conditions are still worse in Balaghat district where the average holding per family comes to about 5 acres which is too small to maintain a family of 5 persons.[24] What is true of C. P. is also true of the other parts of India. In the densely populated parts as the Ganges-Gagra Doab, the eastern districts of U. P., South Bihar, the Padma, the Jamuna, the Cauvery and the Godawari Deltas, the fractionisation of holdings has gone to grotesque length. What is true of U.P., is also true of considerable parts of Bihar, Orissa and Madras.[25] Continuous fractionalisation of holdings restrains the small cultivator not only from adopting improved appliances and methods of cultivation and constructing wells, but also leads to abolition of fallowing and hence to soil depletion.

The extreme reduction of the size of holdings has had its repercussions on the land-lease market. It has given rise to a chain of reactions. Quick processes have set in where the peasantry are being reduced to occupancy tenants or owners of dwarf holdings, they in their turn to landless tenants who finally lose themselves in the mass of the agricultural proletariat, adding at each stage to a general deterioration of agrarian relations. The demand for land has increased and has pushed up values to a high pitch totally unrelated to the returns from land. It has given rise to an increasing number of the parasitic class, the absentee landlords.[27] Excess in demand for land over its supply has resulted in general 'land hunger' leading to rack-renting on the one hand and agrarian unrest on the other. Consequently agriculture is on a dear economy.

(3) *High Percentage of Food Crops* : Another symptom of agricultural over-population is high percentage of food crops (or a high percentage of cereal crops) in the total arable area. Climatic reasons, national commercial policy or lack of good communications, in some cases may favour the disproportionate utilisation of the arable land for the cereals. But within an agricultural region and over areas in which the natural conditions and the proportion of cereals used respectively for food and feed probably

21. *Proceedings of the World Population Conference*, p. 89.

22. R. K. Mukerjee : *Food Planning for Four Hundred Millions*, p. 7.

23. *Kumarappa Industrial Survey Committee Report*, p. 6.

24. *Ibid*, p. 59.

25. R. K. Mukerjee : *Economic Problems of Modern India*, Volume I, pp. 110-111.

26. The following table indicates the growth of agricultural proletariat in British India (in thousands) :

	1911	1921	1931
Landlords	2,845	3,727	3,25
Cultivators	71,076	74,665	61,18
Agricultural Labourers	25,879	21,676	31,48
Others (Market gardeners, cattle raisers and foresters)	5,196	4,608	6,53

27. The following table shows increase in number of non-cultivating landlords and agricultural labourers per 1000 persons engaged in cultivation in Madras :

	1901	1911	1921	1931
Non-cultivating landlord	19	23	49	9
Non-cultivating tenants	1	4	28	59
Cultivating landlords	484	426	381	12
Cultivating tenants	151	207	225	42
Agricultural labours	345	340	317	

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do not vary considerably, the percentage of area under food-crops is definitely higher in the over-populated regions.[28] In India, with a rapid population increase, the total percentages of cultivated to cultivable area have now reached the phenomenal figures of 75 to 95 per cent in the Ganges Valley. Densities of cultivation and population in many districts of the Ganges plain are extraordinary . . . Forests, meadows and marshes, all are now invaded by the plough due to population increase, which also leads to scarcity of fodder and grazing grounds.[29]

(4) *Low Yield of Crops* : Adverse natural conditions and climatic fluctuations are in some regions directly responsible for low unit yields. The population density may not have any relation with the yield in such cases. But natural factors do not entirely explain the fact that even the maxima in low unit regions remain below the optimum yield obtained in other regions of similar natural conditions. The density of population depending on agriculture in such cases have a direct bearing on the unit yield of the region. The unit yields of cereals are lower in the more purely agricultural countries than in more industrialised countries. Excessive population results in disproportionate utilization of land for cereals, unsatisfactory system of crop rotation and less possibility of recuperation of soil. In agricultural economy the cost of fertilizers and of machinery always remains high and the standard of skill is low. There is no organised accumulation of capital necessary for the introduction of technical improvements. The agricultural population falls in a vicious circle. Pressure of population on land results in low unit-yields[30] which in their turn mean more demand for food and, therefore, more pressure on land.

Pressure of Live-stock on Land

There is also a direct relation between the diminishing number of live-stock and the increasing density of human population. Owing to the pressure of population on the available land, the area under food-crops steadily encroaches upon the pasture area. Thus the high proportion of cereals usually coincides with low live-stock densities. "The competition of both the human and bovine population for maintenance on small holdings which must yield both food and fodder crops has resulted in the steady deterioration of animals' food supply and of their breed and efficiency." Vegetarianism is ultimately a result of a heavy population pressure.

It may also be stated that in spite of the much talked-of industrialisation of the country since World War I, it does not appear that rapid progress has taken place in the industrial sphere except the expansion of a few industries like cotton, jute, mineral production, iron and steel, tea, coffee, rubber and lac and recently matches, cement, and sugar under State protection. The financial market remains still primitive and undeveloped or under-developed in the matter of trade. Thus notwithstanding the growth of a few industries on modern lines, the country remains still predominantly a land of peasants with small-scale industries and the impact of demographic pressure has fallen heavily on the rural side. Prof. Mukerjee has rightly remarked :

> "In India, during the last three decades there has been a decline in the relative population of industrial employment in relation to total number of workers, this accompanying a process which may be described as decentralisation . . . This has increased the occupational unbalance in the country and the pressure on the impoverished soil."[31]

This fact is brought out clearly by the following figures :

Region	1881	1891	1901	1911	1921	1931	1941
Urban	9.2	9.5	9.9	90.6	10.24	11.08	12.75
Rural	90.8	90.5	90.1	9.4	89.76	88.02	87.25

Percentage of variation during 1881-1941: Urban 3.55 and Rural —3.55.

Effects of Over-population

When the pressure of population is very heavy on the soil, it seeks relief under certain conditions partly in migration and emigration overseas in search of employment of some economic gain.[32] Over-crowding drives people away from Oudh and the eastern districts of U.P., to the plantations of Assam, the cotton and jute mills of Bengal, and the collieries of Bihar and Orissa and Bengal. Labour flows ceaselessly from different parts to industrial centres and even to fields in harvesting operations in Bengal and Bombay. In Madras, the people of the southern districts of Tamilnad and Northern Circars have emigrated in large numbers overseas especially to Ceylon, Malaya and Burma, etc.

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28. Documept No. 1. *European Conference on Rural Life*, (1929), pp. 51-52.

29. R. K. Mukerjee : *Food Planning for Four Hundred Millions*, pp. 7-8.

30. Agricultural yield of the Principal Crops in Indian Provinces. (In lbs. per acre) :

Province	Wheat	Rice	Cotton	Groundnut	Linseed
Bengal	...	921	...	...	607
U. P.	786	629	...	...	500
Bombay	447	967	...	987	350
Madras	...	1048	88	1014	...
Orissa-Bihar	888	721	...	...	429
C. P. and Berar	444	655	101	606	215

31. R. K. Mukerjee : *Food Planning for Four Hundred Millions*, pp. xli-xiii.

32. Provinces which receive immigrants (000):

Provinces	1901	1911	1921	1931
Assam	699	757	1,140	1,241
Burma	...	...	552	593
Bengal	...	286	1,132	771
Bombay	148	351	472	597
C. P.	323	428	197	227
Punjab	185	117	79	67
Provinces which send out emigrants (in 000's)				
Madras	487	585	798	888
U. P.	895	818	974	1,063
Bihar and Orissa	...	...	1,567	1,291

—*National Planning Committee Report on Population*, p. 43.

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The combined effect of all the factors stated above,—small holdings high proportion of cereal crops, low unit yields and the low density of livestock, is mal-nutrition and under-nutrition which is a most certain symptom of over-population and an outward sign of 'hidden-unemployment.' If the arable land is preponderantly under cereals, effects of bad harvests are disastrous. Further, high proportion of cereals imply scarcity of protective foods as the Woodhead Commission remarked :

> "Wherever we find, anywhere in the world, a dense population dependent on agriculture, we also find a lack of protective foods because the pressure on land does not permit their production in sufficient quantities."

So that nutritionally the standard of diet is very low. As population pressure increases there is a tendency everywhere not only to use more carbohydrates than proteins,[33] since the former are cheaper, but also to supersede all dairy products, animal foods and fruits; and this often causes unbalance which is particularly characteristic of the poorer sections and communities. It must be conceded that Indian dietary involves a minimum land requirement, about 97 per cent of the food energy consumed by the peasant family being derived from seeds, roots and vegetables.[34]

Shifting of Population Pressure

We can, therefore, conclude, that India is suffering from agricultural over-population. Hence, the problem before us is, how to shift the excessive demographic pressure from agriculture. The pertinent question, therefore, is how to bring about a more balanced distribution of people among various occupations which will go to reduce the excessive number supported by agriculture and at the same time increase the number of persons employed in industries big and small, and services and professions. The remedy lies in *two* directions, *viz.*, industrialisation of the country which would take away the surplus people from land and a rationalisation of agriculture which will increase the yield from land; and increasing the volume of agricultural employment, we now consider these problems briefly :

(*a*) *Industrialisation as a Measure of Relieving Pressure of Land* : As long as 1880 and 1901 pointed attention was drawn to the existence of a huge number of people in excess of what was necessary for cultivation of land by the Famine Commission reports and the development of the industries as one of the ways of increasing demographic pressure on land was suggested in pursuance of which the Department of Commerce and Industries was formed at the centre in 1905. Since the Industrial Revolution and especially in the first quarter of the 20th century rapid industrialisation took place in different countries of Europe and Japan to raise the standard of living of the people and to relieve excess population from farm-land. During the post-depression years also remarkable rise in the industrial employment took place. Taking 100 as the volume of employment in 1932, the index figure of employment in industry has risen within six years to 200 in Germany, 180 in Esthonia, 161 in Holland, 153 in Hungary, 151 in Denmark, 142 in Italy, 141 in Finland, 137 in Norway and 117 in Poland. For the whole of Europe (excluding Russia) the index had gone up to 140 by 1938. It is because of this industrial development that the percentage of people engaged in agriculture shows a decline in many European countries.[35] In this light the potentialities of India's advancement are not fully exploited. If 100 is taken as the index number of industrial employment (being the average for 5 years 1909-1913) after a period of 19 years it rose by 85 points, the index number of industrial employment in 1937 being 185. The number of workers employed in large-scale industries from decade to decade are given in the table below :

Number of workers in Large-scale Industries
(in lakhs)

Year	Mines	Factories	Plantations	Railway	Total
1901	0.88	4.70	6.38	3.70	15.66
1911	3.07	7.90	7.41	5.43	23.12
1921	3.55	12.30	10.02	7.49	31.19
1931	3.45	15.20	10.80	7.77	35.81

From these statistics it would be clear that the industries which have been established or developed since 1901 have provided employment only for 2 million persons or less than 1/20 of population increase since 1901. It is true that there are possibilities of establishing and developing of basic large-scale industries to cater India's requirements for capital goods and defence, such as for manufacture of plant and machinery, automobiles, ships, aircrafts, heavy chemicals, engineering and scientific instruments, etc., besides a good number of other commodities for which India has to rely on foreign countries. It must be noted that as the purchasing power of the people

33. Proteins from—

	Relative nutritive value
Fish, meat, milk, egg	100
Rice	88
Potato	79
Pea, pulse	56
Wheat and maize	10 & 20

34. The following table gives a comparison of the sources of food energy for the peasantry in India, China and U.S.A.:

Proportion of calories from different classes of food

	U.P.	Punjab	China	U.S.A.
Seeds	93.6	75.1	89.8	38.7
Roots and vegetables	3.8	0.3	8.9	9.0
Animal (meat, fish & dairy produce)	0.7	14.9	1.0	39.2
Sugar	0.1	9.2	0.2	10.1
Fruits	0.1	0.3	3.2	3.0
Fats (vegetables)	1.7	0.2	1.8	...

—R. K. Mukerjee: *Food Planning for Four Hundred Millions*, p. 127.

35. Nanavati and Anjaria: *Indian Rural Problem*, p. 359.

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increases, their standard of living will rise which will be reflected in the increased demand for consumption goods inevitably widening the orbit of industrial expansion.

However, judging from the volume of employment accorded by the industrial progress already made between 1901 to 1931, the possibilities of absorption of a great number of persons through the establishment of large-scale industries do not appear very large. According to Sir M. Visvesvaraya we can only expect the population supported by industries—big and small—to increase from 35 to 85 million. Even if this is realised, it is maintained that only one-fifth of the people may be absorbed in industries, leaving about four-fifths to eke out their living on land.[36]

In the sphere of industrialistion the emphasis must be laid on the rapid growth of small and cottage industries as a measure of providing employment for a large number of people in the countryside. Such cottage industries and medium scale industries worked by power wherever possible, which can be combined with farming so as to provide work in the spare time of the rural people, will have to be fully developed or made more paying. The development of the 'agro-industries' is the most important step towards relieving the pressure on land. By 'agro-industry' we mean "factory located close to the farm and both managed in organic relation to one another."[37] A programme of combined development of agriculture and rural industry will lead to integration of labour and establish 'a really balanced and wholesome national economy.'[38] The main purpose of agro-industry should be to process farm products and work in association with large holders of land and co-operative farms and societies. The Famine Enquiry Commission remarked :

> "Such a combined development would result in an increase in the productivity of land, an improvement in the supply of cattle feed and oil for human consumption and an expansion in the volume of non-agricultural employment in rural areas."[39]

The important farm products which can be processed in the rural areas and which can be developed into agro-industry are the rice and flour millings, sugar processing, cotton ginning, handloom spinning and weaving, paddy husking, gur making, poultry rearing, firing and manufacture of tea, preparation of cream and butter, fruit canning and preservation, preparation of jam, *achar*, *murabba* and pickles, milk condensation and powder making, tobacco industries, basket and paper-making, bee-keeping, soap-making, oil crushing, etc. Such small-scale industries, when they come to be established, will provide the most necessary link between agriculture and large-scale industries and will narrow down the gap between rural and urban incomes and living conditions by reducing the undue pressure on land and by providing another source of income to the rural population.[40]

The rural industries would create a further demand for capital goods like machine tools and motors and for partly manufactured goods like yarn, steel strips, non-ferrous metals, leather, rubber, glass, etc. The income derived from these would further enlarge the consumer's markets for large-scale industries producing consumption goods, such as sugar, cement, shoes, textiles and steel girders, etc. Describing the experiences of rural industrialisation in Europe Dr. Mukerjee writes :

> "Rural industrialisation in a number of countries in Europe has brought about such an intimate relationship between agriculture and industry that it is at times difficult to draw the line between the spheres of the two. Industry helps in the handling of produce, supply the firm with fertilizers, feeding stuffs, machinery and other subsidiaries and materials. On the other hand, agriculture supplies industry with some of its raw materials. Dairies and milk condensation and powder factories, factories for the preparation of organic therapeutic products, the edible oil industry, milling, canning chocolate and tobacco industries are all the outcome of correlation between agriculture and industry in Europe."[41]

With a new orientation and co-ordination between agriculture and industry on the one hand and the village and the city on the other, the establishment of a similar harmony of interests between the rural and urban areas in India is not difficult of achievement, so that "the science and the technique of the city will utilise the resources and raw materials and replenish the wealth of the village more than it will exhaust and its life will stmulate the minds and enlarge the vision of a far greater number of people than it will warp or repress."[42]

Diversification of the industries has also been claimed as an important weapon for lowering the pressure on land. With a variety of occupations, drought and failure in agriculture would not have meant such aggravation of poverty and unemploy-

36. According to the *Industrialists' Plan* about 58 per cent of the people have to subsist on agriculture after the execution of the plan :

Occupations.	1931		1941	
	Millions	Per cent	Millions	Per cent
Agriculture	106.3	72	129.7	58
Industries	22.1	15	57.9	26
Services	19.2	13	34.7	16
Total working population	147.6	100	222.3	100
Total population	338.1	...	494.0	...

—Vide : *Industrialists' Plan*, Part II, pp. 8-9.

37. *The Famine Enquiry Commission Report*, p. 307.

38. S. N. Agarwal : *The Gandhian Plan*, p. 60.

39. *Ibid*, p. 307.

40. T. R. Sharma : *Location of Industries in India*, p. 227.

41. R. K. Mukerjee : *Man and His Habitation*, p. 15.

42. *Ibid.*

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-ment and dislocation of credit and finance. In a period of glut of agricultural production in the world the fall in income from agriculture might have been offset by better prices of industrial products. Industrialisation in the villages can be greatly promoted by hydro-electricity in India, absorbing the surplus of the agricultural labour population or maintaining a class of half-and-half labourers, half-agricultural, half-industrial as in Belgium and Czecho-Slovakia. As concentrated urban industrialisation has fostered population increase by creating a steady continuous demand for cheap labour and breaking up the social order, the decentralisation and ruralisation of industries would, besides relieving the pressure on land, tend towards a general improvement of the standard of living and check multiplication and disintegration of the stable forms of family, village and social structure in India associated with the present unhappy phase of economic development in the country.[43]

Reorganisation of Agriculture

The main point that emerges out of the preceding discussion is that India has to remain largely as an agricultural country even after her ambitious schemes of industrialisation are materialised. The whole agrarian system needs re-organisation according to the present-day needs and conditions on improved lines. This would include an increase in the net returns, reduction of production costs, better standard of living for the farmer, less arduous work for the head of the undertaking and considerable saving of labour whether paid or supplied by the family. The reorganisation of agriculture will have to be made on the following lines :

(*i*) Firstly, by intensification of utilisation of land already in use. This can be affected through improved methods in agriculture, such as improved methods of manuring, use of improved kinds of seeds, better farming, cultivation of heavy crops requiring additional application of labour and capital.

(*ii*) Secondly, by removing certain obstacles for the full utilisation of land resources through a radical scheme of reforms and effective planning with regard to land tenures, tenancy, ownership of land, size of holdings, inheritance, agricultural indebtedness, illiteracy and so on.

(*iii*) Thirdly, by extension of land use through bringing more areas under cultivation by means of expansion of irrigation works, establishment of land colonies, and converting of areas now less economically used into more economic and income yielding uses.

It is difficult to say what will be the proportion of people who will be found competent and quickly adjust themselves to their new occupations, to the total number of persons released from agricultu... The measure designed to correct the defects wou... not yield the same results without certain necessa... pre-requisites, such as, for example, the correspondi... growth of co-operatives, vocational and gene... instructions in rural schools and associations. Hen... if a rapid revolution, both agricultural and industri... is to be brought about, it is necessary that a pro... outlook should be developed among the people.

Change in Crop Planning

It is a well-known fact that not only are t... present average crop yields per acre very low, t... the existing distribution of arable land under t... various crops does not give the maximum food valu... which it is perfectly possible to obtain even w... these low levels of yield by a judicious crop pla... ning. The following table is very significant in t... respect :[44]

Food Values per Acre

	Rice	Wheat	Potatoes	Sweet potatoes	Tapioca	Plantin...
Estimated yield per acre (in maunds)	10	10	50	50	50	224
Protein yield (kilograms)	31	43	29	22	13	56
Carbo-hydrate yield (kilograms)	284	258	416	563	522	1190
Calories per day (in thousand)	1280	1260	1790	3880	2880	5040

Researches of experts like Dr. Aykroyd indicate that what India needs is really not more of cereals such as wheat, rice and ragi, but a more balanced diet. According to Sir John Russell, "The well-balanced diet does not require more but less cereals than at present, but it includes more of everything else, especially of vegetables, fruits and milk." The objective, therefore, in India should be to produce more of these supplementary and protective foods and to release more and more land for their production by increasing the yield of foodgrains on the lands on which they are cultivated. Dr. Mukerjee also holds the same opinion that the aim should be to counteract the present food deficiency and unbalance and to secure more protein from every unit of land. In this respect it is interesting to note what Mr. Afzal Hussain has remarked about increasing the food supply by developing proper cropping schemes. He has suggested tentative lines for redistribution of crops which may result in increasing the present supplies per 100 acres available for human consumption, of protein by 16 per cent, carbo-hydrate by 9 per cent, fat by 63 per cent, and calories by 3 per cent. The redistribution of crops he has suggested is shown in the table given below :[45]

43. R. K. Mukerjee : *Food Planning for Four Hundred Millions*, p. 210.

44. *Famine Enquiry Commission Report.*

45. *Famine Enquiry Commission Report.*

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Yield of food values per 100 acres of cultivated area under existing distribution of crops per 100 acres of sown area

(Average of five years ending 1938-39)

	Cereals	Pulses	Tubers*	Oil seeds†	Total	Milk
Area (acres)	64	11	Negligible	7	82	11.5 tons per 100 acres
Protein (lbs.)	4442	1152	....	880	6478	979
Carbo-hydrate (lbs)	34018	3432	....	805	38255	1262
Fat (lbs.)	641	194	....	1431	2266	1417
Calories (in 000's)	72448	9141	....	8876	90465	9837
(Under proposed distribution of crops)						
Area (acres)	45	13	5	14	77	18.4 tons per 100 acres
Protein (lbs.)	3110	1366	400	1769	6637	1713
Carbo-hydrates (lbs.)	23919	4057	12219	1610	41805	2209
Fats (lbs.)	450	230	1	2862	3543	2479
Calories (in 000's)	50940	11203	34000	17752	113895	17215

* Excluding castor-seed and coconut.

† Represents potatoes, sweet potatoes, tapioca and banana.

Whether redistribution to the extent suggested by Mr. Hussain is practicable within the present framework of rural economy and social structure and with the existing resources of irrigation, manures and farm equipments, is very doubtful. But it is clear that there is tremendous scope for increasing food supply in the country—for everyone to have a balanced diet—by switching over emphasis in production from cereals to other vegetable and animal goods.

Migration or Immigration

When all the measures outlined above are found inadequate to relieve population pressure, it appears inevitable that the surplus population seek an outlet by migration or emigration. A more expedient solution may be found in some kind of internal redistribution of population. In view of the heavy pressure on land in certain provinces it is necessary that planned migration should take place from the heavily populated regions to the sparsely populated parts of the country. Generally speaking the U.P., Bihar and Orissa, Bengal and Madras have all over-stepped an equilibrium density, and it is the heavy and differential population pressure which explains emigration from these areas to the less thickly populated provinces. Amongst these Assam and Central Provinces may be said to be under-populated, although an optimum density may have been outstripped even in some under-populated provinces. Here large acres of waste-lands which are available for cultivation but not taken up and abandoned, exists, which can be brought under plough through measures of land reclamations, agricultural engineering and irrigation; and planned migration from the densely populated parts should be directed for agricultural colonization. New township should be developed in sparsely populated parts by providing all available facilities to the colonists.

Besides internal migration, overseas emigration is also an important factor in relieving population pressure.

There are such countries in the world as Brazil which has a population of hardly 12 persons per sq. mile; the U.S.A. a population of little more than 40 per sq. mile; Canada and Australia of as little as 2 or 3 per sq. mile; Argentina and other countries in Africa a little more. Whereas, on the other hand, India has an average density of 246 per sq. mile. Even recognising the force of climatic factors which would not suit Indian immigrants and settlers in lands like Canada, ample room is nevertheless available in countries more congenial to Indian conditions like Brazil, Central American or West Indian region, the Guinea coast of Africa and Zanzibar region. Given free opportunities of migration, the Indian peasant with his traditional skill and method of rice culture may introduce a new era of prosperity in these lands, as his dry crops like oilseeds and cotton, and dry cereals like jowar and bajra may prove a god-send to such sparsely populated regions as Sudan, Nigeria, Mozambique, Madagascar and Northern Australia.

But immigration of population on a large scale to other countries is not likely to help our problem, unless the world conscience is roused to a full appreciation of this problem, and International Migration is permitted. The Immigration Laws must therefore be revised by common consent. Unless a world-wide movement is adopted to redistribute by concerted action the entire population of the globe with a view to adjust man-power to the material resources in every corner of the earth, the population problem of the thickly peopled countries like China and India would be all but impossible to solve. The fate of these countries would be recurrent scourges of nature like war, pestilence, epidemics and famines, which may deplete their numbers by brute force or at least keep them in some check.

Conclusion

To sum up then, the problem of demographic pressure on land is not only one of provision of full employment to the rural people but is also essentially one of arriving at a balanced system of occupational distribution of population and full utilisation of natural resources together with the provision of well-balanced diet to the masses for an all-round growth and progress of the country. This all-important question can be tackled only by a well-planned development *pari passu* of industry and agriculture in such a way that the two supplement and complement each other, rather than the one ousting out the other. With the rapid economic advancement of the country, the poverty of the people will vanish and the standard of living will rise and there will be an expanded field for almost all occupations—transportation, trade, finance, public service, professional service and personal and domestic service—to absorb an increased number of the growing population.

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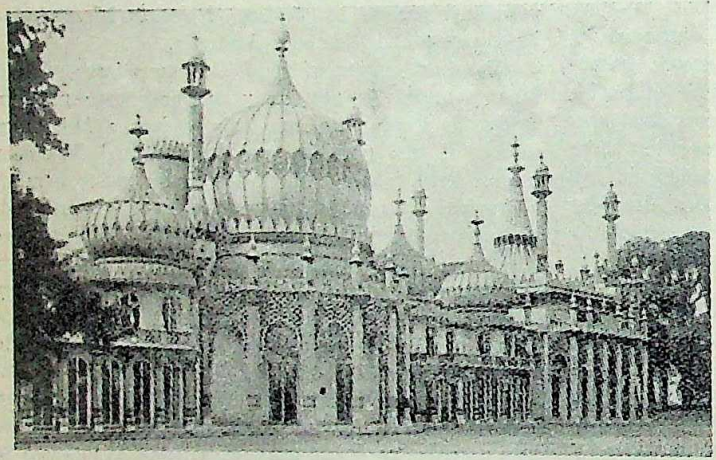
LONDON BY THE SEA

Regency Brighton

By Major D. GRAHAM POLE

See Naples—and die. This famous tribute to the beauties of Naples is one that could never have been made of Brighton. The impact of Brighton, with its marvellous, invigorating air, is all the other way—see her and live!

It was a wonderful day for England when in the autumn of 1783 George, Prince of Wales, first descended upon Brighthelmston. Only a month before he had come of age. It is impossible not to see the finger of fate in this conjunction of events. For his real contribution to history—his and our heritage—is that he was to prove the most artistic Prince who ever succeeded to the Throne of England. More than that he was to create something unique in European art, the Pavilion at Brighton. One of his predecessors—Charles the First—was his equal in taste. But he never had the opportunities for its exertion which George when Prince of Wales was able to take so freely. Charles was poor, diffident, and beset by circumstances which gave him no peace. With George it was quite otherwise. He had time on his hands and where money was concerned he was in a strong position. Nearly thirty years were to pass between the date of his first visit to Brighton and the beginning of his Regency in 1811. During most of that time, after the Hanoverian fashion, he would be at loggerheads with the King his father and—as a consequence in those days—the great hope of the Opposition. It followed from this that it would often pay both King and Parliament to buy him off and settle his debts.



The Royal Pavilion, Brighton

Three years after his first visit to Brighton the Prince began the building of his fabulous Pavilion. It became an obsession which lasted till within three years of his death. (Suddenly he took himself off and never returned. What was the reason? Some say that like many an artist he had lost interest in his creation now that it was finally completed. Unkind contemporaries declare that he took a dislike to the place after finding the word 'Unpaid' scrawled across one of his beautiful mirrors.)

The building of the Pavilion nearly rivalled Solomon's Temple in the years which it took to come to perfection. In all it cost the Prince Regent about half a million pounds sterling—and twenty years after his death it was sold to the people of Brighton for the ridiculous sum of £50,000! This summer saw the centenary of Brighton's ownership and a wonderful exhibition of Regency furniture and costume has been staged in the Pavilion. The interior decoration of the State Rooms has been cleaned and restored to its original condition—wall paintings and chandeliers and beautiful spode lamps have returned from Buckingham Palace—and altogether to enter the Pavilion now is to step back into the day when the Prince himself presided. But the spirit of a place is not to be met in any collection of contemporary objects. At the Pavilion, upstairs and in an otherwise denuded room, it springs at you from the wall! Here is a painting by a modern artist and it is a satire in the grand manner. It is described as an 'Allegory: H.R.H. the Prince Regent awakening the Spirit of Brighton.' The artist was Rex Whistler who was killed in France soon after D-Day. Before he went to France he was stationed at Brighton and painted this picture on a wall in the house where he was billeted.

I have tried in vain to discover a photograph of this painting. Yet how convey an impression of its gaiety and exuberance? It parodies of course the Eros and Psyche legend. George, be-winged and trailing chiffon, has swooped down upon a sleeping nymph whose girdle is inscribed 'Brighthelmston'. The nymph sleeps with her hands clasped above her head. It is night and the Plough is over-head. Masted ships stand out to sea and a shrub to the left or a plant at the foot recall the Italian manner. The composition itself is as bold as Titian. It is in the detail that the humour lies. Thus George improbably wears his buckled shoe and kneels on crimson velvet. His left hand raises a conspiratorial finger. Funniest of all is the painting of the eye. The pupil is high-lighted, has slid right round into its corner, whence it seems to spill over in an evil sparkle! Impossible to convey the authority, the triumphant satire! (What a pity Rex Whistler was lost in the waste of war. But it is some comfort to feel how he must have exulted at being sent to Brighton.

The Prince Regent—as he is generally known although

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the Regency lasted only for nine years—certainly 'awakened' Brighton. Until the eighteenth century she had had little history. Her inhabitants engaged in fishing and in resisting the encroachments of the sea. No mediaeval building survived—except the church of St. Nicholas—because in the sixteenth century the town had been raided and burned by the French. In the seventeenth century when history did catch up with her, it came in disguise. Charles the Second escaping after his defeat at Worcester, spent a night at Brighthelmston and sailed next day for France in a boat commanded by a local skipper. And at the opening of the eighteenth century, great storms had caused such distress that collections were taken up in churches throughout England to provide money for the building of wooden breakwaters. Very different would be the scene at the close of the century. Poverty-stricken Brighthelmston would have become Brighton, the most fashionable resort in Europe.

Brighton owes the beginning of her prosperity to a Doctor Russell who is not nearly so well remembered as he deserves to be. He was a native of Lewes, the county town of Sussex, and a Fellow of the Royal Society. In 1753, he published a book entitled *A Dissertation Concerning the Use of Sea Water in Diseases of the Glands.* Though nobody reads it now, this was an epoch-making book. It called attention *for the first time* to the health-giving nature of sea water. Even the drinking of it was recommended. Above all—in the light of after events—it recommended sea bathing. Thus he introduced the idea of the sea-side resort and the sea-side holiday.

At about the same time as he published his book, Doctor Russell discovered the existence of a 'chalybeate' spring in Brighthelmston. In an age of spas, this was a great advantage to the town. The doctor sent his patients there and himself built a house on the Steine—only the second one to be built there. This far-famed spot, soon to see the rise of the Pavilion and many attendant beautiful houses—was then a rough sea-swept common. (Steine is an ancient word for stone). Fishermen spread their nets out to dry and pigs scavenged around the boats.

Thirty years after the publication of Doctor Russell's book, the Prince arrived in Brighthelmston, as the guest of his uncle the Duke of Cumberland, who had rented a farm house to the north of the Steine. In the intervening years the virtues of sea-bathing had become generally accepted. (Without reference to times or seasons! People bathed before breakfast, in the dark of a November morning, if it was thought to be good for them). The Prince became a bather. He suffered from goitre, behind that high stock which he always wore, and perhaps he hoped that the sea-water would cure him. The bathing beaches of Brighton and the famous 'dippers'—attendants whose job it was to duck the visitors, few of whom could swim—have often been written about. But it is worth recording that the Prince's attendant was devoted to him. Once he went out after George (who could swim) and dragged him back by the *ear* to safety when he had rushed to come in! Years later, when the Prince was gravely ill, he tramped all the way to London to enquire after him.

Sea-bathing had been drawing the people to Brighton, but as yet no one seemed to have a value for the sea itself. There was no promenade, no carriage way along the front, and the first houses to be built at that end of the Steine had their backs to the sea! Visitors put up with rough accommodation in fishermen's cottages and, with regard to the general impression of the place, Doctor Johnson's growling comment was probably apt: he found it 'so truly desolate that if one had a mind to hang oneself for desperation on being obliged to live there, it would be difficult to find a tree on which to fasten the rope.'



Regency Square, Brighton

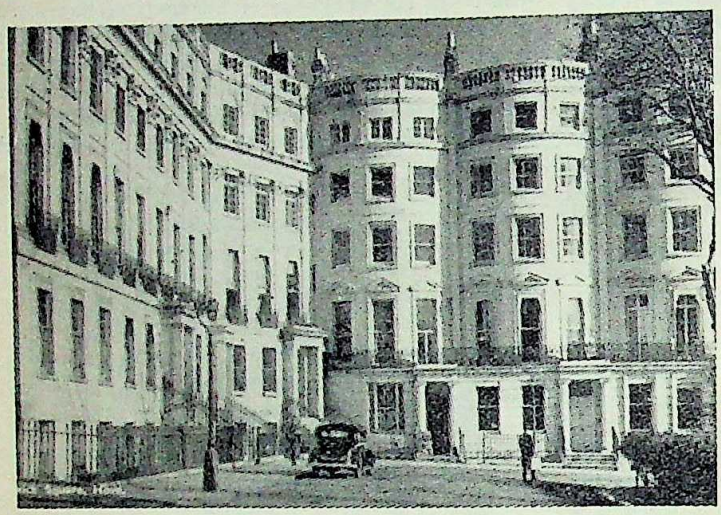
The building of the Pavilion was to burst on Brighton like a revelation. For forty-one years it would be the Prince's pre-occupation. During that time he would invite many different architects to Brighton, chase perfection endlessly in his experiments in interior decoration, encourage the fashion in landscape gardening which was later to give an added charm to the suburbs—to Lewes Crescent in Kemp Town and to Adelaide Crescent in Hove. Every contemporary architect of note would come to Brighton, or influence the building of the houses in Brighton.

To build the Marine Pavilion, as it was first styled, the Prince employed Henry Holland, the architect of

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Drury Lane Theatre in London. It was a simple building in the prevailing classical mode, with a rotunda, bow windows and iron balconies. Later green-painted, tent-shaped, iron canopies were set above the balconies. This attractive idea of canopied balconies was to become a characteristic of Brighton. When twelve years later the Royal Crescent was built—the first houses to face the sea—it reproduced the bow windows and the canopied balconies. So did Bedford Square and Regency Square which closely followed. Indeed a canopy can have such charm that it was later developed and became a more important feature than the balcony itself which either did not exist or had been narrowed into insignificance. In Montpellier Villas, built long after the Regency and in 1845, the canopied bow windows give the houses an indescribable settled grace.



Brunswick Square, Hove

In 1802, Holland added new wings to the Pavilion. These were later to disappear, when the Music Room and Banqueting Room replaced them but the year marks a turning point in the history of the Pavilion and for quite another reason. The Prince received a gift of Chinese wall-paper which decided him to re-decorate the whole place in the Chinese fashion. For years there had been a vogue for Chinese art in England. It had led to the design of Chinese Chippendale furniture and, more entrancingly, to the erection of the Pagoda in Kew Gardens in London. But only at the Pavilion was the expression of these Chinese influences to attain such perfection that, in the words of Mr. Clifford Musgrave its historian, it remains 'the greatest monument of *chinoiserie* in the Western world.' The Prince Regent has often been criticised for his extravagance. He has been accused of fickleness because sometimes he changed a scheme of decoration as soon as it had been completed. But to quote Mr. Musgrave again: 'When one learns . . . how often these alterations were in the direction of greater subtlety of colour, from red to pink, or from blue to lilac, one realises how sensitive and faultless was the taste of the person directing the decorations.'

No sooner had Holland added new wings to the Pavilion than the Prince decided to build a Riding House and Stables. But instead of employing Holland again, who might have harmonized the neighbouring buildings, he commissioned an architect who built him his stables in Indian style. The main feature of the new building was its high and wonderful dome and which made the Pavilion inevitably look 'quite collapsed.' As a result, and not very surprisingly, it would not be many years before the Prince was employing a third architect—Nash this time, most famed of all Regency architects—to bring the appearance of the Pavilion into harmony with its stables.



Pavilion and South Gate, Brighton

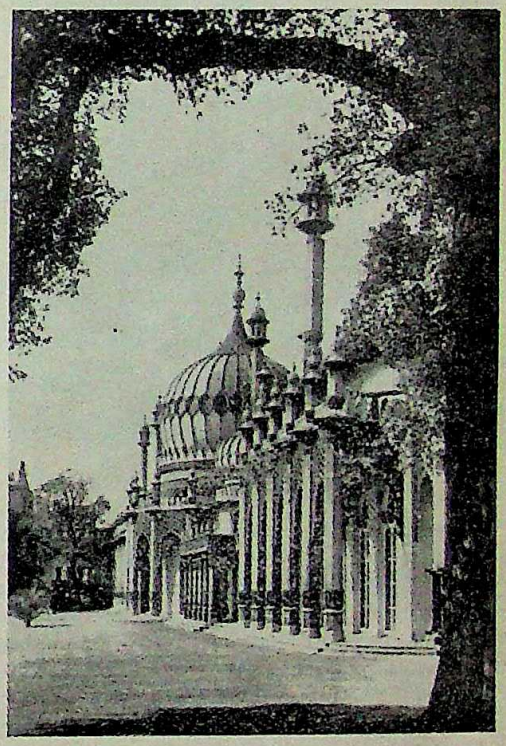
All this headlong plunging into architectural experiment is very typical of the Regency. Classical, Gothic, Chinese, Indian—the contemporary architect would use any style he felt appropriate. A very engaging personality whom the Prince consulted at this time was Humphry Repton. He was both architect and landscape gardener and had been employed in the latter capacity at a villa at Sezincote in Gloucestershire, which had also been built in the Indian style. The Prince asked him to produce plans for Pavilion in the Indian manner but finan-

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difficulties intervened and in the end the commission was given to Nash. However Repton was famous enough in his day and perhaps it is worth giving him a moment. (Readers of Jane Austen will remember that his name crops up in *Mansfield Park* when the 'improvements' at Sotherton are under discussion). The idea behind landscape gardening was to break away from the old formal arrangements of flat planted spaces and confining hedges. The garden was to be viewed as a whole and 'all nature was a garden.' In their eagerness to create these private landscapes the gardeners were often capable of the wildest schemes. Repton has been caricatured by a contemporary and this is supposed to be him speaking: 'Accord me your permission to wave the rod of enchantment over your grounds. The rocks shall be blown up, trees shall be cut down, the wilderness and all its goats shall vanish like mist . . . It was reserved for the exclusive genius of the present times, to invent the noble art of picturesque gardening, which has given, as it were, a new tint to the complexion of nature, and a new outline to the physiognomy of the universe!' What fun they had in the spacious days of the Regency!

In 1811, when he became Regent, the Prince appointed Nash to be his Surveyor-General. He, of course, was the architect of London's Carlton House Terrace, Regent Street and the terraces of Regent's Park. And in 1815, the year of Waterloo, he began work at Brighton. The outcome was the Pavilion as we know it today. Nash must have had extraordinary genius. After building a Banqueting Room and a Music Room at either end of the East Front, adding an Entrance Hall and Long Gallery to the West Front, with a Great Kitchen to the side—at the same time maintaining Holland's original Pavilion intact—he somehow managed to organize the whole of the exterior into its present beautifully balanced, satisfying, unified Indian whole. How proud the Prince must have been of him—and yet in his own time, and almost to our own, it was the habit to dismiss the Pavilion merely as a 'folly.' By 1821, the Pavilion was finally completed and the inhabitants of Brighton were allowed to come in and look round. What did they make of the Chinese interior, of the wall paintings in one of which Lady Conyngham, the last love of the Prince, is depicted as a Chinese bride? Did the older ones amongst them detect a likeness to the youthful Mrs. Fitzherbert, which some have thought was the secret of her attraction? In these notes I have not touched on the unhappy private life of the Prince Regent and his tragic marriage to Mrs. Fitzherbert. The facts are now generally known. Early in the present century the publication of the certificate established once and for all that the marriage took place on 21st December, 1785. (A marriage valid in the sight of God but not legal, since by the Royal Marriages Act—devised by George the Third—no marriage contracted by a member of the royal family could be valid without the King's consent. George would never have agreed to Mrs. Fitzherbert. She was a commoner but worst of all a Papist). Ten years after the marriage the Prince, in order to settle his debts which amounted to £460,000, agreed to marry the dismal Caroline of Brunswick. And within a year of that marriage he was drawing up his Will—since published—in which he referred to Mrs. Fitzherbert as 'my Maria, my Wife, my Life, my Soul' and directed that 'the picture of my beloved Wife, my Maria Fitzherbert, may be interred with me, suspended round my neck with a ribbon, as I used to wear it when I lived, and placed right upon my heart.' Lady Hertford and Lady Conyngham were to oust Mrs. Fitzherbert. Yet it is all inexplicable. For on his deathbed George the Fourth urged Wellington to make sure that nothing about his person would be disturbed. And when George had died, Wellington, stooping to see what it was that sparkled on his breast, saw that it was a miniature of Mrs. Fitzherbert.



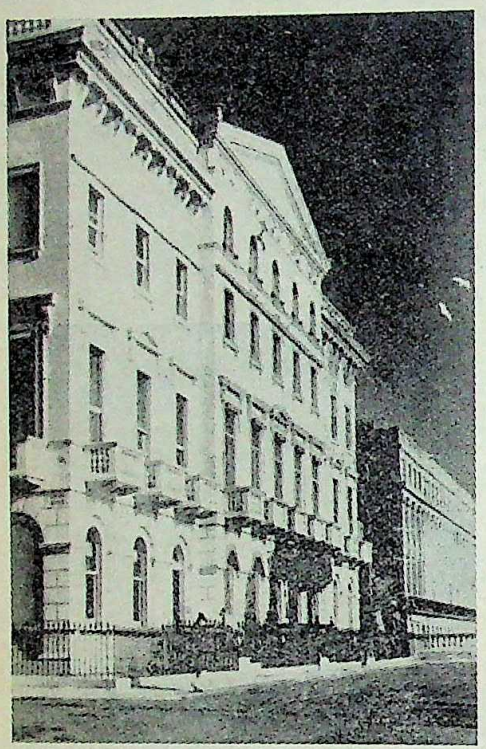
The Royal Pavilion, Brighton

Anyway, Mrs. Fitzherbert is a character that cannot be passed by in considering the history of Brighton. She lived there most of her life and even after the Prince had broken with her. She helped to establish the Roman Catholic Church in Bristol Road—which is a very beautiful little church and possesses, aside from some excellent painting, two remarkable sculptured works. One is the monument to Mrs. Fitzherbert herself. She is depicted as a veiled kneeling figure and on her left hand her three wedding rings—she had been widowed twice before she married the Prince—are clearly shown. The other sculpture is in the baptistry and is a sculptured group of the Baptism of Christ. Both works are by Carew and the Baptism

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is generally agreed to be his masterpiece. Carew, incidentally, is responsible for the best part of the Nelson monument in Trafalgar Square—the plaque depicting the death of Nelson.



Adelaide Crescent and Brunswick Terrace, Hove

No notes about Brighton would be complete without some comment on its three most famous ventures in house-building—Lewes Crescent, Brunswick Square and Brunswick Terrace, and Adelaide Crescent. Lewes Crescent, as the Kemp Town estate is generally known, begins in two terraces facing the sea—Arundel and Chichester Terrace—and from these terraces the wings of a crescent —Lewes Crescent—open out into a large square, Sussex Square. It is a perfectly lovely design. The wings of the crescent seem to be dancing back from the Sea. And in the midst of it is a piece of landscape gardening which has captured a bit of the downs. In this estate all the beauty is in the lay-out. Close to, the houses are splendid but uninteresting. The architects, Wilds and Busby, had a strange task. They designed the facades of the houses and the glorious lay-out. The insides of the houses were left to the choice of the prospective owner. The Kemp Town estate, in its hey-day, had many aristocratic tenants. They included the Duke and Duchess of Fife, King Edward VII, Queen Alexandra, the French King Louis Philippe, and the Sassoons (who added to its architectural riches their own private mausoleum).

The Kemp Town estate was begun in 1823. In the following year the same architects embarked on Brunswick Town (as it was first called following the precedent of Kemp Town). Brunswick Square is open at the south to the sea where the east side of the square is flanked by Brunswick Terrace. The Terrace is particularly attractive and shows the influence of Nash's Carlton House Terrace. As in that terrace the houses have a soldierly processional appearance. Brunswick Square was meant to be residential but the Terrace was for visitors. The most distinguished of these were Princess Lieven and the Austrian Chancellor, Prince Metternich.

Adelaide Crescent was begun in the reign of William the Fourth and the architect was Decimus Burton who designed the entrance to the park at Hyde Park Corner in London. The idea seems to have been similar to that of Lewes Crescent, but building was slow and hung fire. Only ten houses, on the east side of the square, were built by Burton and those on the west side are considered to be greatly inferior to his work. (It is fitting that Regency architecture should peter out here. Adelaide Crescent is well into Hove which always feels like a bourgeois suburb compared with cosmopolitan Brighton).

And here we must say good-bye to Brighton: A lovely Regency town, set so surprisingly by the sea, and which has given and continues to give health and pleasure to literally millions of people.

London, 29th September, 1950.

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UNITED NATIONS CAMPAIGN FOR HEALTH

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By DAVID PERLMAN

I

Hub-deep in jungle muck, a bullock cart strains along a trail through India's Jaipur Hills. Perched in back, bouncing sorely against a drum of the insecticide DDT sits a young Canadian doctor. He is on his way to battle. The enemy: malaria. Its toll, all over the world: 300,000,000 casualties a year, 3,000,000 deaths.

Halfway around the globe, in Staten Island, part of New York City, a laboratory technician opens a cable from Geneva, Switzerland. The message is an order to invent a new weapon against an enemy that has scourged the world for centuries. The enemy: syphilis. Its toll: 50,000,000 cases a year, 2,000,000 deaths, 1,000,000 tainted babies.

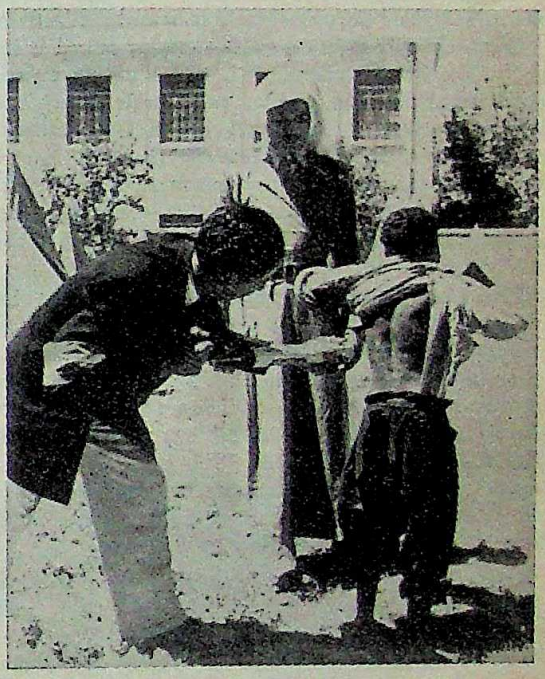
A U.S. Air Force plane rests on a runway at Copenhagen, Denmark, its paint still dingy from the Berlin Air Lift. This time it has a new mission, flying vaccine supplies. The enemy: tuberculosis. Its toll: 50,000,000 cases a year, 5,000,000 deaths.

This is death on a fantastic scale, bigger than all the wars in history. This is an enemy to fight. Today the fight is on, waged by 67 countries which have banded together in one of the most startlingly successful projects born of the United Nations—The World Health Organization.

The World Health Organization—its members call it WHO—exists today because the men who built the United Nations knew that peace treaties, economic pacts, and cultural exchanges would mean little as long as four-fifths of the world's people were weakened by disease, a perpetual prey to exploitation. Out of this sort of reasoning came the compact, aggressive organization called WHO, with its headquarters at Geneva, Switzerland. It is compact because it cannot afford to spread itself too thin. WHO has a budget this year of only $7,500,000, of which about $2,000,000 comes from the United States, and the rest is prorated among the dues-paying member nations. To keep within this modest figure, it has set up a rigid system of priority projects, confining its major attacks to six fields: malaria, venereal disease, tuberculosis, maternal and child health, environmental sanitation, and nutrition.

Malaria is the greatest enemy of all and number one on the World Health Organization's priority list for action. Already, spectacular successes have been scored. Greece, for example, came out of the last war with nearly 2,000,000 cases of malaria a year among its population of 7,000,000. Whole villages were living on relief because the men, wasting from the disease, could not even trudge from their houses to their fields. Then the Greeks called for help. First came UNRRA—the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration. When it was disbanded at the end of 1946, WHO took over.

The experts conferred and swung into action. They decided that only complete eradication of the malaria-carrying mosquito would conquer the disease. They marshalled a staff: Dr. James M. Vine, 54, a lanky Australian veteran of epidemic fighting in Germany, was chief of the mission. Colonel Daniel E. Wright, 66, one of the world's greatest malaria engineers, was drafted from the U.S. Public Health Service as chief tactician. Vine and Wright drafted 11 doctors, 49 Greek medical officers, and 237 foremen of spraying teams. Each team included a half-dozen local Greek laborers, armed with portable sprayers. Barrel after barrel of DDT power was shipped into Greece—barrels of sure death for the anopheles mosquito.



Every individual in the Arab refugee camps in the Middle East has his clothes disinfected with the insecticide DDT

With Colonel Wright plotting the campaign on field maps, the spraying teams deployed over every malarial Greek village. They worked rapidly. In each village they moved from house to house, spraying every wall, every corner, every ceiling. In a single year they covered 5,700 villages with a population of 3,500,000 people. Teams worked far into northern Greece, where the civil war against the Communist guerrillas was raging. In Crete a spraying team was literally kidnapped for two weeks by a band of armed Communist guerrillas who came out of the mountains to demand DDT for their own malaria-ridden territory. Later, when Greek Government forces reoccupied the rebel area, because of the guerrillas' use of the insecticide, the troops found healthy villages and a valley ready for the harvest.

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Attacking mosquitoes in village homes was not enough for Colonel Wright and his forces. To break the deadly cycle of disease it is necessary to get at the breeding places too. Three Greek Royal Air Force pilots were sent to the United States to learn crop-dusting techniques, and when they returned they taught a whole squadron. Swooping down to within 20 feet of the water level in the swamps, the planes frequently sprayed behind Communist territory, but never a shot was fired at the aircraft with their Red Cross insignia. On more than one occasion WHO planes interrupted pitched battles on the ground to do their job. For a long time, 5,000 Greeks died of malaria each year; in the past 12 months there has not been a single death. And what is more, the incomes of the Greek farmers in formerly malarial areas have doubled because of their increased productivity.

Even more important than this sweeping record is the fact that the Greek Government is continuing its malaria program by itself now, without any outside help. This is the whole idea of the World Health Organization—gather the best experts in the world, the most modern equipment, the newest supplies, and bring them to bear on a single sore spot. Then, while the campaign goes on, train local experts and show the local population how to do the job itself.

The World Health Organization's second most important problem is the white plague, tuberculosis. Here is another striking example of international action. At present in Europe, where tuberculosis takes 500,000 lives a year, more than 50,000,000 children are being tested for tuberculosis and those who are not immune—nearly 20,000,000—are being vaccinated. This is the largest mass immunization campaign ever undertaken in history, and it will grow even larger as the campaign spreads through Africa, the Near East, and the Orient.

It was started by the Scandinavian Red Cross societies soon after the last war, and quickly grew to such scope that the United Nations was called in. The United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund provides the vaccine and other supplies—as it does for many of the World Health Organization's projects; WHO scientists set up the vaccine standards and supervise the drive; Scandinavian doctors and nurses do the testing and inoculating.

A typical operation in the campaign starts in Copenhagen, Denmark. Early in the morning, a white-coated worker in the Danish State Serum Institute packs cases of BCG vaccine in dry ice and sends them off to Copenhagen Airport. On the runway stands a U.S. Air Force C-47, one of the flying work horses that performed so valiantly during the Berlin Air Lift, loaned to the United Nations by the U.S. Air Force in Europe. Speed is essential, for the vaccine must be absolutely fresh to provide effective immunization. In a few hours, the plane lands at Warsaw Airport, unloads one case, and takes off again for Prague, Vienna, Belgrade, and Athens.

At the Warsaw Airport, a jeep picks up the case of vaccine and speeds off to the town of Laskarzew, in central Poland. There, a few days before, a BCG team has set up headquarters. (BCG is a vaccine of "tamed" living bacilli designed to prevent but not to cure tuberculosis through stimulating the body to build its own defenses). They have injected every child in town with tuberculin toxin. Those who have already been infected with tubercle bacilli, and who get a reaction from the toxin, do not need to be vaccinated. They are either immune or are already suffering from tuberculosis. But the others, more than half the total, need the shot of BCG to immunize them.

When the vaccine jeep arrives, the town declares a holiday. School is out for the day, and all the children are lined up in the village square. Doctors and nurses have their needles ready at a long table. The vaccine is unpacked, and the lines of children move quickly. By the end of the day, the task is done. The BCG team packs away its equipment, and that night there is a big party in the town hall. Next morning, the team moves on to another town.

In Poland, nearly 5,000,000 children already have been tested : 2,000,000 have been vaccinated. All over Europe —18,100,000 tests to date, 8,400,000 vaccinations, and the campaign continues. At least 80 per cent of those 8,400,000 youngsters will never suffer from tuberculosis.

In the World Health Organization's files at Geneva are the records of the strange case of a ship, a British cargo steamer, which came under the watchful eye of a unique WHO project, half broadcasting network and half detective agency, the Epidemiological Information Service. With headquarters at Geneva and its main substation at Singapore, the Information Service covers the entire globe as it ferrets out the five pestilential diseases covered by international quarantine regulations—typhus, plague, cholera, small-pox, and yellow fever, known as the "treaty diseases." WHO agents keep their watch over ships, ports, planes, and even the columns of Moslem pilgrims winding their way across the Arab states to Mecca.

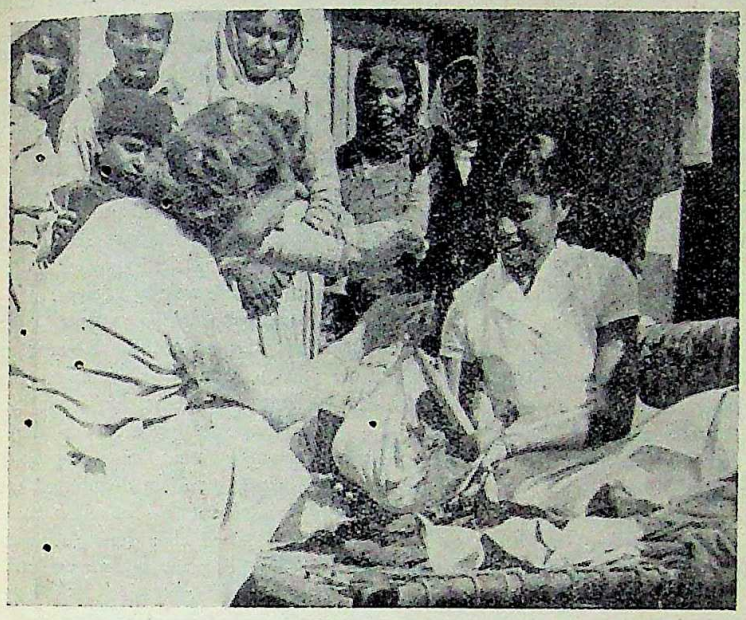
Not long ago the British steamer arrived in Singapore from Rangoon with a cargo of rice in gunny sacks. Suddenly, a seaman in the crew developed a high fever; the glands in his groin swelled alarmingly. The Singapore Port Health Officer came aboard, and promptly ordered the ship's captain to make steam for the nearest quarantine anchorage. Bombs of deadly cyanide gas were used to fumigate the holds. At the hospital a microscopic smear test from the swollen glands of the sick man showed Pasteurella pestis—the plague germ, the Black Death.

Over the Singapore short-wave radio transmitter flashed the World Health Organization's message in its epidemiological code, broadcasting to all ports and ships within receiving distance. The same message was cabled to Geneva headquarters and to WHO's regional offices in Washington, D.C., and Alexandria, Egypt: "British freighter arrived from Rangoon with plague among crew. Fumigation carried out as necessary. Definite information not

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available." Later that night, 10 powerful short-wave transmitters in Geneva were broadcasting the news to port health administrations all over the world. Simultaneously,



In India, a World Health Organisation pediatrics nurse weighs a four-weeks-old baby with the help of a student from the Delhi College of Nursing

WHO's network of 15 local stations from Shanghai to Madagascar beamed the message to their own regions. Ships and planes were re-routed away from the danger spots. That was WHO's radio service in action, saving millions of dollars for shippers around the world, as well as uncounted lives, by prompt information on outbreaks of quarantinable diseases.

But the case of the freighter was not yet finished. In the World Health Organization's Singapore office the experts were trying to spot the source of the disease. Rangoon could not find any plague-carrying rats in the warehouse or on the dock. Then the Epidemiological Information Chief for WHO in Singapore suggested a government entomologist look in the ship's cargo. The entomologist found dead fleas in the rice sacks. Laboratory examination revealed they were rat fleas—the insects that live on rats, carry the plague germ, and by biting humans spread the disease. The rice had come down from a plague-infested area in the interior of Burma, with fleas enmeshed in the sacking. Quarantine barriers could now be erected at the source, and Rangoon and Singapore cleared for normal port traffic.

Americans have been very active in combating venereal disease. Hundreds of American communities have embarked on their own venereal disease control projects, and cities like San Francisco are pioneering in concerted drives by psychiatrists, public health authorities, and doctors against syphilis and gonorrhea. Dr. John Cutler, on loan from the U.S. Public Health Service and now a World Health Organization venereal disease team leader in India, is working with an American public health nurse and Dr. Johannes Kvittingen, a Norwegian serologist to teach Indian doctors the simplest methods of diagnosis, penicillin treatment, and preventive action. Dr. Cutler soon realized that in India there were not enough highly skilled technicians to go around in the mobile diagnostic laboratories he sent to tour the countryside of Simla. Instead of taking the time to train the technicians, he decided to look for a method of diagnosis that unskilled workers could use. So he wrote to WHO in Geneva : WHO cabled the U.S. Public Health Service's



Children in a Shanghai tuberculosis clinic line up for tuberculin testing prior to D.C.G. inoculation for immunization to tuberculosis

Venereal Disease Research Laboratory in New York, and shortly thereafter a simplified method of slide analysis was forwarded to be used by semi-skilled Indian

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technicians in the battle against endemic syphilis.

The World Health Organization's big venereal disease project this year will be a demonstration in international control located in Rotterdam, where for years the problem of infection spread by seamen has taxed the ingenuity of five nations. Rotterdam is not merely an international port; it is the center for tremendously heavy barge traffic along the Rhine River. A German barge sailor can pick up syphilis in Basel, Switzerland, and pass it on to the water fronts of Strasbourg, Antwerp, and Rotterdam, from where it can be carried across every ocean in the world.

The World Health Organization demonstration clinic in Rotterdam will attack every problem of venereal disease control at once. They will take that German sailor, for instance, and give him his first shot of procaine penicillin. Then they will issue him a treatment booklet, printed in Dutch, German, and French, with the date and type of his shot entered. Trained public health workers will interview him to find out who infected him, and whom he himself may have infected, and persuade them to report locally for treatment. When his barge heads up the Rhine, the sailor will carry his treatment booklet with him, and inside its front cover will be a list of other clinics in every Rhine River port where he can report for free treatment.

II

In China, the disease fighters of the United Nations are represented by a singularly brave and able group of men and women.

The World Health Organization's problems in China have been extremely complicated. Its workers have dealt with a provincial minister of health one day, and the next day he had been deposed. The Communists themselves welcome WHO one day, obstruct it the next. Health services are disorganized and supplies are scarce.

One of the most competent World Health Organization workers in China is Dr. Leo Eloesser, of San Francisco, in the Pacific Coast State of California, one of America's most famous chest surgeons and a former professor at Stanford University Medical School. In China, he has plodded many miles on foot, his medical equipment heaped in a cart, while his mobile laboratory moves to escape bombings. After a lifetime in the elaborately equipped surgical wards of the best hospitals in the United States, Dr. Eloesser has shown Chinese blacksmiths how to forge surgical tools out of old rifle barrels. And instead of trying to teach surgery, he is teaching field sanitation and elementary preventive medicine. Not long ago Dr. Eloesser started a school of medical assistants at a hospital in a mountain village in eastern Shansi Province. The hospital was so isolated high in north China's loess hills that its ambulance service consisted only of four sturdy peasants, who carried the patients in litters up the mountain from the valley communities below. But there were 200 beds, and a class of willing students.

Dr. Eloesser told the students :

"Carrying out health measures is simple. You need not have studied medicine for six years in order to be able to kill lice, to dig a latrine, to boil y drinking water, to inject a dose of typhoid vaccine recognize a hookworm egg; not to spit on the s nor cough in your babies' faces, and also to te others to do or not to do these things. These thi are simple and very, very useful."

Another American medical worker in China is R Ingram, a World Health Organization public health n who rides the old silk caravan routes by truck or ca back, far out in the Gobi Desert, moving from one pro cial hospital to another, organizing nurses' training, ting order into the chaos of Chinese hospital admi tration. A case of small-pox broke out in one reg which Miss Ingram visited and she taught the stud nurses about vaccination campaigns. She suggested t themselves plan a campaign for the nearby villages.

The students first approached the village el showed them how the vaccination needles worked, converted them to the idea. Then they canvassed e house, exhorting the villagers to come for inoculati On vaccination day, the villagers appeared in dro The students set up an assembly line. One group hel the people bare their left arms; another disinfected e arm with alcohol; a third placed drops of virus on cleansed spots; a fourth scratched the arms with ster needles. Finally, the rest of the students lectured on control, demonstrated how to use a fly swatter, and g each vaccinated villager the privilege of peering thro a microscope at a fly's hind leg. In a few days, nursing students had given more than 2,500 inoculati in 10 villages. There was no epidemic and only t new cases of small-pox occurred.

From China to New York, the World Health Organ zation is primarily an operational organization. T stories from the field, of course, show only part of WHO activities. They do not tell about the WHO fellowsh program, which has paid expenses for more than 6 doctors from 32 nations to study latest developments their specialties in the countries where the greate advances have taken place. Nor do they tell of the nev ending succession of international conferences where e perts gather to unify the world's pharmacopoeias, to up international standards for serums and vaccines. N do they tell of the research and the expert consulta working in maternal and child health, nutrition, and s tary engineering around the globe.

And yet, though its mission is above politics, World Health Organization has not entirely escaped vexing political problems of a split world that wrack United Nations itself. When the World Health Organ tion runs into the Russian problem, the situation becom difficult. The Soviets joined WHO enthusiastically at very beginning, and it was the Russians, in 1948, proposed admission of the United States to the organi tion. All that is changed now. In February 1949, cable to WHO Director-General Brock Chisholm, Soviet Union announced it was withdrawing from mem ship. Byelorussia and the Ukraine followed suit, Bulgaria. Dr. Chisholm, an able Canadian public he

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expert and a noted psychiatrist, asked the Russians to reconsider and suggested he go to Moscow to talk things over. He has never had a reply.

Even before their withdrawal, the Russians had been attacking the World Health Organization for some time, complaining it was not giving enough attention to the eastern European countries, that its "swollen administrative machinery" was costing the member nations too much money, and that the administration of WHO was overloaded with representatives of the western nations.

The facts are these: The eastern European nations have received more from the World Health Organization in the form of fellowships, demonstration teams, and consultants, than any other group of countries in the world. Of WHO's budget for 1950, less than one-sixth goes for administration; all the rest is operational. Of the 500 men and women on WHO's staff, only 150 are administrative, the rest are operational. Time and again WHO has asked for Soviet scientists to serve on demonstration teams, or to work on planning projects at headquarters; the Russians have ignored the requests. Dr. Chisholm has kept a post open for a Russian as deputy-general for two years; it has never been filled.

Despite these irritations, the World Health Organization is pushing ahead with new projects in the interests of human welfare on both sides of the Iron Curtain. Under WHO auspices an international training center in anesthesiology will soon be established in Prague, where doctors come from all over Europe to learn the newest techniques. The World Health Organization is sponsoring an international training center in virus research in Budapest, and similar training centers in biochemistry and venereal disease in Warsaw. Czechoslovakia, Polaud, and Yugoslavia are getting WHO experts to help them rebuild the penicillin plants that were given them by UNRRA and that are now run-down.

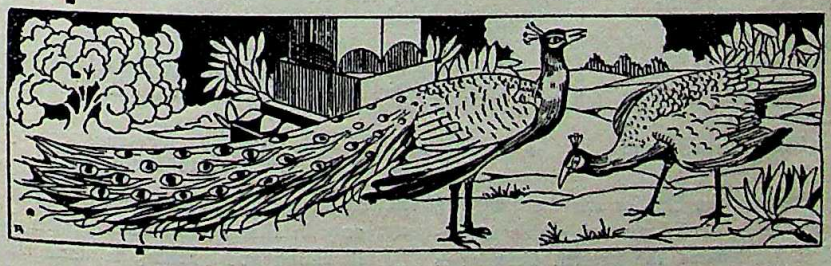
Another important WHO project to spread medical knowledge across national borders is the creation of an international medical library at Charles University in Prague. The World Health Organization is spending a substantial sum to add subscriptions to 200 scientific periodicals, and to provide microfilming equipment. Because the library is in Czechoslovakia, it is expected that the Russians will send their medical publications, which are almost impossible to obtain in the West. Then, under WHO auspices, the library can microfilm the journals and ship copies to anyone interested, anywhere in the world. The result: an all-embracing exchange center for medical information—the first of its kind in history.

There is enthusiastic ferment today in the League of Nations building in Geneva, where the World Health Organization has its headquarters. The organization has succeeded in its limited campaigns already; now it is looking forward to vast new projects that will revolutionize the world economically and socially. Basing its plans on President Truman's Point Four program of technical co-operation with underdeveloped areas, WHO hopes to have extra money to spend this year beyond its regular budget.

Part of this money will be used to finance work in three new "Health Demonstration Areas," located probably in Asia, the Middle East, and South and Central America. In these areas the current idea of individual demonstration teams for specific diseases will be changed. Instead, large-scale teams will launch simultaneous attacks on the problems of disease eradication, nutrition, public health administration, sanitary engineering, health-education, nursing, veterinary science, entomology, and mental health. Doctors and scientists from surrounding countries will pour into the areas to work with the WHO teams, learning for themselves how to set up a combined medical operation that will assure an abundant life and contribute to the health and economic progress of the world.

Finally, the World Health Organization has a long-range plan for joint action with the United Nations Food and Agricultural Organization in a demonstration that will cover 10,000,000 acres and cost $10,000,000 over a five-year period. The doctors, plague fighters, and sanitary engineers will work with food-production experts for at least five years to prove that the pessimists are wrong when they say the world cannot possibly grow enough food to feed its expanding population. The experts of the two United Nations agencies will simultaneously wipe out preventable disease and implant the latest methods of scientific farming. They hope to break the age-old vicious circle that has kept millions of human beings in bondage—the circle that runs from disease to untilled land to malnutrition to disease, and from there to hopelessness and exploitation.

—From *Collier's*.



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THE SCILLY ISLES

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By W. H. OWENS

Among the most enchanting little islands round the shores of Britain are the Scillies, lying in the Atlantic some thirty miles (48 kilometres) off the Cornish mainland. Here is a semi-tropical paradise, where flowers bloom the whole year round, and various kinds of exotic trees and plants thrive by the open sea beaches.



Islanders picking daffodils on a thickly-covered slope. Port Hellick can be seen in the background

Influenced by the Atlantic Gulf Stream, these islands enjoy much more sunshine than the rest of Britain. They are most colourful during the winter and early spring, when every available patch of ground is massed with yellow daffodils and the "scilly white" narcissi, making lively contrast against the deep blue of sea and sky.

Altogether there are nearly two hundred separate islands in the Scilly group, but most of them are merely gorse-clad rocks rising in curious shapes from the sea and haunted by seals and wild birds. Only five of the islands are inhabited today; the largest of them, St. Mary's is less than three miles long and about a mile and a half wide.

Tradition has it that the Scillies are the surviving fragments of the sunken land of Lyonesse, which in ancient times stretched far beyond the present boundaries of Cornwall and became the subject of innumerable legends. During the Middle Ages some Benedictine monks settled on Tresco, the second largest island, and built an important abbey there. But after the Dissolution of Monasteries in the 16th century, the whole archipelago became Crown property and was leased by the English monarchs to various families.

Nowadays the Scillies are famous for their flower-growing industry. In peacetime most of the 1,800 islanders are hard at work in fields that slope down to the sea's edge gathering as many as a million and a half blooms every day.

While the daffodil harvest lasts, the islands' steamer sails several times a week from St. Mary's harbour, laden from deck to hold with tons of freshly-picked blooms. At Penzance on the mainland, the flower-boxes are transferred to waiting express trains —"The Flower Specials"—which convey them rapidly to the markets of distant towns and cities. The success of the islands' industry is due largely to the fact that the Scilly climate enables growers to produce early flowers for the towns well in advance of any other district not only in Britain, but in Northern Europe generally.



The packing of daffodils in boxes for transport by boat from the Scilly Isles to Penzance

Bunching and packing is done chiefly by the wives and daughters of the growers in long sheds adjoining the

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fields. These women can bunch some thousands of flowers in an hour, yet their handling is so gentle that rarely is a single bloom damaged. A fine sense of colour is required too, because even flowers of the same species are not always of the same shade. Any bloom



Flower-boxes being unloaded from a boat at the quayside at Penzance, for transport to waiting express trains

which does not match its fellows exactly is cast aside, as are the ones showing signs of early fading.

Flowers, and flowers alone, have made the inhabitants of the Scillies one of the most prosperous and contented little communities in the world. Yet the industry is not much more than seventy years old, and it had quite romantic beginnings.

Nobody thought of cultivating flowers on a commercial scale until about 1870, when Augustus Smith, Lord of Tresco Island, sent a few blooms from his own grounds to the London market. They were packed in an old hat-box. Buyers were astonished to see spring flowers in midwinter, and this first small consignment gained such a good price that an immediate demand was made for more. From that day neglected fields were ploughed up, the cultivation of flowers became a serious business and the industry has never looked back.

St. Mary's, apart from its extensive flower farms, has a wonderfully varied coastline with bays and coves of white crystal sand between picturesque headlands that jut far out into the Atlantic. Hugh Town, on the western side, might be termed the metropolis of the Scillies. For here are shops, hotels, banks, and growers' offices, all centred round the quaint little harbour. Overlooking this is the old Star Castle, built in the year 1593 to prevent the islands being used as a base by Spain, then at war with England. This mansion fortress was also the last Royalist stronghold to surrender during the English Civil War.

Among the remarkable sights in the Scilly Isles are the Abbey Gardens on Tresco, separated from St. Mary's by about two miles of water. Set upon rocky terraces that rise steeply from the seashore, these gardens contain what is undoubtedly the finest collection of sub-tropical trees and plants in the United Kingdom, all of them growing in the open air.

Specimens have been gathered here from many parts of the world. They include such varieties as the Mexican Yucca, the Indian Fan Palm, the Burmese Honeysuckle and the Chilean Peuya. There are also Himalayan ginger trees, bananas and citrons, together with a splendid group of Lebanon Cedars, all planted by a former lord of the manor of Tresco.



An air view of St. Mary's, the largest island in the Scilly Isles

Beyond Tresco lies St. Martin's Island, whose tiny population of 140 souls, is divided into three "towns"—Higher Town, Lower Town and Middle Town. The remaining inhabited islands are St. Agnes and Bryher, the last named containing the loveliest rock and cliff scenery of them all. The natural colourings of the rocks and

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sands, and the shallow blue waters in the long, curving bays and deep inlets, produce some memorable pictures in clear, sunny weather.

Wherever you wander in the Scilly Isles you find flowers; they grow everywhere, not only in the trimly-hedged fields, but even along the rocky seashores near the edge of the Atlantic breakers. In the outer isla many of the rocky headlands are covered with the pink sea-thrift and delicate blue sea-thistle. The ench ing Scillies have been truly called Britain's "Isles Flowers."

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ANCIENT INDIA AND THE NEAR EAST

By Dr. TAMONASH CHANDRA DAS GUPTA, M.A., PH.D.
Calcutta University

Millenniums ago, in the almost forgotten period of history, certain races, tribes and peoples migrated to, inhabited, conquered or otherwise established themselves in the Near East and thereby implanted t peculiar culture in this part of Asia. They were, name a few, the Egyptians, the Cretans, Aegeans, the Greeks, the Babylonians, the Assyri the Chaldaeans, the Phrygians, the Hittites, Mitannis, the Sumerians, the Medes, the Persians the Indo-Aryans—among many others. All t peoples belonged either to the Semetic or to Aryan branch of the big family of the human r commonly known as the Caucasians. The nomenclat in regard to these divisions is now used more prope in linguistic than in ethnic sense which admit of o three types in classifications, and the Near East peoples belonged, at least, to two of them. These th types or divisions are named the Mediterranean, Nordic and the Alpine, and the peoples of Near East mostly belonged to the former two, wit certain admixture in blood which was but natu under obvious circumstances of social and politi influences.



Bas-relief of Cyrus the Great

Geographically, the boundaries of the Near Ea including the Middle East (South-West Asia) exte up to the river Indus of India to its east and Egy and the Mediterranean Sea to its west. The Casp Sea, Caucasus, the Elburz and the Hindukush mou tains form its northern boundary while the Arabi Sea, the Red Sea and with them the great Indi Ocean remain as its boundary to the south. In s of this boundary, Egypt, roughly speaking, though African land, joined hands with the Near East closely that for all practical purposes the limits of Near East are not complete without Egypt.

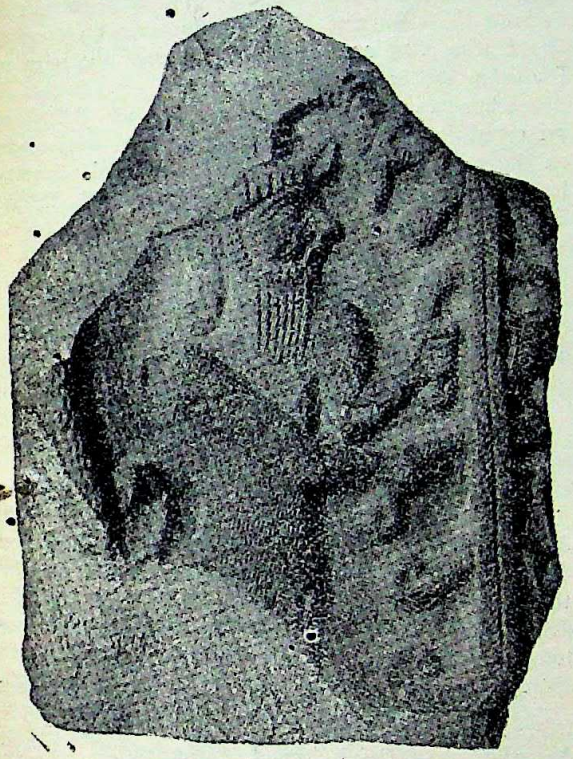
Ancient India had its eastern boundary first up the river Indus and then up to the rivers Gang and the Jamuna while the western boundary of t sub-continent of south-western Asia of which Ind once formed a part was bounded culturally by t river Nile, thus taking within it a fair slice of Afric India of those far-off days being a part and parcel this vast region, the river Indus and the river Nile we the two rivers in the two extremes of east and we of this land. The most important rivers in the interi of this region were the Tigris and the Euphrates.

The period of time to which the early history o the races mentioned herein refers belonged to the Ston

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the Bronze and the Copper Ages, reaching up to the beginning of the Iron Age. Thus, the interesting episodes concerning them and dealt with here all belong to a period long before the birth of Christ. The case of the ancient Egyptians stands first in the list of nations and peoples so far as time-element is concerned, as we find the dawn of civilization first perceptible in Egypt, and then the cases of the Sumerians, the Babylonians, the Hittites, the Mitannians and others may be mentioned.



Bas-relief representing a deity (Susa)

Racially speaking, the nations that took prominent parts in the drama and built up powerful kingdoms or empires in the Near East were resolvable into two important branches of the Caucasians, *viz.*, the Semitic and the Aryan (Indo-Aryan, Indo-Iranian and the Indo-European). In fact, the early history of the Near East is the history of the conflict between the earlier Semitics and the later Aryans. Of the former the strongest champion was Egypt and of the latter the strongest power was Persia.

Though the Semitic (or Hamitic?) Egyptians were foremost to establish their suzerainty in the Near East, the Aryan Sumerians of Babylonia, who ruled there after the Semitics, were the next to be noted along with the Aryan (?) Hittites of Anatolia.

"Who were these Hittites" is even now a problem. Some scholars think that they were at least in part 'Mongols' while some consider them as Aryans (Kretselvmer). But Hall expressed his doubt as regards both these theories and considered the Hittites as forefathers of the present Armenians and closely connected with the Phrygians (of Thrace), the Greeks and the Slavs, at least in language. The Hittites were also Anatolians (Caucasians) and mixed up with the Mitannians (an Aryan race) by marriage ties and adoption of Mitannian names.



Bas-relief representing war-captains (Susa)

"From the Anatolian plateau they might look down upon the distant monarchies of Egypt and Babylonia, slumbering in peaceful prosperity provided by the Nile or the Euphrates. With these two peoples, though an occasional bid for empire led at different times to conflict, ended at last by the establishment of diplomatic relations, the Hittites maintained effectively a triangular balance of power in Western Asia for more than a thousand years."—J. Garstang: *The Hittites, Vestiges of a Vanished Empire.*

This scholar also opined that

"From before the first dynasty of Babylon till the fall of Troy (from 2600 B.C. at least until 1200 B.C.) the Hittites remained the bulwark of Europe in Asia."

The Anatolian Hittites lived beyond the Taurus range and never the powerful armies of Egypt and Babylon could penetrate this area known as the Khata-

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land. In fact, the Hittites stemmed in the tide of Semitic invasion of culture and conquest and maintained on the whole their less-developed culture with vengeance.

"The Semitic population stopped at the foothills, just as it does now, the boundary between Arabic and Turkish speech today is the ancient boundary between Semite and Hittite."—Hall : *Ancient History of the Near East.*



A stele showing the victory of the Sumero-Akkadian prince Naram-Sin (C. 2800 B.C.) against his foes (Elamites?)

At one time the Hittite Empire extended from the Aegaean Sea right up to the Persian Gulf, so powerful they had become, thus keeping in check even the powerful Egyptian kings, and making the Amorite kings of Syria their vassals. Occasionally, however, there also existed friendship between Egypt and Khatti through peace-treaties and marriages. Thus Rameses II (C. 1266 B.C.) of Egypt married the Hittite princess Pudukhipa (Egypt-Ueret-maait-Neferu-Ra) who was the daughter of the Hittite king, Khattusil.

Ramesis II and Khattusil, after prolonged warfare came to a certain understanding and cemented the friendship by a royal marriage. Babylonia had the sympathy of both at the time due to the incursions of Babylonia's rough neighbour, Assyria. Assyria, though afraid of the Khatti kingdom, was often bold enough to create havoc in Babylonia due to its decadence and after the death of Khattusil even attacked the Khatti kingdom which Assyria eventually conquered. Perhaps the Assyrian king Shalmaneser I conquered the Hittite kingdom of Khatti during the reign of Dudhalia, son of Khattusil.

Ashur-nasir-pal's inscriptions (884-859 B.C.), preserved in the British Museum, throws much light on the strong military power of Assyria and the ruthless conduct of its ruler Ashur-nasir-pal II (884-859 B.C.).

"His usual procedure after the capture of a hostile city was to burn it and then to mutilate all the grown men-prisoners by cutting off their hands and ears and putting out their eyes; after which they were piled up, in a great heap to perish by torture from sun, flies, their wound, and suffocation; the children, both boys and girls, were also burnt alive at the stake, and the chief was carried off to Assyria to be flayed alive for the king's delectation."—Hall : *Ancient History of the Near East,* p. 445.

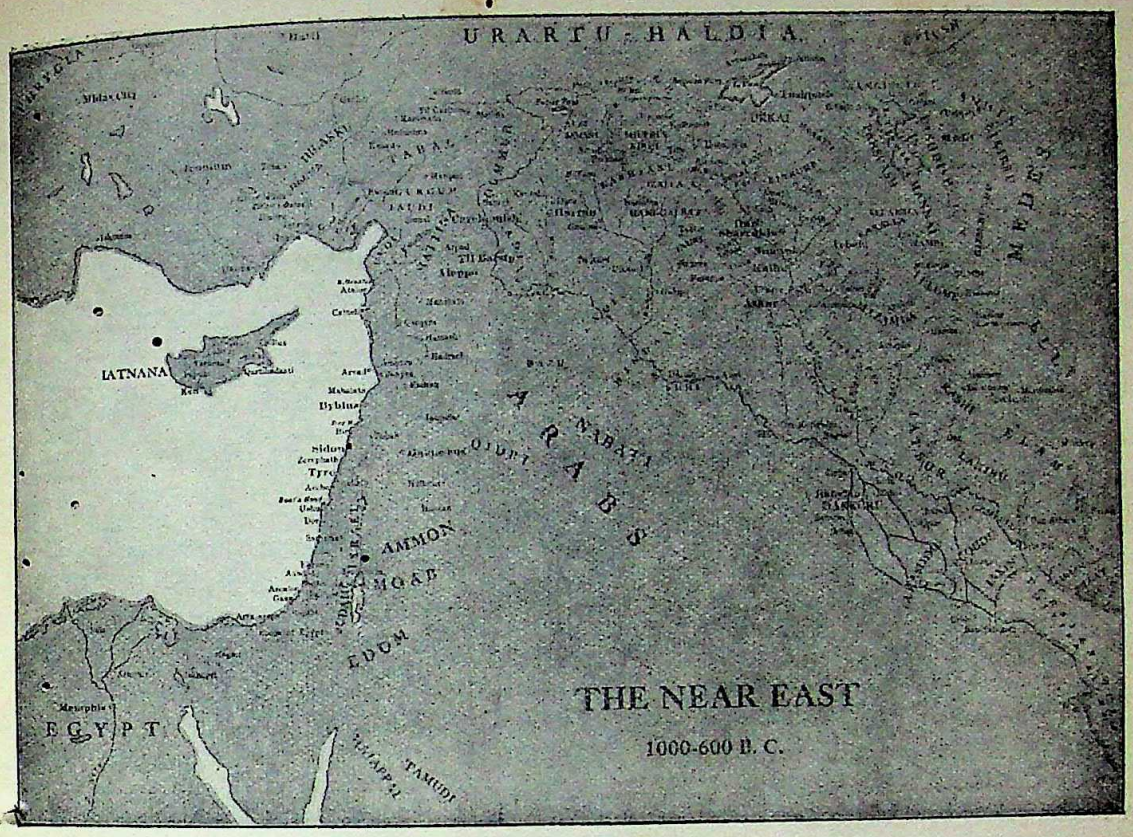
With the death of Ashurbanipal in 626 B.C. Assyria's star of fortune set, and the Scythian invasion dealt it the first blow. Babylonians revolted and finally the Medes crushed the Assyrians for ever. With the defeat of the Assyrians, their capital city Nineveh was totally destroyed.

The Scythians included among themselves various tribes, such as the Mannai and the Kimmerians. According to a Greek legend, Ashurbanipal (named Sardanapallos by the Greeks) perished in flames.

The first attack of the Medes on Assyria was made by Phraortes in about 634 B.C. which was repulsed. The next attack was made by Kyaxares the Mede in about 630 B.C., and Nineveh, her later capital (the earlier capital of Assyria being Ashur or Assur, modern Kala 'at Sherkat') was beseiged. This capital city was temporarily saved by Madyes the Scythian leader according to Herodotus. But these very Scythians under Madyes, barbarians as they were, swarmed in large numbers later on, all over Asia Minor, Babylonia, Assyria and Syria and ultimately brought about the ruin of Assyria. According to Strabo, Madyes himself was a Kimmerian (a tribe of the Scythians). Herodotus tells us, Madyes was defeated and killed by Kyaxares the Medes. The Median king Uvakshatra (Kyaxares) and the Babylonian king Nabopalassar (Nabu-pal-Usur) combined to take Nineveh after a severe seige in 612 B.C. The whole city was then

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destroyed and its king killed with all his family members and retinue.

Previous to the downfall of Assyria, Babylonia, shorn of its former glory and original territory, had been put under the vassalage of the Assyrian monarchy. It was now the proper time for Babylonia to regain some of her former power and prestige. The contending powers that came to the forefront for the mastery over the Near East were Babylonia and Egypt, and the bend of the Euphrates river remained the boundary line between the two. Babylonia under King Nabopalassar (a native of Babylonia) occupied Southern Syria and the Northern Mesopotamia (now Iraq), while the Egyptian Pharaoh Necho (609-593 B.C.) occupied northern Syria by defeating the army of Josiah in the famous battle-field of Megiddo. A small portion of Assyria, which was at this time being ruled by a weak Assyrian king, was the apple of contention for both Babylonia and Egypt. Seven years after the fall of Nineveh, the battle of Carchemish decided the issue in favour of Babylonia, and the remnant of Assyria was incorporated within the former.

Nebuchadrezzar, the son and successor of Nabopalassar, gradually extended the Babylonian frontier up to the boundaries of Egypt by conquering Syria and Phoenicia. Nebuchadrezzar was not only a conqueror but also a great, perhaps the greatest builder of temples and walls, for which all the kings of this family attained celebrity (See the German excavations of Koldeway). The temples of E. Sagila and E. Zida at Borsippa (Birs) were rebuilt by Nebuchadrezzar, while the sun-temple at E. Babbar, at Sippar, was rebuilt by his son Nabonidus. Spiegel, Gadd, Maspero, Petrie, Cowly, Breasted, De Morgan, Meyer, Sykes, Hall, Daiches, Sayce, Garstang, Prasek, Seiss and Evans are some of the experts and authorities in modern times, who have either written on the subject or carried on excavations in the Near East.

Something must be said here about the Chaldaeans.

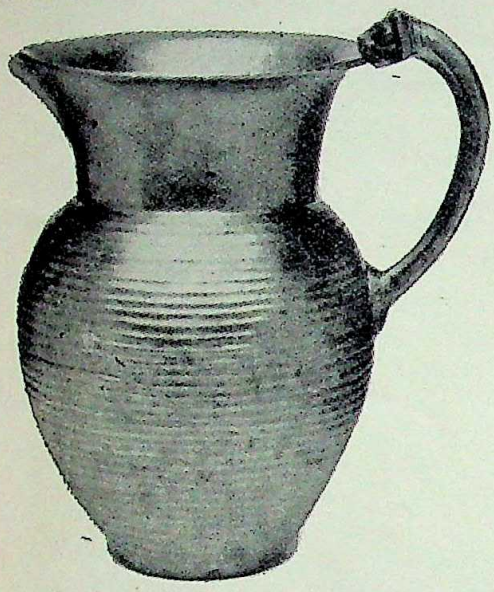
> "The Chaldaean tribes from the Southern shore of the Persian Gulf had also overrun Babylonia and had given her a short-lived dynasty."—Hall, p. 454.

This dynasty though short-lived produced such an able monarch as Nebuchadrezzar. This dynasty always ruled from Babylonia (the name of the country and the capital being the same), and Nabopolassar was even considered by some scholars as originally a native of Babylonia. The Chaldaeans always coveted Babylonia and made sporadic attacks on the kingdom at different times and at one time founded a dynasty there, as mentioned above. Among important and

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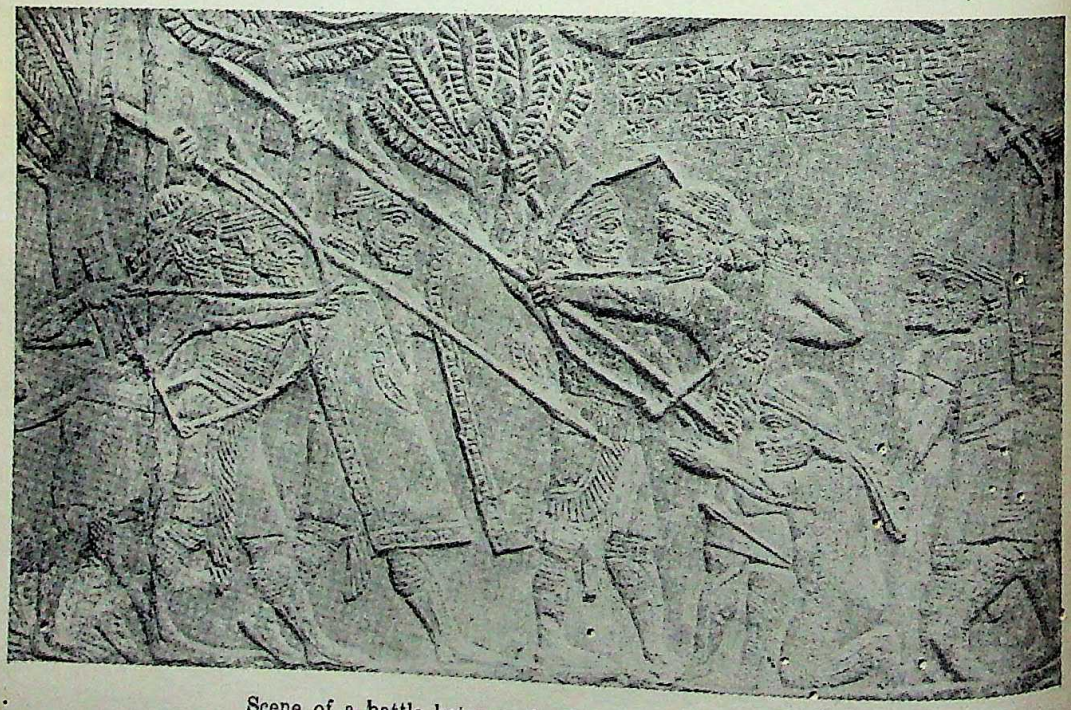
illustrious rulers of Assyria a few may here be named. They were Ashur-nasir-pal II (884-859 B.C.), Tiglath-Pileser I (reigning in 1107 B.C. circ.) and Shalmaneser I (1260 B.C. circ.), Sargon (died in 705 B.C.) and Sennacherib (705-681 B.C.). So may be mentioned the names of the earliest Sumerian rulers of Babylonia from the evidence of the modern excavations of Ubaid (near Ur), such as, Anni-padda, Utug, Ur-N and others. Then, among Semitic rulers of Baby were Khammurabi (about 2123-2080 B.C.) and Sam Iluna (Khammurabi's son) and among Chalda rulers of Babylon were Nabopolassar and his Nebuchadrezzar I among many other illustrious rule



A Persian golden bowl of the Achaemenid period

Now, let us turn our attention to the Medes ag To the north of Babylonia, the Tigris formed boundary between the territories of the Medes the Babylonians. The two kings of Cilicia and Ly as also the king of Urartu were then ruling inde dently. Prolonged warfare (591-588 B.C.) between Medes and the Lydians, at last settled Halys moun as the boundary between Lydia and Media. The ki dom of Urartu was finally absorbed by the Medi within their dominion at this period and Kyaxares w succeeded by his son Astyages (Ishtuwigu). The la ruled up to 650 B.C., when his kingdom was over and conquered by Cyrus, the Persian.

The Medes and the Persians to which nati Cyrus belonged were cognate peoples. The Persians, they rose, occupied the Elamite country as the lat moved westward. The older capital of Elam w Pasargadae (Agbatana) and the later capital was Su which place Cyrus chose as his capital. The ol kingdom of the Persians was known as Anshan. Cyr belonged to the family of Hakhamanish or Achaime the founder of the family, who reigned in the last pa



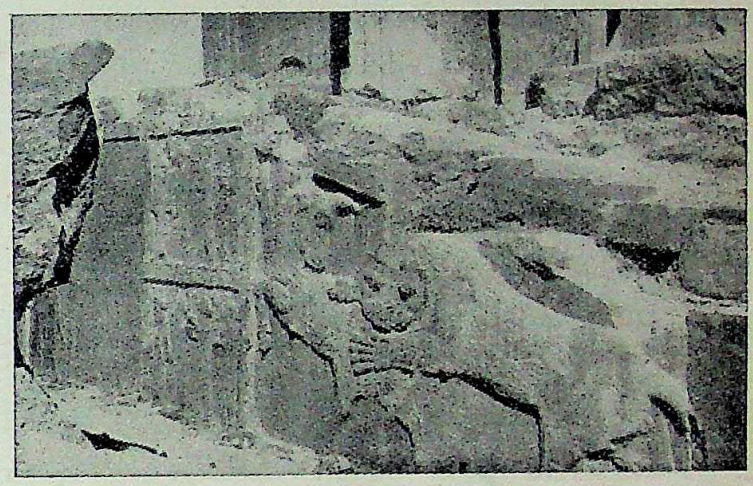
Scene of a battle between the Elamites and the Assyrians

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of the 7th century A.D. The family of Cyrus was, according to Hall, perhaps Aryan by race, allied to the Mitannians and the Kassites, of a thousand years ago. The names of the family-members are known in usual distorted Greek form as Cyrus, which should really be "Kurush", an Indo-Aryan name (*cf.* "Kuru" of the Mahabharata legend). Thus Cambyses was really "Kambujiya," Ariaramnes was "Ariyarama," Darius was "Darayavaush" and Arsames was "Arshama."

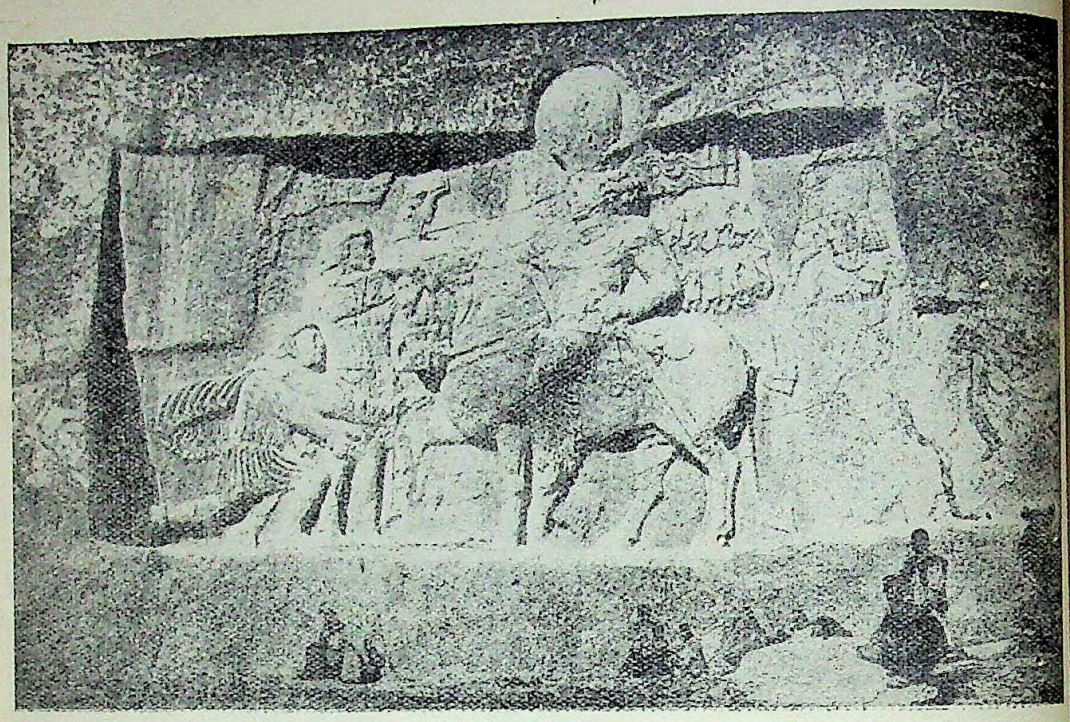
Cyrus or Cyrus II was a great monarch. After defeating king Astyages of Media, he defeated king Croesus of Lydia to whose aid the Ionian Greeks, the Babylonians and the Egyptians came to fight against the Persian king Cyrus. But it was of no avail. Cyrus then put under submission the Greeks, the Babylonians, the Parthians and a Scythian tribe of Central Asia. After the death of Cyrus, his son Cambyses subjugated Egypt and posed as the Pharaoh. He died in 522 B.C. and having no issue was succeeded by his relation Darius I. On ascending the throne Darius had to face rebellions on all sides, which he quelled one after another with a strong hand. Thus, he put down the revolts of Babylon, of the Caspian steppes and of Egypt as Behistun (Bisitun) tablet discovered by Sir Henry Rawlinson in 1837 shows. He then subjugated Asia Minor and took Samos Island to check the refractory spirit of his Greek subjects and even attacked and punished the Scythians of the Russian steppes, himself leading an expedition there. He also put under subjection Thrace and Macedon. These countries were inimical to the Persian power. After this his Ionian Greek subjects revolted and burnt his fair city of Sardis which caused a prolonged warfare (between Persia and Greece) against the mainland of Greece itself. Simultaneously, Egypt revolted and his first attention was drawn to that country. In the midst of these troubles he died in 485 A.D. Darius I was the most renowned, tactful and ablest monarch of his line. The eastern frontier of his empire included the Punjab in India which he conquered in about 510 B.C. Darius was succeeded by his son Xerxes who was an antithesis to his great father. He was weak-minded and despotic. He tried to carry out the programme of his father and attacked Greece as the piratical nature and repeated revolts of the Greeks were troubling the peace of his empire. This war which is known as the Persian War was harmful to the interest of Persia and Persian prestige. Though the Persians were successful in the first stage of this war and sacked many places including Athens, the naval battles, ultimately, were decided in favour of Greece, and Persia lost her hold on Greece. The two land-battles of Marathon and Thermopylae and the four naval battles of Artemisium, Salamis, Mycalae and Eurymedon became very famous in history. After Persian wars the Peloponnesian war between Athens and Sparta followed on account of which Persia recouped her power over Greece considerably. Xerxes on his death was succeeded by his son Darius II who was succeeded by his son Artaxerxes. During the reign of Darius III, the successor of Artaxerxes, Alexander the Great of Macedon invaded the Persian empire and conquered it, the last battle with Darius being fought at Arbela or Gangamela in 331 B.C. Alexander followed his successes up to India to the east, defeated a king of the Punjab (Porus) at the battle of Hydaspes (Jhelum) and finally advanced up to the river Sutlej beyond which his tired troops refused to advance further. So, he had to return sending part of the troops by sea after defeating the Mali tribe and himself reached Susa by land in 325 B.C. He died in Babylon in 323 B.C. It may be observed, the invasion of Alexander gave very little culturally to India while Greece learnt much from this country. As Alexander had no issue, his vast empire was partitioned among his able Generals, and in this manner Selucos received as his share the thrones of Syria and Bactria. He came into collision with the celebrated Maurya Emperor of Magadha, Chandra Gupta. He was utterly defeated and had to make a treaty with the Maurya Emperor. In a later phase, many Indo-Bactrian or Greek rulers occupied various thrones of South-west Asia and culturally some of these came under the Hindu-Buddhist culture of India. One of them was Minander who ruled a part of the Punjab. He became a staunch Buddhist and his religious queries are incorporated in the Buddhistic Pali



Palace of Xerxes

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The Roman emperor Valerian offering his submission to the Persian king Shapur (3rd century A.D.)
(From a bas-relief at Naksh-i-Rustam)

work known as *Milinda-Panha* (Questions of Minander).

On the background of the above political and cultural contacts of Ancient India with the countries of the South-West Asia one may see that India was practicaly a part of this region. In ancient time this contact had four phases, *viz.*, (1) Racial, (2) Political, (3) Religious and (4) Commercial.

Racial and political phases have already been dealt with. Now let us deal with the remaining two phases, religious and commercial.

As regards religion, many of the Vedic-Aryan and the Mitannian deities were the same or similar which leads many scholars to consider the former as originally living in Mitanni-land and thus migrating to India. Of course, there is an opposite theory to this showing that the Vedic-Aryans or Indo-Aryans migrated to Mitanni-land from India and there spread their own religion. Thus, the gods Indra, (the god of Lightning), Mitra (the Sun-god), the Nasatyas (the twin physician-gods—Aswins), and Varuna (the god—first of firmament and then of the sea) were once worshipped by both the Mitannis and the Vedic-Aryans. Besides, the mother-goddess 'Ma' was widely worshipped throughout South-West Asia and bore close resemblance to the Greek and Roman goddess Cybele, Rhea (Demeter) and Artemis of Epheseus, "Dyndymene Mother" or "Zinzimene Mother" or only as the "Mother", and "Ishtar" of Mesopotamia. In the Greek and the Roman coins the goddess "Ma" was represented as standing up on a lion being attended by a male deity Attis. The same goddess is to be seen represented in the Rock-temples of Yasil-Kaya (the Near East)* and Crete, the goddess of the latter place being discovered by Evans and both reminding the old Indo-Aryan goddess Durga with her consort Siva and the Egyptian deities Isis and Osiris. Many of these deities were also worshipped by the Indo-Iranians. The coins of the Graeco-Scythian kings of Bactria and Kushan kings (Kanishka and Huvishka) of India (first century B.C.) contain the sun-god and the moon-god.

It was Zarathustra (probably 5th or 6th century B.C.) who made some radical changes in the old religion of Iran. But this reformer, nevertheless, retained many of the old deities common to both Indo-Aryan and Indo-Iranian Pantheons, *e.g.*, "Mah" (moon-god), "Vato" (wind-god), Veretraghna (Vri-traghna or Indra, etc., but used the Sanskrit terms Devas (Iranian "Daevas") and Asuras (Iranian "Ashuras") for gods and demons in quite the opposite sense. The chief god, according to this reformer, is Ahura-Mazda. The reformer is said to be born in a certain stage, from Haoma juice. This Haoma

* See Winckler, *M.D.O.G.* December 1907, regarding ancient Kyul, Oymk and Yasil-Kaya.

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nothing but Soma plant of the Vedic literature. The religious philosophy behind the conceptions of birth and death, heaven and hell, merit and impiety—is practically the same with all the ancient peoples of India and the South-West Asia. Indo-Aryan (Sanskrit) names like Dushrata (Dasharatha) and Mundan prevailed in many parts of the Near East as the names of the Mitanni kings will show.

Ancient India had very close commercial contact with South-West Asia.

In Manu's code (Chap. VIII, 156, 157) there is a clear reference of the oversea activities of the early Indo-Aryans. They would visit many countries on the sea-board of the Mediterranean Sea and all around the Indian Ocean. They would even visit distant isles and countries of the Pacific. Constant oversea trade flowed between India, Babylon, Palestine, Phoenicia, Persia, Arabia, Egypt, China, Indo-China, Indonesia and the eastern sea-board of Africa, not to speak of the inland trade connection of Ancient India, *via* land-routes, with Tibet, Mongolia, Central Asia and many other countries. The Indian ports of Barygaza (Baraoch) on the western sea-board and Tamralipta (Tamluk) on the eastern sea-board (in Bengal) were once world-famous, besides some other Indian ports. The muslin, cotton-cloth and silk-cloth of Bengal had once world-celebrity and were in high demand, specially in Europe. Among ancient Indian exports, besides the above, may be mentioned thread, dyes, indigo, spices, diamonds and pearls. Many Indian words like *kof* (Kapi—Sanskrit) and *thukki* (Tokei—Tamil), used by the Hebrews (and possibly by others) were of Indian origin.†

In general culture the ancient world owed much to India. It may well be presumed that the ancient Greek philosophy had drawn many ideas from the old Hindu philosophy, and the same may be said regarding some philosophical thoughts of Iran. It is well-known, as recorded by Elphinstone in his *History of India,* that Alexander the Great met an Indian philosopher named Qalanus in Persia. The Cynic philosophy of Greece and the Sufi philosophy of Persia are cases in point. The story of the meeting of the Greek philosopher Diogenes the Cynic with Alexander the Great is too well-known. Sanskrit astronomical ideas and technical terms have many things in common with those of the Chaldaean and Greek astronomical systems. Of course, it has not been settled definitely as to who was the originator and who were the borrowers. Many mathematical works of ancient times passed from India to many countries of the Near East, including Egypt, by way of translations. Similar was the case of the ancient Indian Sanskrit stories, *e.g.*, of *Pancha-Tantra* and *Hitopadesa.* The word 'yavana' (from the Ionian Greeks) meaning the Greeks and the word 'yavanika' meaning a veil or a drop-scene, show Ancient India's intimate knowledge of the Greeks, and along with them of many other foreigners. We refrain from multiplying instances further.

† See *Periplus of the Erythrean Sea;* Vincent : *Commerce and Navigation of the Ancients;* and Elphinstone : *History of India,* among others.

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THE NEED OF A "PROSPERITY INDEX" FOR INDIA

By AMULYAPRASAD CHANDA

A Press report from Delhi, dated the 27th November, 1950, states that the Finance Minister of India indicated in Parliament, "Certain measure of uniformity (in Sales Tax structure) is already being achieved through coming into force of Article 286 of the Constitution." This is very good news for all students of Indian Economics. For, it will now be possible to study scientifically the effects of the economic policies of the Union and States Governments on the people from year to year on the basis of the ratio between the total sales tax earned on certain representative commodities and the total population of the Union or a State, as the case may be.

It would perhaps be good for the purpose if the population of the territory concerned were divided into three groups, the *low income group* (l), the *middle income group* (m), and the *high income group* (h). So far as the first group is concerned, cotton-cloth seems to be the ideal commodity. Any fluctuations in the income of this group will be reflected in the consumption of cotton-cloth more readily than on food. Therefore, $S(l)/P=q(l)$, where P = total population of the Union, or the State concerned at the end of the selected year, S=total sales tax for the year on cotton-cloth, q=quantum, would serve for a formula. In the same way, silk fabrics, razors and razor blades, and cosmetics and scented hair oil may be taken to be representative of the second group in the population from the point of view of elasticity of demand. The formula may be put thus : $S(m)/P=q(m)$. In the last case, $S(h)/P=q(h)$ would do; here the commodities selected are automobiles and jewellery (other than gold).

Obviously, to determine the fluctuations in the

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economic condition of the several groups, from year to year, a standard year, say, 1951, will have to be fixed, and, sales tax fluctuations would have to be compared in terms of the ratio between the quanta for 1951 with those of the year concerned. Naturally, the population figures will have to be brought up-to-date from records of births and deaths all over the country. The required ratio may be expressed thus q(*l*)1952/q(*l*)1951, q(*m*)1952/q(*m*)1951, or q(*h*)19 q(*h*)1951. It will unmistakably indicate to what ex the several groups among the people had benefited the policies of the Governments concerned during period under review.

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ART IN INDIA
A Retrospect and Prospect

By P. RAJESWARA RAO, Advocate

At the outset it is necessary to note that Art in India passed through three phases. In the Vedic age it was confined to the celestial region and divine beings. Then the subject of art consisted of Brahma, Narasimham and Nataraja. The radiance of Rama and lustre of Krishna, the beauty of Lakshmi and of Saraswati formed the subject of art. It was then that the Gandharvas and Kinnaras feasted our ears with divine music. To the uninitiated of the West, Indian art has little or no meaning. It is impossible to understand Indian art without understanding the whole culture and historical tradition of which it is the direct expression. It is useless to treat art as an isolated phenomenon apart from life of the people who have made it.

In the Buddhistic period Art came down from heaven to the earth but it was not enslaved to man. Curiously there is no statue or picture of Asoka who strove his utmost to propagate Buddhism. It was then the kings that adored art, but art never sought royal patronage.

In the third stage, which began with the Moghul period, art began to cater to human pleasure.

In India, art is the statement of racial experience and serves the purpose of life or at any rate did so in the past. Thus art and life are root and branch. It has always been produced in response to a demand. It developed as a specific need and dispelled the illusion that it is the privilege of the few or that art is only the productions we see in the museums and art galleries. It was because the system of caste originally combined in itself duty and pleasure, compulsion and freedom, that arts and crafts flourished. Under this great scheme of life, ability and skill were acquired through patient practice directed towards a definite end, whether this end were aesthetical, ethical or useful. The craftsmen had also an assured status in the form of a life contract, more strictly it was an hereditary office. He was trained from childhood as his father's disciple and followed his father's calling as a matter of course. He was member of the guild and such guilds were recogn and protected by law. His domain was never invad by amateurs. The craftsman was inspired with "re rence for quality, with a fear of offending God striking a hammer-stroke or a sweep of the plane a with a blessed dread lest Viswakarma, the Lord of t Arts, should be offended by infidelity to his method

According to Bhagavad Gita, it is by intense dev tion to his own vocation that every man attains h own perfection. The possession of an art is a vocati and a responsibility under the caste system, where nature and nurture co-operated. Referring to t caste system, Dr. Coomaraswami maintained that

> "It is the nearest approach that has yet bee made towards a society where there shall be n attempt to realise a competitive equality but whe all interests are regarded as identical."

To those who admit the variety of age in huma souls, this must appear to be the only true com munism. It was a scientific system of social servi according to the inborn qualities of the individu *birth being a convenient but not an essential co comitant*. It was the antithesis of plutocracy and oc was respected not for what he had but for wh he was. One cannot suddenly alter his subconscio heritage. We cannot put our souls in uniform. Freedo consists in making the best of what we have—o parentage, physical capacity and mental gifts. Evidentl

> "The institution of caste illustrates the spir of comprehensive synthesis characteristic of t Hindu mind with its faith in the collaboration races and the co-operation of cultures,"

as Dr. S. Radhakrishnan epigramatically put i Though it developed later into an instrument o oppression and intolerance and tended to perpetuat inequality, originally it was the outcome of tolerance and trust. In Indian crafts individuality did no degenerate into eccentricity but was schooled by social attention to never fell into artificiality.

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While every art embodies the eternal, it is also characteristic of the soil in which it is born and derives sustenance. We find each race evolving its own art according to its own possibilities. Each phase of civilization has produced its own form of art and it is largely from the monuments of bygone generations that we are able to construct the history of man. Indian art derives its basic character from certain ideals associated with the philosophic outlook and religion of the people. India sought to depict the reality of spirit in the various forms of art, through sound, colour, form and particularly symbolism. The symbolism of Indian culture is an attempt at translating spirit into matter, at giving material expression to a firm vision of the spirit. In short, Indian art is the art of impression and interpretation rather than of representation and semblance. Sri Aurobindo summarised the meaning of Indian art thus in a language that cannot be bettered :

> "All Indian art is a throwing out of self-vision formed by going within to find out the secret significance of form and appearance, a discovery of the subject in one's deeper self of the material and natural shape to express the psychic truth of it with the greatest possible purity and power of outline and the greatest possible concentrated rhythmic unity of significance in all the parts of an indivisible artistic whole."

A characteristic feature of the Indian religious life is the socialisation of its arts. In India, it is not the museums and the drawing-rooms that are the repositories of art. Art is reflected in every walk of life, at every step. In the West art is personal and aristocratic. But in India, it has always been impersonal and democratic. It is the art instinct in the Indian people that makes them love their clay pots, their brass utensils and their *lotas* and *chembus* which are extremely artistic commodities and not unlovely and unshapely as the tin mug and the enamelled dish which the educated Indian prefers today. Clothes of fine texture, in endless varieties of colour, tasteful patterns and designs, the delicacy and minuteness of workmanship of ornaments, all these testify to the remarkable artistic feeling which the rich and the poor, the educated and the illiterate share and enjoy in India. It made the life of the nation and the life of the individual full of beauty in the cottage as well as in the palace. When civilization has made of life a business, it should be remembered that life was once an art. When culture is the privilege of bookworms it should be remembered that it was once a part of life itself, not something achieved in stolen moments of relief.

Unfortunately, Indian art has been too long misunderstood through such dull examples as the Banaras brass work which still gathers dust in English country houses. No one possessing a serious knowledge of Indian jewellery could speak of "the massive proportions and primitive character of Indian jewellery." Such jewellery is seen in museums only where anthropologists collect whatever is primitive and barbarous to the exclusion of what is refined and delicate. The goldsmith of southern India or the enameller of Jaipur has much more to teach than to learn in a school of art.

We had the world-famous dyeing and printing art of Masulipatam. Connoisseurs say that our old indigenous dyes cannot be matched by anything in the world for their permanence, brightness and beauty. The powdered lime designs extensively displayed in houses and streets on festive occasions, the turmeric, the vermilion, sandal paste, colouring aids, *pansupari* and the like, are the positive proofs, if any is necessary, of the artistic bent of mind and aesthetic sentiment prevailing among Indians. It is the natural expression and not an extraneous embellishment of life. In its richest form it is available to and appreciated by the poorest. It is the common heritage of the people and not a monopoly of the privileged few. Though excellent in quality it is remarkably cheap, since it is a cottage industry. India endeavoured to live rather than accumulate the means of living. The ideal aimed at was to refine the wants, to increase sensitiveness rather than multiply wants and blunt the finer instincts. The Government Public Works Department from which indigeneous styles of architecture have been rigorously excluded has crushed out the artistic sentiment of the people and deprived Indian artists of their livelihood.

Art is neither a luxury nor a superstition but a way of life. It sweetens life and labour. It is wonderfully of this world and as our eyes grow used to its conventions we become delightfully aware of a generous and healthy love of life in all its form. When life becomes unbearable art can make it pleasant. The purpose of art in beguiling the tedium of labour is seen also in the songs which are still sung while pounding rice, pulling or rowing the country boats and also during the transplantation and reaping of the paddy plants. India is a land of teeming villages whose population are wedded to poverty and misery but having their simple feast of poetry and music which truly reflect their art. Folk-dance, music, drama or folk-lore is a natural mode of artistic response to the environment.

Thus art in India is not a forgotten memory but a living tradition. It has not altogether gone to the museum as a relic of the past. Even the Hindu temple is a ritual diagram on metaphysical foundation which in turn has cosmological and magical implications, and the various gods and goddesses enter into the squares in which the plan is laid out. The various substances of which the temple is built (brick, stone, lime, plaster) carry different symbolic connotations.

It is no wonder that sometimes its purpose is misunderstood and motives are questioned. One current criticism against art in India is that at times it is

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pressed into service for indecent and immoral purposes. The obscene images on the temples and romantic allusions in songs are condemned by conventional puritans and moralists. But it is necessary to note that an artist is not always a moral teacher and morals change according to times. The morality of a work of art does not depend upon its subject, but only upon the way that subject is treated aesthetically and otherwise. How can we, for example, ascribe morality or immorality to the fact of nakedness? It is the handiwork of God so long as one looks upon the same with frank delight admiring equally the beauty of a womon with that of birds and flowers, content to behold without possessing. Morality and immorality cannot be predicated of any physical objects but only of movements of the will. For example, we cannot call a gun moral when it is used to kill a rushing lion and immoral when a man is shot at.

Art is beyond space and time. The art of love that leads to recreation and procreation has an important place in life. Its taboo and neglect leads to disastrous consequences. The *Kama Sutra* of Vatsyayana still stands unrivalled as a commentary on sexual science. These *sutras* in extenso are sculptured on the sun temple at Konarak in Orissa. In this connection the following explanation of Dr. Coomaraswami is revealing:

> "In nearly all Indian art there runs a vein of deep sex-mysticism. Not merely are female forms felt to be equally appropriate with the males to adumbrate the majesty of the over-soul, but the interplay of all psychic and sexual forces is felt in itself to be religious. Here is no thought that passion is degrading, but a frank recognition of the close analogy between amorous and religious ecastasy. It is thus that the imager speaking always for the race rather than of personal idiosyncrasies set side by side on his cathedral walls the *yogi* and the *apsara*, the saint and the ideal courtesan; accepting life as he saw it, he interpreted all its phenomena with perfect catholicity of vision. Such figures and indeed all the sculptural embroidery of Indian temples are confined to the exterior walls of the shrine, which is absolutely plain within. Such is the veil of nature's empirical life, enshrining one, not contradicted or identified into variety."

At Konarak, the sculptors paid their homage to the beauty of the female form in all the glory of its seductive charms and in an infinite variety of poses and moods. This temple standing alone in a great sandy waste, both architecturally and in details of sculpture, is one of the noblest monuments of In medieval art contemporary with the finest perio European architecture. The carvings there symb the fertilising and creative power of the sun. It hymn of life, a frank and exquisite glorificatio creative forces in the universe. From the point of of art they reveal a commendable mastery of hu anatomy and bodily form in different poses and m ments on the part of those ancient sculptors. myth that Indian craftsmen were and are poor in t knowledge of anatomy stands exposed in these ings. Thus art transcends the narrow rigors of con tional morality.

Like Hinduism, Indian art is a movement and a position, a process and not a result, a growing t tion and not a fixed revelation. It has high spiri qualities which entitle her to a front rank in the r of art. It is essentially a means of *union*. The front erected by politicians tend to break down whene works of art have become freely visible. Among art themselves there is a growing understanding of differ techniques and much cosmopolitan appreciation. Ud shankar is right in prophesying that we are rapi reaching a stage in which we will see Conga steps Bharatanatyam, Cossack and Russian folk moveme in Kathakali, Jaztap dancing in Kathak and Hawa Hula dancing in Manipuri. Though violin is a fore instrument, it is found to be most suited to acc pany a vocalist in a concert. All the Gamas and Bri of the vocalist can be reproduced on it with effe Even Veena, Flute and Gotuvaidyam have cert limitations for accompaniment. That is why violin come to occupy a permanent place in India.

Art reflects the heart of a nation. Its beat sho be rhythmic and regular. The faith and the vision apprehend the intrinsic worth of the artistic herita is also essential. It is necessary to reflect on, feel a caress aesthetics, region by region, period by period piece by piece. There is need to galvanise and electr Indian art in such a way that the perfection alre attained may be preserved while adding new perf tions gathered from our study of the aesthetics other countries. When a living Indian art arises out the wreck of the past and the struggle of the pres a new tradition will be evolved and a new vision find expression.

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Book Reviews

Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

EDITOR, *The Modern Review*.

ENGLISH

THE SULTANATE OF DELHI: *By Ashirbadi Lal Srivastava, Agra College. Published by Shiva Lal Agarwala and Co. Ltd., Agra. 1950, Royal Octavo. Pp. 550. Price Rs. 10.*

Dr. Ashirvadi Lal's latest production *The Sultanate of Delhi* forms a welcome addition to his earlier scholarly works dealing with the history of the Nawabs of Qudh, with this difference that, while the Oudh Nawabs cover a very recent period, *viz.*, the 18th century, of the history of India, the Sultanate goes back to those dim early days, which can be fittingly described as the dark ages of our country's past, and which roughly extend over the five hundred years following the invasion of Muhummud of Ghazni, that is from 1000 to 1500 A.C. In abridging the story of these five hundred years in his *Sultanate*, the author does not claim to have offered any fresh contribution of original research, but gives a masterly summary in a short compass of all the salient features and up-to-date life-stories of the many eminent personalities, who so materially changed the traditional tenor of India's past. It passes in review all the various dynasties beginning with the Sultans of Ghazni and ending with the Lodis, all bristling with eminent figures of valour, sagacity and statesmanship in varied degrees.

While the rapid Muslim conquest of India has been explained by many a worthy scholar as being due to the fanatical zeal of the Muslims and the apathy of the Hindu masses, no finality has yet been reached in point of complete research of all available evidence. Reading through the eloquent accounts of Muslim writers presented by our author, one easily notices the utter absence of sources of Indian origin, such as those which can be available in Sanskrit and the Prakrit languages, then current in India. So far as South India is concerned, a distinct advance has been achieved by many a worker on this side. What scholars like N. Venkataramanyya have accomplished (see his admirable thesis entitled *Early Muslim Expansion in South India*, Madras University, 1942), has not so far been in evidence as regards North India. The period is certainly replete with an enormous mass of literature in Sanskrit works and local inscriptions, published or unpublished. A persistent and systematic effort does not seem to have been made to secure all available evidence existing in the North Indian languages scattered over vast regions from the Indus to the Narmada and on to the Bay of Bengal. The Persian writers, however worthy and sincere they may be, give only a one-sided picture which cannot be tested without reference to other sources. Indeed, research has greatly suffered for want of scholars and students who combine proficiency both in Persian and Sanskrit. For an accurate version of our past history, we must have workers who know both these languages and local dialects of North India as well. Notwithstanding this grave defect, for which the author is in no way responsible, the *Sultanate of Delhi* is indeed a valuable reference book both for specialists and general readers and a decided advance on Stanley Lane-Poole's *Medieval India*, which appeared nearly half a century ago, a period during which historical research has made enormous progress in all its branches. Another special feature of the *Sultanate* is the dozen illustrative maps laboriously worked out, the absence of which had so long been a great impediment to proper study on the part of students, who had to grope in the dark in this darkest of all periods. A critical bibliography is given at the end; and each chapter mentions books and authorities for special reading. Thus the history of these five centuries has been practically reconstructed in this handy volume. The most admirable part of the whole performance, which has immediate reference to our present needs, is doubtless the author's lucid discussion of the nature of the Islamic State contained in the concluding chapters XVI to XVIII. The Sultanate was a theocracy and not a secular state. It did not recognize any other religion than its own, although the overwhelmingly vast majority of its population was non-Muslim. The bitter antagonism of the two forms the main structure of India's history of that period and continues to baffle statesmanship even today on account of the creation of Pakistan, bringing in its train fresh problems involving world-wide convulsions. The background of this consummation is pithily illustrated in the *Sultanate*, which has appeared not a moment too soon.

A few mistakes of dates will puzzle the reader and need correction, *e.g.*, p. 118, *read* 1206 *for* 1506; p. 266 and p. 277, *read* 1320 *for* 1325; p. 384, *read* 1461 *for* 1447; p. 404, *read* 1336 *for* 1346; p. 407, *read* 1505 *for* 1555.

G. S. SARDESAI

ANCIENT INDIAN HISTORY AND CULTURE: *By J. T. Parikh, Surat, 1949. Pp. 255. Price Rs. 3.*

This little work has been prepared by the author in accordance with the history syllabus prescribed for First Year Arts Classes of the Universities of Bombay and Poona. In some respects it may claim to have fulfilled its object. Written in a simple style, it deals not only with political history but also with social, economic and religious conditions as well as the state of art and literature during the successive centuries. But the title "Beginnings of Hindu Power" applied to the period from 250 B.C. to 200 (*read* 320) A.D. (pp. 198f) is incomprehensible, while the other title "Decline of Hindu Power" given to the period following Harsha's death (p. 249) is inaccurate. Some of the topics dealt with by the author such as the difference between culture and civilisation (pp. 1-2) and social

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psychology of *varnasramavyavastha* (pp. 86-90) are too difficult for those for whom the work is intended. The book as a whole suffers from a want of proportion, nearly half of it being devoted to the Rigvedic and Brahmanical (sic.) periods, while the period from 600-1000 A.D. is dismissed in about 10 pages. The term Anaryan for non-Aryan (pp. 36-37, 66, 82 etc.) is unusual. There are occasional slips of composition, *e.g.*, 'resulted into' (pp. 36, 37), 'culminating into' (p. 107). In some cases popular tales are quoted as sober facts, as in the story of Chandragupta's being Commander-in-Chief of Nanda's army and making an attempt against his life (pp. 173-74), or of Asoka's building 84,000 *stupas* (p. 178). In other cases the author's statements are contrary to fact, *e.g.*, when he says that Asoka sent missionaries to "Tibet, Malaya and Sumatra" (p. 177) and that "Hindu colonists established (*sic.*) in Burma, Malaya, Java, Sumatra and Combodia" during the 400 years intervening between Harsha's accession and the Muslim conquest of Kanauj (p. 251). The complete absence of maps as well as dynastic and other tables is very much to be regretted.

U. N. GHOSHAL

MAN IN INDIA: *By Prof. Minendra Nath Basu. Dutta Borooah Bros. and Co., Nalbari, Assam. 1950. Pp. 60. Price ten annas.*

The booklet contains a summary of our present knowledge about the racial constitution of the Indian people. As such, it will prove useful for students of Anthropology. A glossary of technical terms would perhaps have made the book more useful for lay readers.

NIRMAL KUMAR BOSE

SARDAR PATEL ON INDIAN PROBLEMS: *Publications Division, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Old Secretariat, Delhi. 1949. Pp. 117. Price Rs. 3-8.*

THE BEGINNING OF THE END: *By Harekrushna Mahtab, Premier, Orissa. Published by Book Company, College Square, Calcutta. Pp. 197. Price not mentioned.*

The first book consists of reports of 35 speeches of Sardar Patel, some of these in summary, delivered by him between November 1947 to January 26, 1948. There are three statements—one made on July 5, 1947; the second on June 26, and the third on June 29, 1948. The first forty-two pages are devoted to the subject of the States—their present condition and future; the pages up to 72 are devoted to communal matters; the next nine pages to Industry and Labour; from pages 84 to 117 the topics discussed are Miscellaneous. These speeches and statements will enable readers to understand certain of the problems that have made Bharat what she is today. The States' problem, of their integration and consolidation inside one Republic, has been all but solved in spite of the mischief indicated for them in the Cabinet Mission's plan of April 12, 1946. About 99 per cent of the States' rulers have been pensioned off; their peoples have been given a chance to work out their own destiny. It is too early even now, after about two years of this liquidation of ancient traditions, how the members of the princely families and the peoples will shape themselves. The former being so few may fade out of the picture, the latter counted in millions, about 90 millions, have to show themselves equal to the new opportunities opened out before them. They must agree to pass through a process of re-education, whether it will be long or short will depend wholly on them. Both they and their rulers must avoid the policy of getting results quickly; the neglect of centuries is not made up in years. This Sardar Patel presses home with characteristic clarity.

Shree Harekrushna Mahatab's book deals exclusively with the States' problem, specially with Orissa States. The dispersal of Oriyas under so many administrations had held up almost all progress in the province. Now that historic wrong has been righted all of us can look forward to glorious days for them in view of this stand-point the past has a value as warning only. We should know it; Sri Harekrushna book helps us in this. It also shows that not all British officials were die-hards; they were victims of policy made higher up in the interests of exploitation by alien State. The Appendix prints certain declarations of policy that should be kept in mind always by the people concerned.

SURESH CHANDRA DE

I. L. O. PUBLICATIONS: 1. *Coal Mines Committee 1949: Vocational Retraining of Disabled Miners*; 2. *The Protection of Young Workers Employed Underground in Coal Mines*; 3. *General Report: Metal Trades Committee*; 4. *Record of the Second Session, 1947*; 5. *Inland Transport Committee 1949: Technical Methods of Selections of Workers for the Inland Transport Industry; Asian Regional Conference, January 1950*; 6. *Provision of Facilities for the Promotion of Workers' Welfare*; 7. *Agricultural Wages and Incomes of Primary Products*; 8. *Organisation of Manpower*; 9. *Seafarers' Conditions in India and Pakistan*; 10. *Vocational Training of Adults in Belgium*; 11. *International Labour Conference 1949*; 12. *Migration for Employment Report XI (I), Migration for Employment Report XI (II).*

The International Labour Office, Geneva, is publishing books on various subjects, and its reports are veritable mines of information. It is unfortunate that our scholars and journalists do not pay much attention to these volumes. To illustrate our point, we shall quote a few passages from *Housing and Employment* which show how rent and assessment are inter-connected; and how rent is more or less inflexible.

"Property taxes are fundamentally a survival from a different sort of economy, and act as a hindrance to the development of *better housing standards*. The burden of such taxes is severe."

"For the United States as a whole, the average monthly tax instalment represents about 33 per cent of the average monthly loan payment" to own a house.

"Rents, like costs of land, of construction, of mortgages and of property taxes, are thus likely to be *relatively inflexible*, and changes in them to lag behind and be dependent on changes in the general level of activity; moreover, all these costs are likely to be more flexible in respect of changes upwards than of changes downwards."

In framing the Rent Control Acts, our legislators may with profit read such publications. We need not say more.

J. M. DATTA

THE WHOLE WORLD IS MY NEIGHBOUR: *By E. De Meuldar S.J. Published by J. Van Meenen Proost and Co. Ltd., Turnhout, Belgium. Available in India at Catholic Ashram, Hazaribagh, Bihar. Pp. [illegible] Price 8s. 6d.*

The book under review is a propagandist and polemical work. Its author is a Belgian Jesuit, who has been carrying on proselytising mission in India for over 22 years last at Hazaribagh. The book is a stud

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of his post-war tour round the world. It is adorned by a number of portraits and statements of Mahatma Gandhi, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Poet Rabindranath, Sardar Patel and other eminent savants of India. An Introduction in French by Father Pierre Charles is also given in it. One of the seven chapters of the book is entitled "Mother India." In this chapter the author appreciates the greatness of India and esteems her as his second motherland. But his inner motive is nothing but to win over India to Christ. He quotes the tributes of Keshub Chandra Sen, Upadhyaya Brahmabandhav and other Indian reformers to show that India badly needs Christianisation. He goes in vain to the extent of dreaming of a Catholic India and thinking that India will be far better by becoming Christian. In page 136 he remarks, "The outcasts and untouchables of India will find complete satisfaction and new hope in the worship of the gracious and attractive Mother of Jesus and in the ceremonial and artistic richness of Catholicism in place of the terrifying Kali." The author's ulterior motive of Christianising India is exposed through these silly observations. In page 188, the anti-Hindu author makes very uncharitable remarks against the Ramakrishna Mission monks preaching Hinduism in Hollywood as follows: "The philosophical treasures of Hindu Thought are not made of the over-sexed, monistic, westernised brand actually for sale in Hollywood. That sort of Neo-Hinduism smacks too much of Mill, Spencer, Comte and others like Aldous Huxley and Somerset Maugham." If the West can send missionaries to India to preach Christianity, cannot Free India depute preachers to spread Hindu Thought in the West? Why does Mr. De Meuldar become intolerant and upset when he sees the success of Hindu missionaries in America? Does it not prove that Christian missionaries are disguised enemies of India and Christianity as preached by them is more political and commercial than religious? We make bold to assert that Christians have to learn more from Hinduism than the Hindus have to learn from Christianity. If the author has failed to understand this by living in India over two decades, his sojourn in India and study of Indian thought have been utterly futile. It is better for him to leave India and return home. In page 190, the author quotes and supports this fanatic statement of Fr. Johannes, the author of *To Christ through Vedanta*, "Vedanta offers the sight of a heap of loose limbs . . . But in the Catholicism of St. Thomas we have an organic whole. It is one harmony in which the different Vedantic systems find their proper setting and their discordance disappears." From this Mr. De Meuldar jumps to the foolish conclusion that "Jesus Christ is the Crown of Sanatan Dharma!" These two remarks of Fr. Johannes and Mr. De Meuldar make it crystal-clear that their study of Hinduism is doubtlessly shallow and biased. Let Mr. De Meuldar ponder over what Paul Deussen, the German authority on Vedanta has said: "It possesses a significance, far reaching beyond the Upanishads, their time and country. Nay, we may claim for it an inestimable value for the whole race of mankind. One thing we may assert with confidence: Whatever new and unwonted paths the philosophy of the future may strike out, the principle (of Vedanta) will remain permanently unshaken and from this no deviation will take place." If the Christian missionaries of the West become like their die-hard politicians so short-sighted and conservative then Christianity is surely doomed in the Indian Republic.

SWAMI JAGADISWARANANDA

THE WARDHA SCHEME : *By K. L. Shrimali, Ph.D. Published by Vidya Bhawan Society, Udaipur. First edition. 1949. Pages 308. Price Rs. 5.*

Mahatma Gandhi was a practical visionary who devoted himself not only to the elimination of British rule from India but also to the rearing up and further development of India's own culture broadbased on ideal democracy and economic prosperity. He was not a mere political iconoclast but a builder of a Nation bewildered in a halo of artificial life. Mahatmaji gave serious and persistent thoughts to the problem of India's regeneration. Basic or New Education was propounded by him as a means to attain his objective. To him it was the "spearhead of a silent social revolution." As the scheme differs in many respects from the educational system in existence, a great stir was created amongst educationists in India as soon as it was brought to light. The Plan has been assailed from many quarters and praised from many more. When the bickerings end, it will be seen that the Scheme has come to stay. In the book under review Dr. Shrimali has brought to bear the whole wealth of Gandhian literature and thrown a flood of light upon the Wardha Scheme of education from the different aspects from which the originator of the plan had viewed it. The learned author has narrated the background which necessitated the formulation of the plan, analysed the plan itself, discussed its relation with cottage industries and has shown how the New Education is in perfect conformity with Gandhian philosophy of life—social, political and economic. The book provides a complete picture of Basic Education in its theoretical aspects: it is a genuine contribution to educational literature distinguished for thoroughness of treatment, logical analysis of views and lucidity of style. There is little left about the academic exposition of the scheme. Only a few chapters showing the results of the Scheme in the touch-stone of practical operation in different States in India would double enhance its merits. The get-up and printing are excellent.

NARAYAN C. CHANDA

INDIA'S LANGUAGE PROBLEM : *By K. Appadurai M.A., L.T., Visharad, (Hindi). Tamil India Publications, Arunachala Achari Street, Madras 5, Price Rs. 2-8.*

The aim of the book is to make out a case for Tamil as the common language of India. The learned author seeks to point out the merits of Tamil which is supposed to be the 'typical central language of India,' in contrast to what he considers to be the drawbacks of the languages. He goes so far as to suggest that Tamil is the 'basic Indian language' and that 'the antiquity of all Indian languages and their refinement is directly in proportion to their contact with Tamil or Dravidian and in inverse proportion to their contact with Sanskrit' (p. 129). It has been hinted that the proposal for the adoption of Hindi as the common language of India has been at the root of the division of India and its final adoption may lead to a further division between the South and the North of India. It seems the book was written on the eve of the passing of the Indian constitution which accepted Hindi as the national language of India. Advocates of some other languages also came forward with similar pleas for their own tongues. Vituperations against Hindi and its supporters were loud and numerous. But impartial rational people saw through the hollowness of the demonstrations. It is high time that real lovers

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of the various languages and literatures of India should concentrate their efforts on the enrichment and popularisation of their respective regional languages so that these may win the spontaneous respect of the intelligentsia and carve out honourable and glorious positions for themselves on the ground of intrinsic merit which cannot be ignored for long.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

BHARAT (India): *By R. S. Babasaheb Deshpande. Published by Swadhyaya-Mandal, Killa-Pardi, Dt. Surat. Price Rs. 2.*

This is a compilation of extracts from the speeches and writings of foreigners on India. Its perusal will convince the reader that India evolved a culture unique in many respects. The compiler has taken great pains in selecting the extracts. His labour is laudable and useful too. We stand today at the cross-roads of our history. The old order is assailed on all fronts. The modern inconoclast would however do well to go through *Bharat* and similar literature before he launches on his career of indiscriminate denomination and destruction of the past. A nation's present and future cannot be totally divorced from its past. Babasaheb Deshpande has rendered a distinct national service by drawing our attention to the glory that was Hind. A word of caution, however, seems to be necessary. We must not rest on our oars and exhaust our energies in extolling the past. We have to strain every nerve to equal, nay, to excel the achievements of our great forbears, who are no more.

SUDHANSU BIMAL MUKHERJI

BENGALI

KAUTILIYA ARTHASASTRA (Part I): *Translated into Bengali by Dr. Radhagovinda Basak. General Printers and Publishers Ltd., Calcutta. 1950. Pp. 205. Price Rs. 6.*

Among the milestones marking the astonishing advance of the Sanskrit renaissance in the early years of this century may be mentioned the recovery in quick succession of a number of lost works of first-rate importance, *viz.*, the *Arthasastra* of Kautilya (1909), the dramas of Bhasa (1910), the *Saundarananda-kavya* and the fragmentary *Sariputra-prakarana* drama of Asvaghosha (1910-11). The first of these works was hailed from the time of its appearance as a unique record of Ancient India's contribution to the Art of Government. It has been thrice edited by Indian and German scholars and has been translated into English and German, while the literature that has grown around its problems and contents has been extensive. A much desired Bengali translation of this work was attempted by the late Pandit Asoke Nath Sastri, but was given up after publication of a few chapters. To Dr. Radhagovinda Basak we are indebted for its first complete Bengali translation, of which Part I is now placed before the public. It would be difficult to mention any one more qualified for this task than Dr. Basak. To a sound knowledge of classical literature in all its branches and the technique of Sanskrit inscriptions, he adds the gift of a facile Bengali style which makes his writings attractive even to the general reader. Of the difficulties of his task the author himself is fully conscious, for, as he tells us in his Foreword, the readings are not always above suspicion owing to the paucity of the manuscript material, while the archaic style and abounding technical terms often contribute to the obscurity of the text. On this ground he modestly craves the indulgence of his readers by quoting in part (somewhat incongruously), the famous lines of the poet Bhavabhuti in the Introduction to his *Malati-Madhava* drama. The author has shown good sense in attempting not a literary translation which would have been unreadable, but one interpreting the sense. In the result his work is a marvel of lucidity combined with scholarly accuracy of a high order. To enhance the usefulness of this work, we would, however, suggest the addition, in the second part, of a full list of difficult words with their explanations on the lines of Dr. F. W. Thomas' similar list of words in Bana's *Harsha-charita*. Such an addition, taking account of the already-known explanations of Indian and German scholars, will not only be of great value to students of the *Arthasastra*, but will also enrich the literature of Sanskrit lexicography.

In the Preface the author gives us a running analysis of the contents of the work and then deals with a few problems relating to its date and authorship. He rightly rejects the view of the late Mm. Ganapati Sastri substituting (somewhat arbitrarily) the *gotra*-name Kautalya for the well-known Kautilya as the title or designation of the author. He also gives good grounds for rejecting the late date (1st century A.D. or even later) ascribed to this work by some Indian and European scholars. His own view, suggested with true scholarly caution, is that it was really written (as the orthodox tradition asserts) in the 4th century B.C. by Chandragupta Maurya's great minister.

From the foregoing remarks it is evident that Dr. Basak's work is an outstanding contribution to Bengali literature in recent years. Together with Pandit Jogendranath Tarka-Sankhya-Vedantatirtha's recently-published work *Prachin Bharater Dandaniti* (Science of Polity in Ancient India), it will rank for many years to come as the most authoritative exposition of the subject existing in the Bengali language. We await the publication of the concluding part of Dr. Basak's work with great interest.

U. N. GHOSHAL

HINDI

ARTHASHASTRA SHABDA-KOSHA: *By Acharyas Raghuvira and Bhagavatasharana Adholiya and Pannalal Balduva. Published by Govindaram Seksaria Arthd-Sahitya Prakashana Mandala, Wardha, C. P. Pp. 230. Price Rs. 4.*

A very useful Dictionary of Economic Terms, marked by originality and all-comprehensiveness of connotation. It is true it will be a long time before these terms become common currency in the country, but they have laid the foundations of fundamental indigenous terminology, evolved with a scientific turn of mind and overall insight. The authors have done great pioneering work for which they deserve the sincere congratulations of all patriots as well as pundits.

G. M.

GUJARATI

BHAGWAN RUSHABH DEV: *By Jayabhikkhu. Published by the Yashovijya Jain Granthmala, Bhavanagar. 1947. Illustrated cover. Pp. 365. Price Rs. 4-8.*

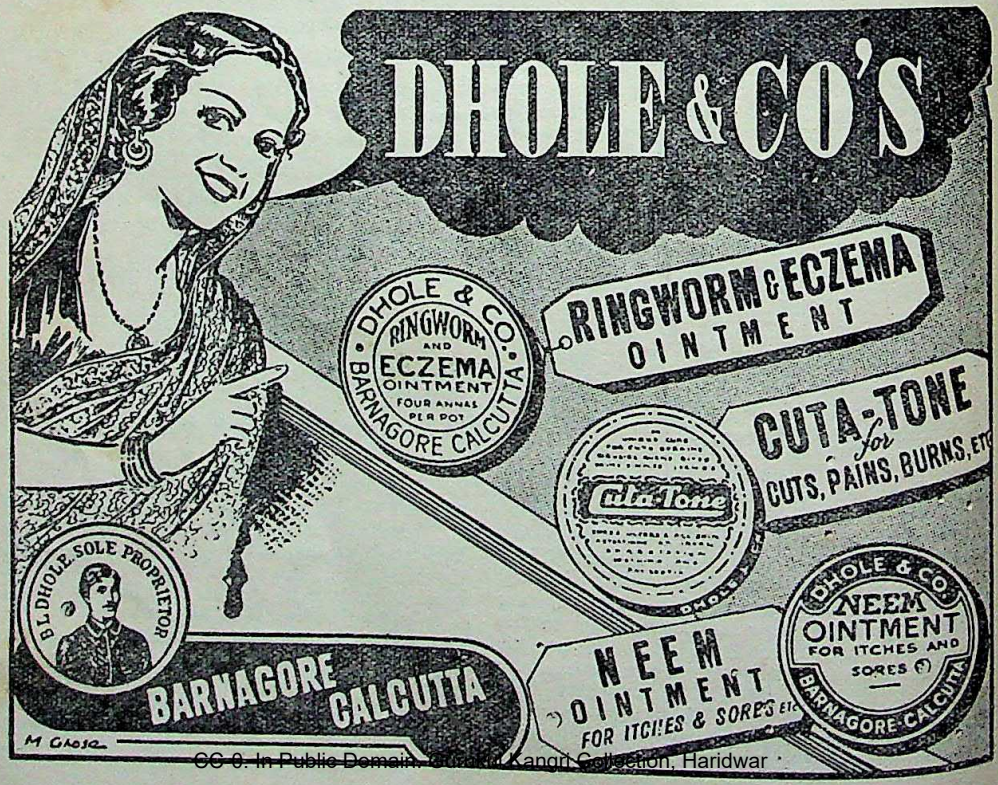
Jayabhikkhu has about ten notable works to his credit, related to mythology, (Jain) social topics, and historical lore. He writes well and impressively. His imagination is rich, and he describes facts and feelings in an attractive way. Of the two towering personalities of the Jain Sangh, Bhagwan Rushabh Dev was one, the other being Shri Mahavir. The story of Kushabh Dev's life and glorious lead to society is, though well-known, told in the pages in such a romantic and at the same time realistic way, that the reader is not tired of reading it.

K. M. J.

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INDIAN PERIODICALS

George Bernard Shaw

K. G. Menon writes in *The Indian Review:*

"The young Beggar is getting quite outrageous. I left him this morning roaring and heaving like a bull." So wrote Shaw Senior to his wife about young George Bernard, then one year old. For years thereafter, barring a brief period of mediocrity in youth and middle age, the youngster continued consistently to be outrageous, Enfant terrible shocking the world with epigrams, paradoxes and poses and provoking everyone with outbursts from pulpit, platform, stage and the press. And just as he lived, volcanic energy erupting unpredictably, so he died when we were least prepared for it and after recovering from two surgical operations that might have killed a younger man.

On his ancestry, Shaw himself has enlightened us. His mother—Elizabeth Lucinda Gurly—"was the daughter of a country gentleman, and was brought up with ruthless strictness to be a paragon of all lady-like virtues and accomplishments." Not knowing what marriage meant and having to choose between a tyrannical aunt and an irate father with a second wife, she preferred an impecunious and elderly husband in George Carr Shaw, squint-eyed drunkard, two degrees removed from an Irish baronet. The third child and first son of this union was George Bernard. He had little schooling and was soon office boy and clerk in a Dublin firm. But Shaw was not meant for a musty office and escaped to London where, through a long apprenticeship of failure as pamphleteer, public speaker and novelist, he was sustained by his mother, who taught music. An accidental meeting with William Archer projected him into his new career as art critic, whereafter and especially as critic of music and drama, a new star was born. This Star, G.B.S., was according to Shaw, "one of the most successful of my fictions . . . . . G.B.S. bores me, except when he is saying something that needs saying and can best be said in the G.B.S. manner. G.B.S. is a humbug." We cannot help agreeing, but when he says, "G.B.S. is not a real person: he is a legend created by myself: a pose, a reputation. The real Shaw is not a bit like him," we reserve judgment, as the two pictures seem as different as Augustus John's portraits and Rodin's bust. For, into the composition of that complex personality went conflicting ingredients that produced the brew of a witch's cauldron that Shakespeare never dreamt of. It made Shaw doubt his own sanity, while his periodical public pronouncements left his listeners gaping with equal uncertainty. One of his weakest vanities is the comparison between himself and Shakespeare. Duffin, Frank Harris and other biographers allege that Shaw declared his plays to be better than Shakespeare's. Shaw has denied the allegation, but has certainly said that during his days as dramatic critic, he postulated certain requirements for successful plays and proceeded to excel in them in *unprecedented* fashion. "My plays are no more economic treatises than Shakespeare's," he says in his self-sketches, and "all my plays were written (not) as economic essays, (but) as plays of life, character and human destiny, like those of Shakespeare or Euripides." Shaw is therefore not averse to compulsion [illegible] or criminal, who is human and true to nature and none peare. He is also proud of the socialism of his plays, the plays of ideas he created—with all the earnestness of the Morality plays of old—against the bleak background of 19th century classical melodrama. Against the pedestal on which these plays are set up, "It is useless to talk of Shakespeare's depth now" continued Shaw, "There is nothing left but his Music. Our Bard is knocked out of time. There is not a feature left in his face."

In defence of Shaw, it must be admitted that, in many ways, Shavian drama is unique. "My governess taught me my alphabet," Shaw admitted, "but nobody taught me to write plays, which were denounced as no plays, until they made so much money that the fashion changed and I was hailed as successor to Shakespeare." But the process of successful play-writing was tedious and lengthy. Archer, Isben-inspired, tempted Shaw to collaborate in providing the dialogue for a conventional plot. The attempt was still-born, but when Grein started the Independent Theatre, on the pretext that "there were, in England, hundreds of dramatic masterpieces unacted by the commercial theatres," Shaw "produced the necessary evidence" by building on his previous abortive effort into a three act play. The effort failed, but convinced Shaw (on his own evidence) that he was "a born master of the theatre." "It made a sensation out of all proportion to its own merits or even demerits and at once I became infamous as a dramatist. I had not achieved a success, but had provoked an uproar and the sensation was so agreeable that I resolved to carry on." He therefore pegged away at it, criticised mercilessly the old type "well-made" play, threw into the scrap-heap the problem-crisis-denouement structure and shocked critics and audiences with virile social satire, socialistic philosophy and intriguing and amusing dialogue or even monologue. The comparative failure of the early plays only inspired Shaw to greater effort, until his association with the Court Theatre in 1904 established a vogue for him that has not been paralleled in this century.

Shaw has claimed that the aim of his plays is to make people think. In this task, he succeeded admirably. With an originality and daring unsurpassed even in an adventurer, he turned the stage into a platform and pulpit for "sermonising" his fast growing audience on the widest variety of subjects, covering love, marriage, domestic felicity, science, creative evolution, social evils, religion, politics, and economics. Hence hostile critics complain that Shaw's success—such as it is—is ephemeral and that plays (pleasant or unpleasant) dealing with slum-landlordism, suffragettes, prostitution or jealousy will not endure and are, in Ruskin's phraseology, mere "books of the hour." But Shaw has produced so many plays that even if a few perish and even if readers fail to be attracted by racy dialogue or matters of the moment, who can deny the lasting qualities of his classical comedies, *You Never Can Tell* and *Arms and the Man* and of his historical plays, *Caesar and Cleopatra* and *Saint Joan?*

Right through his writings and even when he caricatures himself, he distinguishes in his heroes two personalities, one invested with the halo of divinity or the curse of criminality and the other, the debunked hero

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the less to be venerated or abhorred because tradition and reality are different. This debunking of popular versions —inverted melodrama, as Bentley calls it—attracted attention as much by its originality as by its moral that divine or super-human attributes—as in the case of St. Joan—are not indispensable or even necessary for a country girl to be a heroine.

But even these tricks were soon out of fashion with Shaw. Once he had established himself as a play-wright, he ceased consciously to write plays in the accepted sense and wrote just as he pleased, with the supreme knowledge that a 'made' man could sell anything. All his favourite themes, even his crazy ideas, for some of which he has left all his property, were ventilated. Thus he publicised his cherished views on phonetics in *Pygmalion*, creative evolution in *Man and Superman*, politics in *John Bull's Other Island* and *Androcles and the Lion*, parents and children in *Misalliance* and the medical profession in the *Doctor's Dilemma*.

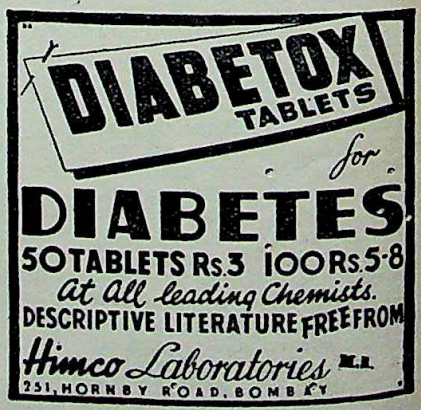
The plays soon became inadequate media for the dissemination of Shaw's views. Hence the Prefaces. They have often little or no connection with the plays they preface. Here he was in his element, shorn of all pretense (unless deliberate) and not circumscribed by the requirements of the stage. Here he displayed with proselytising zeal the numerous range of ideas with which he sought to energise the masses out of their inertia. He set himself up as ostentatiously churlish and censorious, spouting unpalatable truths and half-truths, championing lost and weak causes and inviting the disapprobation due to a disagreeable personality and earning Oscar Wilde's rebuke, "He has not an enemy in the world; and none of his friends like him." And yet he surprised the stranger by his amiability and friendliness. As he says of himself, "No truthful contemporary portrait can ignore either this extraordinary power of exciting furious hostility, or the entire absence of any obvious ground for it. It has been said that Shaw irritates people by always standing on his head and calling black white and white black. But only simpletons either offer or accept this account. Men do not win a reputation like Shaw's by perversity and tom-foolery. What is really puzzling is that Shaw irritates us intensely by standing on his feet and telling us that black is black and white is white, whilst we please ourselves by professing what everyone knows to be false." Nor is it true that Shaw disliked to be liked or disliked fellow beings. "My life belongs to the community and I find it a life-long privilege to do everything for the community," a confession totally incompatible with the external bravado in Shaw and revealing unexpected tenderness and concern for humanity.

Shaw's politics and political economy were shaped by Henry George and Karl Marx, but distinctive like all his other creeds and faiths. His brand of Socialism—Fabianism—was a way of life rather than a school of thought and was developed with the assistance of Sidney Webb, Leigh Joynes and Sydney Olivier. And for twenty-seven years he dominated the Fabian Society and helped to keep its flag flying, when other Socialist parties were rent with schisms and splits. For this achievement, Shaw claims, with mock-modesty, that "one Irish element in its management" was responsible!

On Shaw's brand of Irish wit and humour, it is unnecessary to dilate. There is none knowing the English language who is not familiar with sufficient Shavian explosions to keep any company merry. He gave it hard, but often took it back hard. Rejecting an invitation for lunch from Lady Randolph Churchill, he protested, "I will not come. What have I done to provoke such an attack upon my well-known habits?" But he had caught a tartar, for Lady Churchill replied, "I know nothing about your habits, but I hope they are not quite as bad as your manners." Proposing the toast of dramatic critics at a public dinner, Shaw proudly proclaimed that he was a critic himself, whereupon Max Beerbohm, who replied, retorted, "I was once at a school where the master used always to say, 'Remember, boys, I am one of yourselves.' Another well known story, where Shaw does not come so badly, is about Isadora Duncan, who wanted a child with her beauty and Shaw's brains, and was rebuked with the reply that if, by a Mendelian mistake, the child inherited *her* brains and *his* looks, it would be a monster. Symbolic of the cutting edge to Shaw is the story he himself created that an "Indian prince's favourite wife was banqueting with him, when she caught fire and was burnt to ashes before she could be extinguished. The prince took in the situation at once and faced it. 'Sweep up your missus,' he said to his weeping staff, 'and bring the roast pheasant'." That prince was an oriental Shaw. Many of these stories were given currency by Shaw himself, probably with an eye on whimsical self-advertisement. And realising this, he wants Frank Harris to have said that "there is nothing interesting to be said about Shaw that he had not already said about himself!"

No two critical appraisals of Shaw are likely to agree on most points because he was an incorrigible and continuous actor and the sham and real Shaws are difficult to distinguish. This was really the tragedy of Shaw. He put up a façade of levity and buffoonery to attract attention, but when he wanted to be taken seriously, he continued to elicit laughter. The very vehemence of his outbursts made him look capricious and unreliable. "Our laws make law impossible," he said, "our liberty destroys all freedom, our property is organized robbery. Our morality is an impudent hypocrisy, our wisdom is administered by inexperienced or mal-experienced dupes. Our power is wielded by cowards and weaklings and our honour is false in all its points." Such wholesale condemnation of everything that makes life worthwhile without the suggestion of any alternative, the idea that God is a finite force that has not realised itself, that Science is overdone and should be relegated to its proper place, that longevity is proportionate to the number of times one masticates vegetarian food and in fine, that life is life only for supermen of Shaw's type here and hereafter, do not conduce to universal popularity or understanding. Was it frustration at being so misunderstood and criticised that impelled him to write this epitaph for *The Evening News*:

Hic Jacet
BERNARD SHAW
Who the devil was he?



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Nepal

The New Review observes :

The trouble-spot nearest to India is Nepal. The case is complex. There are at least four political entities at work. There is, first, the Rana clique headed by the conservative and ruthless Prime Minister and Commander-in-Chief, who, true to the 100-year old Rana tradition, opposes reforms. There is another Rana group which favours democratic evolution and has a vague alliance with the Nepali nationalist movement. The King represents a third force sympathetic to reforms and democracy, this third force stands between the Rana Prime Minister and the Rana dissidents. The fourth force is the nationalist movement represented by the Nepali Nationalist Congress, the Nepal Democratic Congress and the Peasants' Party; these parties are in touch with Indian parties and do not close their doors to the eighty Rana families. They want the King as constitutional ruler and an elected parliament. The Prime Minister means to keep the autocratic powers his ancestors secured a hundred years ago, making and unmaking puppet kings, appointing after a personal interview each and every official (minister, district governor and village chowkidar), purging army and administration when suitable, and ruling on the postulate that a wealthy prime minister means a wealthy country.

Tension is endemic at Khatmandu; in early November it burst out. The King escaped from his palace to the Indian embassy, with the Crown Prince and the Crown Prince's eldest son; the Prime Minister pegged the dynasty down by two notches and put a three-year-old baby Prince on the throne. Nepali Congress forces, relying on their sten-guns more than on the non-violence of the brave, came out in open rebellion. Where these forces came from, nobody is supposed to know. When Sri Nehru heard that the Sri Sri Sri Minister was nasty to the Sri Sri Sri Sri Sri Sri King, he offered the ruler republican hospitality in New Delhi. The sovereignty of Nepal was proclaimed anew, the dispute declared internal and the frontier was closed with red tape.

The early successes of the Congress volunteers did not last long and their advance was turned back at Birganj. Apparently their move did not meet with general support in the country itself as it was ill-prepared.

Korea

The same *Review* observes :

In early November Chinese troops rushed across the Manchurian frontier and launched a vicious flank attack on the U.N. forces who were pursuing the remnants of the North Korean armies. There was an ugly moment of dismay; the U.N. forces succeeded in breaking off the combat and fell back. Had the Chinese attack come a little later and been launched more vigorously, the U.N. armies would have suffered a severe defeat. But the U.N. local commander was nimble enough and his logistics sufficiently elastic to allow a fairly orderly retreat and an early realignment across the neck of North Korea. Soon the front-line was made continuous and the advance resumed with caution.

What was the motive behind this unexpected move of Red China ? Was it to protect the Yalu dams and high-power stations with ground troops, though U.N. bombers could destroy them from the air ? Was it an irresistible impulse of Chinese communism which overflowed into North Korea, Indo-China and Tibet, and had to be contained by orders from Moscow? Was it violent blackmail to force Red China's entry into the Security Council? The answer rests with Peking and with Moscow, and is likely never to ooze out.

The incident did not provoke a general conflagration. Which shows that no nation and no bloc wanted war at the moment. The respite is welcome, though ominous signs of preparation for a world showdown are visible a little everywhere.

Goa Groans Under Portuguese Repression

Free India cannot tolerate the continued occupation of a portion of her territory by a foreign country. Kumari Mukul Mukherjee writes in *Indian Affairs* :

The Portuguese Prime Minister, Dr. Antonio Salazar declared recently that, without intending provocation, Portugal had every intention of keeping her Asian colonies under the Portuguese flag. The Portuguese Government have even declined to discuss with the Government of India the future of their three possessions in India. From this it is clear that the Portuguese have taken a decision to oppose the freedom of the Goan people. This stand will inevitably bring defeat upon them. In this age of democracy this unreasonable attitude of the Portuguese cannot be maintained for a long time. The Portuguese may temporarily succeed in terrifying the Goans and wiping out their movement for independence, but they can never succeed in putting out the flame of freedom and patriotism from the hearts and minds of the Goan people who are today paying the price of slavery.

Goa, with an area of 1,469 sq. miles is the most important of the Portuguese possessions in India, the others being Daman and Diu.

It is situated on the south-west coast of India and bounded by the Western Ghats in the east and the Arabian Sea in the west. Before the advent of the Portuguese, Goa was an independent kingdom ruled by the Kadambas. It was then a very flourishing country. Subsequently it was overrun by the Momamedans. They were, however, compelled to evacuate the country in 1370, having been defeated by Vidyaranya Madhav, whose successors ruled Goa for about a hundred years. In 1470, Goa was conquered by Mahmud Gawan, the General of Muhammad II, the thirteenth Bahmani Sultan of the Deccan, who incorporated it into the dominion of his sovereign. Goa was subject to the Adil Shah dynasty reigning at Bijapur about the time when Vasco da Gama landed at Calicut in 1498. This dynasty retained possession until February 1510, when Goa was conquered by Alfonso de Albuquerque. He met with some opposition in the initial stages but finally managed to establish Portuguese rule in the country.

When the Portuguese conquered Goa it was still a flourishing centre of commerce and was known as Golden Goa. Today, alas, Golden Goa is no more ! In the place of a prosperous centre of trade, there is now a conglomeration of small towns and villages steeped in misery and hardship with no attempt at striving for betterment. Goa consists of eleven districts with the capital at Panjim. Despite Nature's abundant gifts, the people are in the grip of dire poverty. The fine natural harbour, manganese mines and teak forests are undeveloped. Primitive methods of fishing and farming constitute the livelihood of the masses. Out of a population of 6 lakhs, one-sixth goes

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out of Goa to various parts of India or to Portuguese East Africa to seek employment. The stream of Goans coming into India continues to increase and it can rightly be said that denied the remittances of her people abroad, Goa would die.

In every way Goa is dependent upon the Indian Union. Rice, sugar, wheat, vegetables, coal, wood, building materials, petrol and fertilizers come from Indian territory. The ships and railways which serve Goa are Indian. Without the co-operation of the Indian Government, Goa would be frozen completely. Such is the lack of economic activity within this potentially rich area.

Politically the people of Goa live under a rigid dictatorship.

The administration is carried on by the Governor-General and a Cabinet whose function is purely advisory. The Governor-General exercises supreme authority over the Council and is empowered to veto any of the Council's enactments. He is directly responsible to the Home Government through the Minister for Colonies. Civil liberties do not exist at all and there is no right of free speech or assembly. The press is so completely gagged that even the name of Smt. Vijayalakshmi, India's Ambassador to the U.S.A. is not allowed to be mentioned in any news item. To say *Jai Hind* is a criminal offence. Consequently the newspapers in Goa are not worth reading. They bear the bold impress of the censor's red pencil. Public activity is nil as no public meetings are allowed to be held and no speeches are allowed to be delivered without being pre-censored. There is only one political party, the Uniao Nacional, to which the Government belong and no other party is allowed to function.

The fascist rulers of Goa do not understand the meaning of public opinion. Their word is law and the voice of the people is their most dreaded enemy. The Portuguese rulers, therefore, do not feel any prick of conscience to loudly proclaim to the world in this twentieth century that Goa is an integral part of Portugal and that it will always remain Portuguese, a claim more ridiculous than which it is difficult to find in the annals of world history.

A democratic method of deciding the future of Goa would, therefore, be foreign to Portuguese traditions.

However, even if a plebiscite is held it is bound to be a farce. The result would be definitely in favour of the Portuguese, not because the people desire the continuation of Portuguese rule, but because ballot boxes in Goa possess a strange capacity of altering the decisions recorded on the ballot papers. It also often happens that whenever elections are held in Goa—and they are a rare luxury there—many voters find that their votes have already been cast even before they arrived at the polling booths. Under these circumstances, Goans may be excused if they sound a bit undemocratic when they express themselves against the idea of a plebiscite to decide their political future.

The second alternative, therefore, through which Goans can fulfil their aspirations, is a popular movement. But an unarmed struggle against an enemy, not only armed to the teeth but brutal beyond description, does not offer any prospect of success. Happenings in Goa during recent years have amply proved this.

Public memory is not so short as to forget what happened when Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia, the Indian Socialist leader, had initiated what was called the 'civil liberties movement' which gradually developed into a full-fledged "quit Goa" campaign. The whole of Goa echoed with *Jai Hind* and other nationalist slogans. Goans defied the laws restricting their liberty and boldly faced the consequences. Many of the Goan emigrants returned to Goa to participate in the *satyagraha* movement and Goans outside Goa gave their moral support. The Portuguese were alarmed at this sudden spurt of activity on the part of the otherwise docile Goans and the Government acted with brutal thoroughness. The leaders of the movement like Tristao da Cunha Braganca and Dr. Jose Inacio Loyola and the *satyagrahis* who were peacefully demonstrating were arrested, court-martialled and arbitrarily sentenced to long terms of imprisonment and exile. Many of these pioneers were mercilessly beaten and subjected to most inhuman treatment. Later on, on the attainment of independence by India, Goan nationalists again attempted to bring their political claims to the attention of the Portuguese by means of *satyagraha*. This time also the result was violent action on the part of the local authorities. Leaders of the movement were taken into custody and are still serving long terms of imprisonment in Goa and Lisbon ranging from eight to fifteen years.

Civil liberties, already non-existent, were virtually eliminated and Goa groaned under the pressure of terrible repression.

The Portuguese did not stop at that. They reinforced the military forces with Negro and White troops, and mechanised equipments of warfare still continue to pour into Goa. The Portuguese of course maintain that the troops are being brought for the defence of Goa. This might have been plausible but may we ask the Portuguese why they never thought of defending Goa during the Second World War and got this idea only when the civil liberties movement started?

Portugal has adopted recently some cheap devices to hoodwink the Goans. She has offered autonomy to the Portuguese possessions in India. But the Goans do not want to receive 'some facilities.' They are demanding and will demand complete withdrawal of the Portuguese from Goa. Unfortunately there are still some people with vested interests who pay heed to the sweetly-worded and cleverly-phrased despatches of the Portuguese Government and dance to their tune. They presume that if Goa is absorbed in the Indian Republic they will be bossed over, to use the most common expression. May we remind them that India is a secular State and that every citizen, irrespective of his caste, colour or creed has equal opportunities to rise in life and enjoy all the good things that India can offer to her people? The Constitution of the Republic of India guarantees all this.

As is usual wtih all imperialist powers the Portuguese often raise the bogey of 'religion in danger.' They say if the Goans join their destinies with those of their brethren in India, their religion would be in danger. May we point out to them that India has millions of Christians who are following their faith freely without any hindrance whatsoever? Do they not know that India was the first nation to have a Catholic priest, in the person of Fr. Jerome D'Souza, as one of her representatives in the highest Council of the Nations—the U. N. O.?

The problem of Goa is of vital importance as much to the Indian people as it is to Goans themselves.

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For, in the context of India's sovereign independence today, the continued occupation of a portion of her territory by a foreign nation is an anomaly. The Government of India have, on many occasions, emphasized that India cannot and will not tolerate any foreign pockets in her territory. Goa is a place of great strategic importance and it can no longer be allowed to remain under foreign domination without detriment to the stability and security of India. It is urgently necessary therefore that it should be speedily restored to her politically to whom it belongs naturally. Goa must come back to India. And it will come back, whatever the Portuguese might say.

Nobel Prize for Ralph Bunche

The Calcutta Review writes editorially :

The award of the Nobel Peace Prize this year to Ralphe Bunche not only brings into further prominence a personality already prominent in public eye but focusses the attention of the world on the progress made by a group of American people during less than one hundred years. It was not till 1863 that first steps were taken by Abraham Lincoln for the liberation of the Negro slaves of the white Americans. The Proclamation was issued only as a war measure by the President in his capacity of Commander in Chief. When the Civil War started, Lincoln was not an abolitionist. He was out only to save the Union which the Southern secessionists threatened to disrupt. It was in fact by way of achieving this object that he issued the Proclamation. Thereafter when the war ended and peace returned more constitutional steps were taken not only for the abolition of slavery but for the conferment of citizenship rights on the liberated slaves. Law notwithstanding, tradition died hard in the United States as in other countries and inspite of theoretical equality in the eye of law, the Negroes have suffered grievously during the last eight decades and a half from differential treatment. But all the same they have made enormous progress in civilisation and culture. In this regard thanks are due both to private and to Government efforts. It is true that the Government has not looked after the Negro citizens in the same way as it has looked after the whites. But all the same there is no denying the fact that much was done for the education and uplift of the former slaves and their descendants. Private efforts also have been made on a creditable scale. In this connection the name of Booker T. Washington comes uppermost in our mind. Himself a former slave, he was a prince among men and has left his memory enshrined in the famous Tuskegee Institute in the deep south. Today there is not a single field in which the members of this American group have not shown their merit. In art and literature, science and law, they have given evidence of great ability. In the conduct of public administration, in fighting a war and in tackling the problems of peace they have shown equal genius. Ralph Bunche who is a former Professor of Political Science has already impressed his personality upon the activities of the United Nations. He is only forty-five now and has many years before him to devote to the service of humanity. We have no doubt that the increase of his own stature will mean the increase of the stature of the much wronged community he represents.



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FOREIGN PERIODICALS

China and Korea

Dr. Chen Yao-Sheng delivered the following lecture on China and Korea at the Chinese Institute, London, as published in *The Asiatic Review*, October 1950:

Chinese Colonists first settled in Korea before the Chou dynasty thousands of years ago. They emigrated north-eastwards from the Yellow River Basin into Manchuria and Northern Korea, both of which areas are geographically close to the Yellow River Basin, and the colony which they formed in North Korea became part of China, one of the nine provinces of China. Organized colonization into these regions, however, did not take place until the Chou dynasty (1258-1122 B.C.), when Chi-tse, a prince of the previous dynasty, refused to become a subject of the new ruling house and migrated with his followers into the country east of the Liao River. He founded a state known as Chao-hsin which extended over the region now known as North Korea.

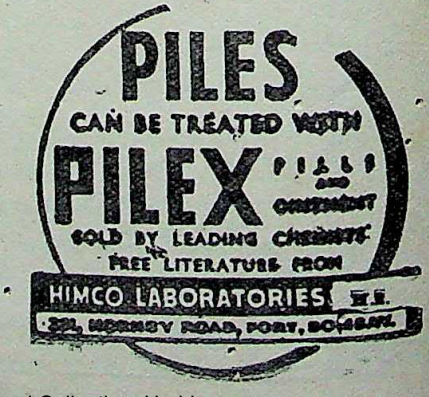
With the downfall of the Chou dynasty the whole of China was divided up into many small states of varying sizes and in the 12th century before Christ there were no less than 1,800 such states. As the nation grew these states tended to absorb one another to such an extent that, by the time of Confucius, (550 B.C.) only 160 existed and in Mencius' time these were further reduced to eight, one of which was Chao-hsin. Unification of the states was further carried out during the Chin Dynasty (258-207, B.C.)—a century after Mencius—by Chin-Sh-Wang-Ti, the first Emperor, who brought this about by extending his influence beyond the boundaries of the old states and, at this time, acquired the allegiance of Chao-hsin.

China was again divided into many states when the Chin Dynasty fell and it was not until the reign of Wu-ti (140-87 B.C.) in the Han Dynasty (206 B.C.-A.D. 221) that China was reunited and attention was again directed to Chao-hsin. By that time the descendents of Chi-tse had long been displaced by another ruling house—the house of Wei's. The latter had fled into Chao-hsin from the old territory of the feudal state of Yen after taking part in an unsuccessful revolt against the Han dynasty. The Han forces invaded Chao-hsin by land and sea, disposed of the Wei's, and turned the country into two prefectures known as Lo-Lang and Yuantu. Long before the establishment of these prefectures Chinese immigration had already reached the south-east part of the Korean peninsula. This part of Korea was colonized by Chinese refugees, who emigrated across the sea when the Chin Dynasty fell, and later by the Chi's who migrated there after they were expelled from Chao-hsin. The two prefectures of Korea which were incorporated into Chinese territory in the Han Dynasty existed throughout several ensuing dynasties. During the Han, Later Han, and Wei periods, no change was made, but in the T'sin period (A.D. 265-313) the southern part of Lo-Lang became a new prefecture called Tai-Fang.

During the period in Chinese History known as the Barbarian Rebellions (A.D. 317-439) China was overrun by Nomadic tribes from the north-east called Wu-huang and Hsien-pei, and from the west by tribes called Hsiung-nu. At the outset, South Manchuria and North Korea fell into the hands of the Mu-jungs, a branch of the Hsien-pei tribe, and with the resources of these regi at their disposal, they began to descend upon the Ye River Basin. They remained in China proper alm until the end of the Rebellions but their position in S Manchuria and North Korea became precarious. Fr the start a Manchurian tribe known as the Kao-ku-li, w occupied territory adjacent to that occupied by the Hs pei tribe in south Manchuria, had set covetous eyes the three prefectures and had attempted, on several oc sions, to occupy these regions. They were driven b on several occasions but eventually succeeded in occu ing the three prefectures of Lo-Lang, Yuan-tu and T fang by taking advantage of a conflict between two of Hsien-pei tribes, the Mu-jungs and the Tobas, and found a kingdom which they named Kao-ku-li or Kao-li. T Tobas were not so interested in that part of the coun as the Mu-jungs and, had they had the intention intervene, it was difficult for them to do so as they we otherwise fully occupied in a struggle against oth Barbarian tribes in the Yellow River Basin. Conse quently, the Kao-ku-li's were able to retain control their kingdom and were further able to annex two oth prefectures in the north. Liao-tung and Chang-li.

During this time the southern part of the Korea peninsula had already reached a high degree of civiliza tion through Chinese colonization. The people, followin the example of the Kao-ku-li, established two separat kingdoms—Pei-chi, on the west coast of the peninsul and Hsin-lo, on the east coast. These two new kingdom together with that established by Kao-ku-li in the north paid their respects to the Chinese ruling dynastics an applied for official recognition. As an instance the Rule of Kao-li obtained official recognition of the Southern Dynasty (A.D. 420-589) and the title "Commander-in Chief of the Forces of Yin-chao, King of Kao-li an Perpetual Duke of Lo-Lang." In this way, Chinese influ ence was extended over this region, not by conquest, bu by voluntary homage by local chieftains who received i return appointments as hereditary governors to rule ove their own people. Thus, the foundation of the system suzerainty was laid.

These kingdoms soon became more independen especially at times when China herself was torn wi internal strife and during the Sui Dynasty (A.D. 581-61 Kao-li made preparations to attack China. Wen-ti (A.D. 581-604), first Sui Emperor, was offended by this disloya



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act but being a man of moderate nature, confined himself merely to sending the King of Kao-li a personal letter of remonstrance. This, however, did not have the desired effect and China had to resort to force. This task fell to the successor of Wen-ti who was not competent to carry it out and not only failed to enforce the suzerain claim but also discredited China in the eyes of other kingdoms whose attitude towards the suzerainty was also becoming intolerable to China.

In the first years of the Tang Dynasty (A.D. 618-907) no serious measures were taken by China against the provocative actions of Kao-li as she was then engaged with the Tu Chueh nomads who had again got out of control, but towards the close of the reign of Tai-tsung (A.D. 627-649) and the beginning of the reign of Kao-tsung (A.D. 650-683) Chinese rule was re-established throughout the land and her attention was directed eastwards. At this time, Hsin-lo appealed to the Tang Dynasty for protection against attack from Kao-li and Pai-chi and China readily despatched forces to her aid. Pei-chi was conquered in A.D. 660 and Kao-li underwent the same fate eight years later. Following China's traditional policy regarding the enforcement of suzerain claims the Tang Dynasty refrained from annexing these kingdoms and accordingly, when peace was restored in Pei-chi, a son of the deposed King was created "Prince of Tai-fang" and the kingdom was restored to him. Similarly Kao-li was restored to her deposed King in A.D. 677 and in 687 the deposed King's grandson was created "Prince of Chao-shin." Furthermore, in 699, an uncle of the young prince was appointed "Protector-General of Antung."

After the fall of the Tang Dynasty the descendents of Hsien-pei nomads living on the Cherin steppes and known as the Chi-tans began to move southwards. In 924 they conquered Jehol, South Manchuria and North Korea and in 946 reached the Yellow River Basin where they established a Dynasty known as Liao (A.D. 907-1119). Meanwhile, under the leadership of Wang Kien, Kao-li annexed Hsin-lo, conquered Pei-chi and in 936, unified the whole Korean peninsular. Suzerainty with China was resumed and homage was paid to the ruling dynasty in China.

Since the Tang Dynasty enforced China's suzerainty the peninsula was left much to itself either because its right to a separate existence was recognized or because there was no one strong enough to question it. When Kubla-Khan became Emperor of the Yuan Dynasty (1260-1368) the suzerainty exercised by China towards Kao-li was different to that exercised by previous dynasties. Actually Kao-li was no different from the other provinces of China except that she had a king.

When Hung-Wu-Ti (1368-1398) overthrew the Yuan Dynasty and became the first Emperor of the Ming Dynasty, he changed the policy of the Yuans. Instead of maintaining former provincial government rule in Korea he merely announced to the King of Korea the fact of his accession to the Chinese throne and left the ruling of the country entirely to its king. Thus, a new harmonious relation between China and her vassal state was established.

In 1392, the House of Wang, which had been ruling Korea, was overthrown by a new ruler named Li-Chang-Kwei who applied to the Ming Court for recognition and a new designation for his kingdom. His request was readily granted and his kingdom had conferred upon it the old name of Chao-hsin and throughout the Ming Dynasty (1368-1644) Chao-hsin never neglected her duties to the suzerainty. In consequence, when she was invaded by Japan at the end of the 16th Century, the Ming Dynasty readily came to her rescue and when the latter was in conflict with the Manchus at the beginning of the 17th Century, Chao-hsin gave her support.

After the Manchus conquered China and established the Ching Dynasty (1644-1911) no departure was made from the policy of the Ming Dynasty towards Chao-hsin, and the good relations long established between China and that vassal kingdom were continued until the Japanese war of 1894-5.

Having given you a general account of China's historical relations with Korea, I will now endeavour to outline her more recent relations with that country. The Sino-Japanese war (1894) not only changed the destiny of Korea, but also affected China's future as well as international relations in the Far East, hence this period of history is very important. It is necessary therefore, for me to give you a more detailed description.

(To be continued)

Harold J. Laski: A Preliminary Analysis

In the *Political Science Quarterly*, September 1950, Carrol Hawkins attempts at a critical analysis of Laski's ideas of liberal socialism and exposes his failure to solve the eternal problem of reconciling liberty and authority by joining liberalism to Marxism:

To all who are concerned with the scope and function of political authority the ideas of Harold Joseph Laski are of signal importance. Over the course of his lifetime Laski's ideas reflected in many respects the strength and weakness both of those who strive to maintain liberty as the main end of democratic government, and of those who see in equality the fountainhead of democracy which is secured largely through state action. Beginning his public career as an extreme critic of the state, Laski had been for many years prior to his death an outstanding spokesman for collectivism. This vigorous personality was one of the most controversial figures in the academic and political world of the twentieth century.

Here I wish to point out one significant result of Laski's treatment of the old and continuing problem of liberty versus authority in the particular circumstances of the twentieth century in which the problem is posed. For all his freely recognized scholarly contributions, his many services in the cause of democracy, his life-long devotion to equality, Harold Laski to some degree always failed



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the liberal democrat. In particular I desire to call attention to the several unfortunate results of Laski's failure during the years after he accepted Marxism.

Laski's socialism before he accepted Marxism originated in a moral indignation against injustice. As a liberal socialist he was undogmatic in his views, fiercely devoted to the interest of all dissenters and to the free examination and choice of all beliefs, and hopeful for the successful negotiation of differences through parliamentary methods. His view of Marxism and of Soviet communism was one of intelligent skepticism. Concerned with understanding, rather than denunciation, he brilliantly illuminated the appeal of the Marxist-Leninist faith while calling attention to its errors. He rejected Marxism as incompatible with democracy.

This devotion to liberalism and straightforwardness with regard to communism is often absent after Laski turned to Marxism. Despairing of the adequacy of liberalism and liberal institutions to secure that equality which he eagerly sought for the plain man, he attempted to marry liberalism to Marxism. Arguments that capitalists will not accept the peaceful victory of socialism, that it will be necessary to suspend traditional constitutional processes to secure a socialist victory, that parliamentarism can no longer work in our day, that capitalists in a democracy will turn to the Fascists to protect property interests against a successful socialist appeal to public opinion, are repeatedly put forth. Indeed liberalism historically is viewed as an end product of capitalism. In contrast to his liberal socialist views of previous years Laski, *on occasion*, served as an apologist for the monolithic state party of the Soviet Union. *Periodically*, too, he substituted adoration of the "Soviet Idea," for scholarly examination of communism.

Yet, despite instances of his clearly fatal compromise of liberalism, Laski was regarded by many liberal democrats as a democratic socialist.

Laski's brilliant exposes of Communists' totalitarian morality and their conspiratorial tactics and organization, his unsparing sacrifice and devotion to the British Labor party, and his inspiring prose in praise of democratic socialism illustrate his liberal side. Incongruously at the same time there appear assertions of the great promise of democracy under Stalin, and also criticism of the British Labor party and the "Fabian way," of the philosophy of liberalism itself, and of the formal institutions of democracy in what can be described as "neo-Marxist-Leninist" terms. Stirring pleas for e and vigorous and helpful socialist criticism of dem institutions were frequently accompanied by a shocking disregard of the significance of the vital sphere in which the formal techniques of dem operate.

Under the influence of Marxism, liberalism b little more than the excrescence of capitalism. Id ing liberalism as the political expression of capit Laski argued repeatedly that when this political phil could no longer serve the ends of capitalism it wo rejected by the owning class. The business group not accept changes which might result from the tr of liberalism to all classes. For, in Laski's liberalism is "the philosophy of a business civiliz

Having identified liberalism with capitalism further argued that the twentieth-century man choose between liberalism and socialism.

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In the years after the war, despite evidence to the contrary, Laski religiously and periodically re-intoned the Marxist belief that liberalism is the social philosophy of a middle class and will be permitted to serve only that class's interests. The successes of the Labor party and the New and Fair Deal programs in Great Britain and America, respectively, did not change his continuing pessimistic prediction of capitalist counter-revolution, where a serious attempt is made to use liberalism against the interest of the owning class. Continually warning against conservative sabotage of the program of the "welfare state," Laski after the war also argued that the capitalists had little to fear from the way in which the governments were expediting the mandates supported by the workers in Britain and America.

The belief in counter-revolution led Laski to argue that frustrated capitalism would seek to revive fascism and plunge the world into another war. In *Reflections on the Revolution of Our Time*, written during World War II, he had argued that if socialism did not come to Britain during the war the likelihood was that after the war British and American capitalists would push the world into a new holocaust against the Soviet Union. During the last years of his life Laski felt that the greatest potential threat to peace was the danger represented in an imperialist America, influenced by the demands of capitalists seeking to preserve a dying economic order. What emerged from the sharps and flats, assertions and qualifications was substantially this: *At bottom*, despite all her admirable qualities, the United States is the greatest potential danger to world peace. *At bottom*, despite all her sins which Laski often was at pains to enumerate, the Soviet Union, if there is no war, points the way to a new and better world order. For with Marxist Laski, capitalist America must be the potential force of reaction; and with Marxist Laski, the Soviet Union has been frequently identified as the leader of the progressive revolutionary forces let loose in the world as the result of two world wars.

Laski's Marxist analysis that American imperialist capitalism is the greatest potential source of a third world war neglects to recognize sufficiently *at least* two facts. In the first place American capitalists are but one significant interest group influencing the policies of the capitalist democracy of the United States, while only one group, the State Party hierarchy, *does* control the policies of the Russian state. In the second place Laski's description omits the influence of the major shift of world communism toward an aggressive new line which took place in the spring of 1945 under the dictate of Russia disrupting the wartime co-operation and initiating the cold war between former allies.

In perspective Laski's political thought over the years is an expression of a continuous effort at reconciling liberty and authority. The way in which he presented his ideas, however, made that reconciliation impossible. In his earliest years he tried to build a theory of *government* upon what was really a theory of anarchy. The need for adequate and responsible authority lost out to his emphasis upon group liberty. Later, as a democratic socialist and pluralist, he tried in vain to reconcile a theory of positive government with a theory of extreme individualism. Here, in his anxiety to show that his socialism rested upon an abiding respect for freedom, he insisted upon an extreme individualism which really created an insoluble dilemma. As a Marxist, still in many ways an individualist, Laski attempted to join liberalism to Marxism. It has been the special task of this paper to indicate the unfortunate results which attended this effort. Ironically, in a quest for equality which would further extend freedom for all, Laski often permitted the very substance of freedom to be lost in his zeal for state



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planning. Especially in his curiously contradictory views of Stalinist communism did freedom lose out to absolutism.

Laski believed most earnestly that the central problem of politics is the problem of authority versus liberty. In his different attempts to solve that ever-continuing problem one may find the particular natures of the theorist's failure to constitutional government. From a chronic fear of the state as an all-absorptive unity Laski eventually went to the other extreme in his rationalizations for the positive state. But few men in our day gave themselves so completely to the struggle to solve the perennial dilemma, which in these times is mainly reflected in the relationship of liberalism to collectivism. One may also hazard the guess that few men in this century will provide so stimulating a challenge to thought upon this problem.

Food Crisis in India

The vagaries of the monsoon, India's annual "gamble in rain," have cost her dearly this year. In contrast to the heavy losses of life and property caused by floods in northern India, including the Valley of Kashmir, deficient rainfall in the Deccan and some other parts in the South has created drought conditions over a wide area, leading to grave shortages of food.

One result of these catastrophes is that India has had to increase her imports of food grains this year from an estimated requirement of 1,500,000 tons. In spite of this, scarcity conditions prevail in certain states, notably Bihar and Madras, where the crop failure has been worst. The Central Government is now having to rush additional supplies of food to these states.

It is thus evident that the program of self-sufficiency in food supplies by the end of 1951, to which the Government of India was committed, has been totally dislocated.

Surveying the position in each state and starting from the north-east corner of India, one notes that Assam has been hardest hit because the earthquake of August 15 upset river levels and caused floods extending over some 10,000 square-miles. Assam is normally a surplus area, but it is now estimated that about 100,000 tons of rice was lost in the floods and the expected surplus has vanished. In its place the Central Government has been forced to send supplies to the stricken areas.

In the adjacent state of East Bengal (Pakistan), as well as in West Bengal, rainfall has been excessive and a good deal of damage has been done to the autumn paddy crop. Whereas East Bngal is self-sufficient in rice, West Bengal is a deficit area, and more than 200,000 tons of wheat has been allotted to it by New Delhi this year. The movement of some 4 million refugees, both Hindu and Moslem, between the two Bengals has disorganized agricultural operations, and the outlook in West Bengal is far from good.

In Bihar the rains have been excessive in some parts but deficient in others. The overflow of the Kosi river damaged the major part of the maize crop amounting to perhaps 200,000 tons. As maize is the staple food of the population in north Bihar this has caused acute shortage. Bihar usually has a slight deficit in foodstuffs and this deficit is now increased; here again New Delhi is rushing supplies of wheat to the hard-hit population.

Madras is experiencing its third successive year of drought and according to the latest reports is in a bad way. Last year it had to depend upon New Delhi for an allocation of 250,000 tons of wheat and rice and this will have to be increased this year. The same applies to Mysore State, which is also a deficit area. Hyderabad State has likewise suffered from drought and has been allotted another 65,000 tons of food grains by the Central Government.

Bombay has had a partial drought. It is a heavy deficit area at the best of times and this year it has allotted 550,000 tons of food grains, which quantity have to be increased.

The only areas of India which appear to be fairly well are the states of Madhya Pradesh and Bharat (formerly known as the Central Provinces Central India states), which have had adequate r and which are normally surplus areas.

Farther north in Uttar Pradesh (formerly kno the United Provinces) rainfall is again excessive there have been some floods. Last year Uttar P was self-sufficient in foodstuffs.

Finally in the state of East Punjab the monsoo been heavier than usual, but in spite of some the state is expected to have a small surplus crop

In terms of human sufferings the floods in no India may not have as grave repercussions as the dr in southern India, where in spite of rigorous ra many people are reduced to living on six ounces of grains a day (600 calories), which is not enough t tain human life. Malnutrition and deficiency di must follow unless the Government of Indi is a obtain more food supplies from abroad.

In this crisis the people of India naturally thi countries with large surpluses of food and their tho turn to the United States where huge food grain surp exist.

For almost a year, since Prime Minister Nehru's to the United States, talks between the governmen India and the United States have been held for the pose of enabling India to buy United States su wheat, at concession prices and extended credits, but obstacle or other has come in the way of these ne tions.

Now that serious famine conditions are feared large parts of India, independent observers feel nothing will do more good to the cause of the we democracies than for the United States to overc hesitation, red tape, and preoccupation with other ma and give priority to India's urgent food requirement *India To-day*.

India — Bharat

The Indian Constitution which came into force January 26, 1950 states in its first article that "India, is Bharat, shall be . . . ," thus embodying the re of those who wanted the name of India changed Bharat as well as the wish of those who wanted the name to remain.

Bharat, so called after the Bharatas, the Aryan ru ders of India, is the term used for "India" in Sanskrit-derived vernaculars and is hallowed by tradi Those favoring the retention of *India*, however, were to show conclusively that the name *India* is based even older a tradition, that of the pre-Aryan indige population in whose language *Sid* (or later as nasa *Sind*) meant "flow" and was applied to the mighty now known as the *Indus*, and to the large region fertile by this river. The Rigveda, reflecting the Ar struggle for supremacy, speaks of the country as *Sapta Sindhavah*, the "seven Sinds," and thus naturally adopts the ancient name of the land occu while calling the state founded in *Sind* by the inva *Bharat*. The Perso-Aryans had difficulties in pronou the initial S in *Sind*. Thus *Sind* in the spoken lang became *Hind*. On its way westward by way of P and Greece to Rome, *Hind* lost the aspirated first and became *Inda*, softened later to *India*.

Thus *India*, apart from being more representativ the Dravidian South, is definitely several thousand y older than *Bharat* which has been allied to it—th in a subordinate position—in the Indian Constitutio

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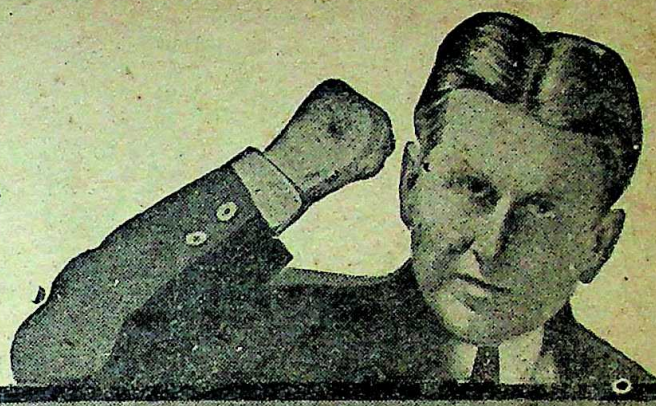
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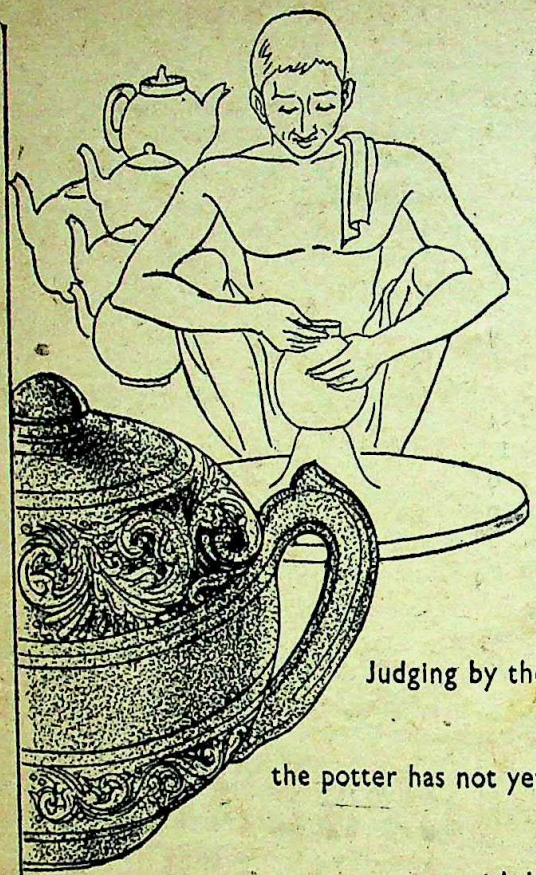
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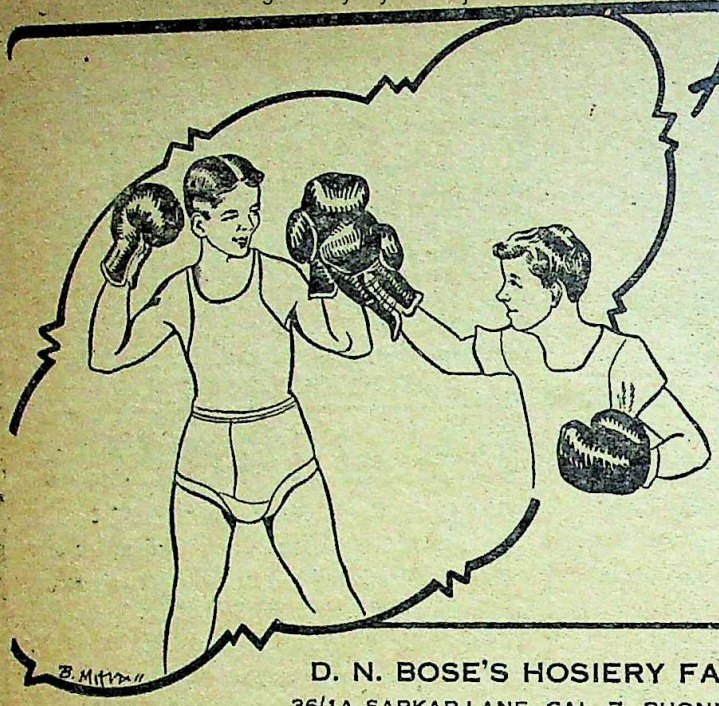
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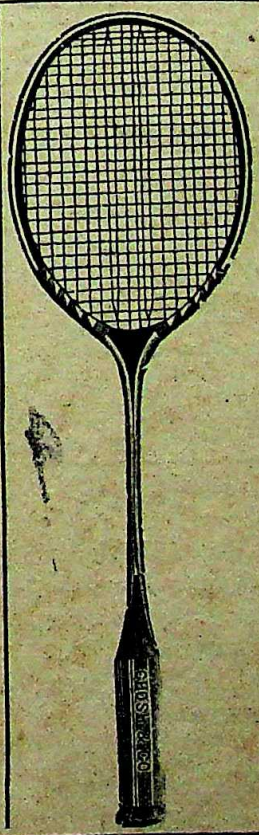
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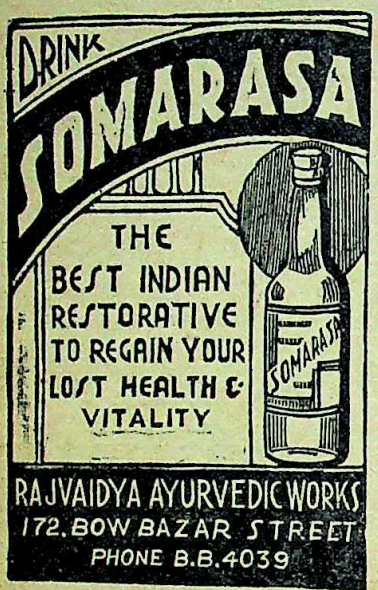
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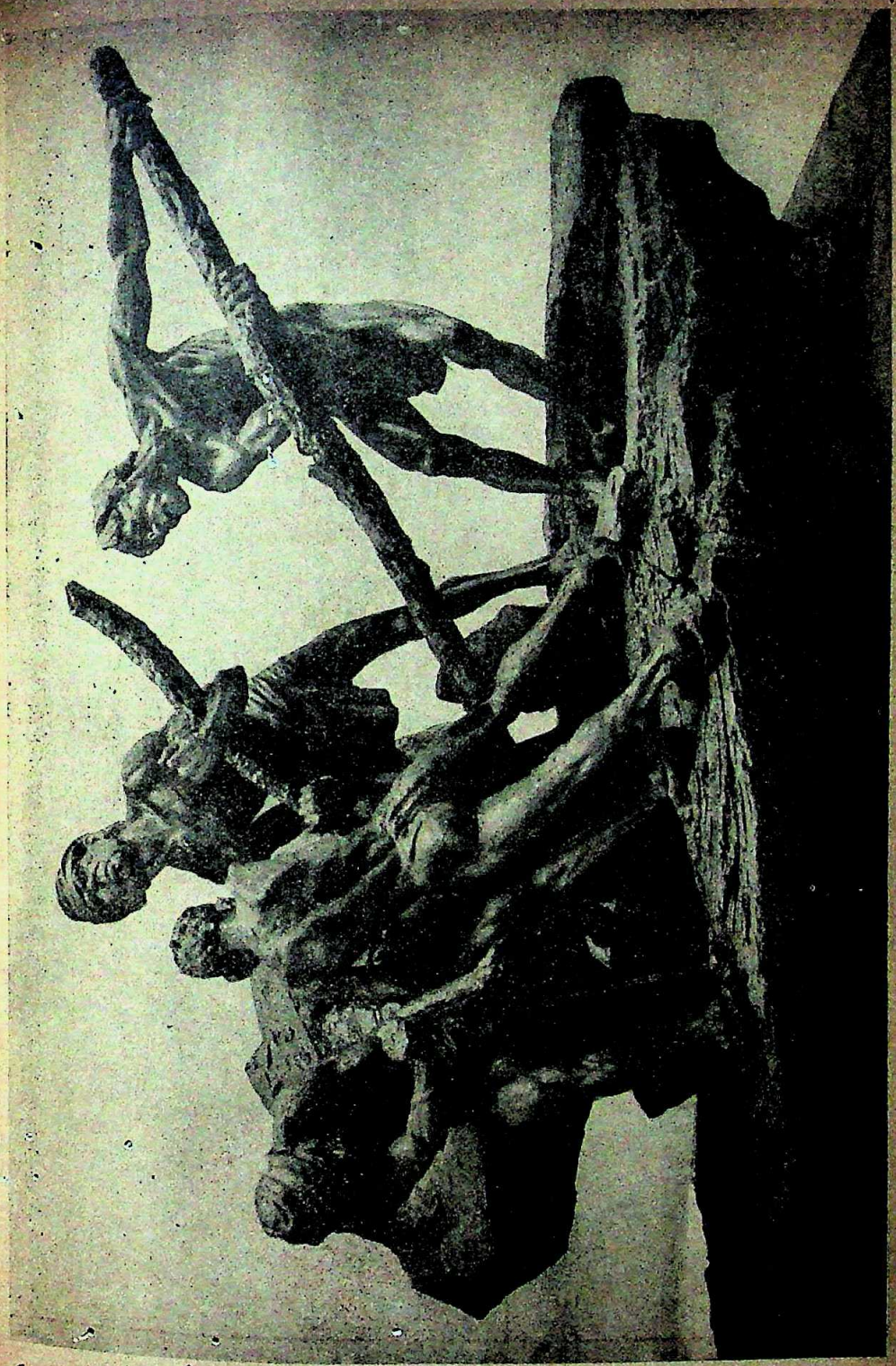
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NOTES

A.-I. C. C.

Within three years, to the date, of the passing of the Father of the Nation, the crisis that he foresaw on the eve of his *Mahaprasthan*, has come to the affairs of the Congress. Gandhiji advised the dissolution of the Congress, so that it may not be utilized as an artificial barrier against worthy outsiders and likewise as an unmoral means for the advancement of those who are within the pale. The A.-I. C. C. is now facing the crisis, but where is the Sage that can find a solution to this particular dilemma ?

The A.-I. C. C. has concluded its session at Ahmedabad. Two important resolutions have been passed. In one resolution, the A.-I. C. C. has accepted the reintroduction of paid primary membership of the Congress and fixed Re. 1 as the annual fee against the former fee of four annas. The second resolution called upon Congressmen to make every effort to come together "so that they may have the opportunity for co-operative effort and the organisation would become as broadbased as possible." The resolution emphasised that the door of the Congress should be opened even to those who have left it and Congressmen should not only engage in active co-operation among themselves but should also seek the co-operation of others. The following is the full text of the resolution :

"In view of the grave situation that the country has to face, both internally and externally, the A.-I. C. C. is of opinion that there should be the largest measure of unity and co-operation among all sections of the people and every effort should be made to encourage united effort in facing our major problems. In particular, it is necessary for Congressmen, to put aside their differences and co-operate for the larger causes which the Congress represents.

"The A.-I. C. C. has noted with regret that certain tendencies are at work which must inevitably weaken and partly disrupt this great national organisation. While it is natural that, on the attainment of independence, different approaches should be made to our social and economic problems, the immediate problems are such that there should and can be co-operative approach within the larger ambit of Congress policy. This policy has been laid down in successive Congress resolutions and more especially in the Nasik resolutions, in regard to social, economic, communal and international affairs.

"That general policy, in so far as it related to social and economic matters, has to be translated into more specific terms, having regard to the nation's resources and priorities and the urgent problems that confront us in the immediate present. It must, therefore, have both a long-term objective and a short-term plan designed to achieve social justice and to make the country self-reliant and dependent on its own strength and resources.

"It must be based on an increasing productivity both in land and industry, leading to a progressive advance in the well-being of the masses of the country. This will necessarily involve a measure of privation and austerity to begin with and this will have to be endured, so that the basis for future progress may be laid, but the burden should be equitably distributed and must be cast as far as possible, on those most capable of bearing it. In the circumstances of India today, it is the responsibility of the State to take the lead in the reorganisation and development of land and industry. Such a lead can only be fruitful if it is efficiently organised and receives widespread public co-operation. This calls for the utilization of the enthusiasm, free time and other resources of the people on a voluntary basis and a nation-wide scale.

"The immediate tasks of the Congressmen are to help in solving the food problem, in securing a large increase in production by cottage and small-scale industries and in combating social evils, such as black-marketing and various forms of corruption, both in the administration and in public, which have grown up and which degrade public morals and come in the way of progress. For Congressmen there is the urgent additional task of purifying the Congress organisa-

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tion, making it an efficient instrument for carrying out these tasks, and bringing back something of that spirit and will to work and suffer for a cause which enabled the Congress to achieve independence.

"Social and economic programme, so conceived should receive the approval of large masses of our people, even though there might be many varieties of opinion among them, and open out opportunities for large-scale co-operative effort to release it. The Congress itself has during its long history sheltered varieties of opinion but has at the same time succeeded in having a large measure of harmonious working.

"Those varieties of opinion, provided they do not run counter to its basic principles and objectives, may still continue within its fold but in a time of crisis, as today, nothing should be done on partisan lines which may be injurious to the larger interests of the Congress and of the country. The formation of special groups within the Congress, either on the part of a majority or a minority is thus to be deprecated, as they tend to create hostile factions and disrupt the organisation.

"In the great task ahead, every effort should be made to bring all Congressmen together, so that they may have the opportunity for co-operative effort and the organisation should become as broad-based as possible. The door of the Congress should be open even to those who have left it, and Congressmen should not only engage in active co-operation among themselves but should also seek the co-operation of others.

"The A.-I. C. C. directs the Working Committee and all P.C.C.'s to work with this larger outlook, so as to diminish and overcome the tendencies which weaken the organisation, and to make the Congress an efficient instrument in the nation's service."

Intervening in the debate on the question of primary membership, Sri Nehru made an open attack on Congressmen and deplored their deviation from ideals.

He said that democracy could not be purchased with a membership fee of annas two, or four, or with one rupee. If the sort of speeches which had been made in support of the four-anna membership were to guide them, the Prime Minister added, the interests of some other party, and not of the Congress, would be advanced. Sri Nehru said:

> "Some people have forgotten the basic principles of the Congress and have identified the organisation with the cap, khadi and four-anna membership. Alongside this misconception, they have developed the hope that they will be elected to some body. To what depths have we fallen."

Sri Nehru declared that much had been said on the subject of the primary membership and a large number of amendments had also been put forward. He did not understand the "shopkeeper's mentality" which had been brought to bear upon the question of fixing the amount of the primary membership fee. He expressed his complete identification with the Working Committee's proposal on the matter, which had been put forward after mature and careful consideration. Sri Nehru added :

> "After hearing certain members, it has become necessary for us to consider what exactly we mean by the Congress and what are the basic principles for which it stands. Is the Congress a house in which we should live along with our friends and relatives and pass it on to our successors when we pass off the stage ? Certainly not.
>
> "The Congress is a weapon, a sword, whose sharp edge should be used to destroy evil. With it we cut the chains of our bondage, and with it also we must uproot all that is bad. Or, perhaps, the Congress is a motor car or a train which speeds on to its appointed goal and always carries us further on our path."

It was up to Congressmen themselves, Sri Nehru pointed out, to choose whether the Congress was a house, a weapon, a train or a motor car. "It must be clear to all," he declared, "that the Congress is the means through which we advance the interests of the country and its people. These are ordinary things, but evidently we have forgotten them. If the Congress cannot live up to its ideals and fulfil its tasks and its destiny, it must be destroyed. Then it shall be your duty and my duty to destroy it, and to forge ahead with some other weapon." Sri Nehru said:

> "Sri Algurai Shastri says that the cap, the flag and the four-anna membership constitute the fundamentals of the Congress. We have been wearing this cap for the last 30 years, and certainly we have respect for it. But what is more important than the cap itself is the head which it covers. Sri Algurai can have his cap, but I want my head and the brains which go with it."

We may say that the Congress has passed through two phases and is now in its third stage where complete disintegration stares it on the face. During the early period of national struggle, the white cap and the white *khaddar* had stood as the symbols of honesty, integrity and sacrifice. Throughout the length and breadth of the country, Congressmen commanded the greatest and highest respect. The whole country followed them blindly because each and every person in the country was convinced that no Congressman had any axe to grind or any objective beyond the liberation and advancement of his country and its peoples. Office acceptance brought in the second phase. Ambitious persons of doubtful honesty who followed the Congress from a safe but profitable distance, began to flock round the organisation. In the interest of "working the constitution" many of them were admitted into the Congress fold. The germ of dishonesty and opportunity was sown. In the third phase, today we find only a logical development of the second phase. The Congress is today crowded with men who have some kind of personal or other gain as his goal of life. The few men with integrity that are still left find the organisation too rotten for them. The white cap and white *khaddar* today are symbols of nepotism, dishonesty, hypocrisy and corruption. The very emblems that were objects of love and respect only ten years ago are now publicly ridiculed.

Sri Nehru has diagnosed the disease, but has prescribed a futile remedy. He has appealed for unity but has failed to define its objective. He has chastised false Congressmen but has failed to purge the Congress of

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them. He should have asked for solid support for the eradication of corruption and malpractice in and out of office and power to deal with blackmarketing and official corruption. We can cite the Bihar Blackmarketing Bill as a case of official futility. It was passed by the Bihar Legislature but the President, instead of assenting to this much-belated laudable measure, has returned it for reconsideration with the idea that it is unnecessary. The President is a top-ranking Congressman, and as such he cannot escape his personal responsibility for this lukewarm attitude towards blackmarketing. Mr. Mahatab's loudly advertised Anti-Blackmarketing Ordinance has been put in cold storage as was expected.

The power to do infinite good to the people did come into the hands of Congressmen. The entire country waited on tiptoe and wanted them to translate their professions into actions. The Karachi Charter has been cast to the four winds. The objective of the Congress today has come down to the beautifully vague catch-phrase—development of a co-operative commonwealth. Shameless scramble for office, power, permit and license are now the only activities of Congressmen both inside and outside the administration. Impoverished people are getting still further impoverished, standard of public life is getting lower and lower everyday, frustration and distrust of administration is writ large on every face. The Congress is now looked down upon by the people as an organisation of sanctimonious hypocrites. Personal meanness has expanded into provincial jealousies. Sri Nehru has personal knowledge of it all. Under such conditions the unity resolution will be a meaningless farce.

Unscrupulous Congress leaders have established a hegemony for their particular coteries in every public office. Nepotism and favouritism are the guiding principles in all appointments and awards. Greed and corruption has become rampant and the efficiency of all administrative departments has sunk to bottomless depths, as the inevitable consequence. Unless the Congress is rid of these foul vermin that are infesting it, the country will have to break with the Congress. There is no alternative.

Dr. Prasad's Republic Day Message

President Rajendra Prasad broadcast the following message from the Delhi Station of the A.I.R. on the eve of the first anniversary of the Indian Republic :

"Just one year has elapsed since India became a Sovereign Democratic Republic and the Constitution framed by the Constituent Assembly came into force. It is worth while taking stock of what has been achieved and wherein we have failed.

"The early part of the year was disfigured by communal tension and ugly incidents occurred in East Bengal leading to a large exodus of Hindus from East to West Bengal. These were followed by similar incidents and exodus of Muslims from West to East Bengal. A pact was arrived at between our Prime Minister and the Prime Minister of Pakistan as a result of which the situation has gradually improved and a large number of the emigrants have gone back to their original homes. It is to be hoped that confidence will be created so that a repetition of such incidents may become impossible. Minorities must be assured of safe and honourable existence, and given opportunities like others to grow and develop and become contented and loyal citizens of the State to which they belong.

"Side by side with the communal pact, there was also a trade pact with Pakistan which enabled trade between India and Pakistan to flow freely partially. It is to be regretted that on account of the failure to reach an agreement on the question of exchange ratio, trade relation is not yet established on a footing of profit to both parties and each has had to look to distant countries for the supply of some of its requirements and the disposal of some of its surplus goods which could have been done nearer home.

"Disputes with Pakistan continue on some matters which are vital. The Security Council of the United Nations had appointed Sir Owen Dixon as a mediator for bringing about a settlement of the Kashmir question. He spent some months in this country but unfortunately his efforts failed. Recent talks in London have led to no better results. We have always been prepared to let the people of Kashmir decide freely what they want, but we cannot be expected and are not prepared to abdicate our legal right or shirk our moral duty to the people of Kashmir pending that decision.

"The question of evacuee property is of vital importance to us but we have not been able as yet to secure a settlement with the result that our work of rehabilitating millions of people has become impossible of satisfactory accomplishment.

"Apart from our disputes with Pakistan our relations with other Asian Governments have been most friendly and cordial. So also with countries further abroad. We hold and believe that armed conflict and war solve no existing problems but create new ones and with the progress in the invention of destructive weapons now achieved, a war spells ruin and devastation on an unprecedented scale and threatens the extinction of modern civilization.

"With that conviction our Prime Minister has used all the prestige of his great personality and the goodwill of this country to limit the scope and extent of conflict. The deep wounds of the last world war have not yet been healed even in countries which are supposed to have won it—not to speak of those that lost it. We can only hope and pray that humanity will be spared another disaster. The greater and stronger a country, the heavier is its responsibility to do all it can to avoid and avert the disaster.

"Although we are a Republic, we have decided to remain in the Commonwealth and we have maintained the friendliest relations with Great Britain and other members

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of the Commonwealth based on a recognition of one another's complete independence and a mutual understanding of one another's interests and duty. Our regret is that no progress has been possible in securing for people of Indian origin born and settled in South Africa a position as citizens of that country consistent with self-respect and requirements of civilized life.

"Coming nearer home we can take credit for having done whatever was possible within our resources in rehabilitating those who had been forced to leave their hearth and home and properties and estates and to emigrate to India from Pakistan. There were at the end of November, 1950, more than 3 lakhs of persons on dole in relief camps. More than 8 lakhs of displaced families from Pakistan have been allotted land for cultivation. Roofed accommodation in urban areas alone has been secured for more than 21 lakhs of displaced persons either in evacuee houses or in barracks, Government quarters etc., or in newly-built houses.

"Small loans have been given to more than 140 thousand people, the total amount being more than Rs. 9 crores. Big loans have been given to displaced industrialists and business men numbering 5,000. The total amount being nearly Rs. 5 crores. Employment has been secured by the Employment Exchanges for more than 1½ lakhs of persons. Altogether Government expenditure on displaced persons during the financial years of 1947-48 to 1950-51 is estimated at Rs. 98½ crores. The displaced persons have suffered great privations with patience and dignity and have been trying to restart life and stand on their own legs as best as they can. With all our efforts, however, the work of rehabilitation is yet far from being complete, and considering its tremendousness which was added to considerably in West Bengal in the early part of the year. It could not be expected to be. All that I can say is that the Union and State Governments are keen and anxious to do whatever is possible and with the experience that has been gained the work is being tackled with greater effectiveness and speed.

"The financial and economic position of the country has been constantly engaging the attention of our Ministers. It is to be regretted that on account of financial stringency, we are not able to undertake constructive work on as large a scale as we would wish to. Some large projects which are expected to yield great results by controlling floods and providing irrigation and electric energy on a large scale leading to industrial development have registered satisfactory progress. Our only regret is that we are not able to undertake more such works and to spend as much over those already in hand as one would like to. In other directions also greater progress would have been achieved if more finance were available and money market had not been as tight as it has been. Production has not kept pace with requirements.

"This has been so especially in the matter of food largely on account of causes beyond our control. We have had a series of natural calamities which have damaged our crops on an extensive scale. We have difficult and anxious times and need all the foresight, resourcefulness and sacrifice our people are capable of to tide over them. We are trying to have larger imports that we have ever done hitherto, but it is not so much these imports and their proper and equitable distribution —essential as these are—that will really solve the problem.

"It is the will and resourcefulness and determination of the people that will enable us to see things through. The year opened with a large balance of trade against us, but when once we decided to put it right and set to work, we have succeeded in wiping it out. So God willing shall we do with the food problem.

"Our Constitution has come into force, but we are still passing through a period of transition and are being governed by certain transitory provisions laid down by it. This will continue till we have General Elections under the Constitution. Preparations are being made for them, but the work is so vast involving more than 170 million voters and more than 3,500 seats to be filled up that it has not been possible to complete them. It is hoped that we shall be able to hold them in November-December next.

"The work of consolidation of what Indian States before assimilating them to what used to be Indian provinces has gone on successfully and under the Constitution they have as honoured a place and as useful a part to play as any other unit of the country. The burden of this work as also of maintaining law and order in the country was borne by Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, whose passing away at this critical time in our history, has dealt a stunning blow to us and created a void which cannot be filled up. His farsight, matchless powers of persuasion and organisation, a realistic appreciation of the situation and firmness and determination have brought under one Federal Constitution and one Central administration a larger part of the country than has ever happened in its long and chequered history.

"Our work as a free nation has just begun. We are confronted with difficulties within and the horizon is overcast with dark clouds without. We have to gird up our loins and face them. God helps those who help themselves. Let us deserve God's help."

Sri Nehru's Press Conference in London

Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru, commenting on the recent talks on the Kashmir problem, said: "We had fairly full talks and explored various aspects. Some matters were clarified, but it was not possible then to come to any final agreement."

Mr. Nehru was talking to more than 200 reporters representing newspapers of all nations at a news conference at India House on January 16. "But remember," he went on, "that we have gone a great deal towards agreement already. Many basic facts have been thrashed out in the past, and we agreed to those basic approaches. We all agree it is for the people of Kashmir to decide about their future internally or externally. That is obvious even without our agree-

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ment. No country is going to hold on to Kashmir against the will of Kashmir."

Discussing the position as it existed at the moment, he said that one must remember the limitations of the Government of India. "That is to say, we cannot interfere in the internal management. We can advise and help them in various ways, but our chief function, under the terms of the agreement, is the defence of Kashmir against external invasion.

"Of course we can go back upon it and denounce that and say 'we will not defend you in future,' but we cannot interfere internally except by advice, and, therefore, any real agreement must come from the people of Kashmir or their representatives, and not be imposed upon them by us or anyone else. Great difficulties had arisen during the past three-and-a-half years—the invasion, the fighting and so on. If the question had been raised at, or just after, Partition, the position would have been accepted all round whether it was liked or not. Now tremendous difficulties had arisen, and passions had been aroused."

It must be borne in mind, Mr. Nehru added, that no steps should be taken which might perhaps create difficulties in a "somewhat excitable position"—not only difficulties in Kashmir but in regard to the relations of India and Pakistan with each other.

Mr. Nehru said that on Kashmir there was a basic difference of approach between Pakistan and India. Pakistan approached the problem rather on the religious plane. India did not accept that approach. Once they accepted the approach that nationality should go by religion, it would have far-reaching consequences. India have never accepted that approach as the right one. If nationality went by religion then about forty million Muslims still in India and fifteen million Hindus still in Pakistan would become second-class citizens, half-aliens. They could never feel any sense of security. India had a multitude of religions, many of which had ceased to exist in Europe thousands of years ago. India could only be carried on as a secular State, giving freedom to all religions, not making a preference of any one.

The Indian Prime Minister observed that Kashmir brought up this problem: were they to treat Kashmir on a religious basis or on an economic or political plane? Those problems existed long before Pakistan or the United Nations came into the picture. "India says that this matter should be treated on a political and economic plane," Mr. Nehru said. "If the question of religion is brought into the Kashmir problem, it would have its repercussions among the minorities in India and Pakistan. We have to be cautious about any step we take because there is a danger of upsetting the equilibrium which has already been established. We want a stable settlement—not an enforced settlement. The final decision must come from the people of Kashmir and secondly from India and Pakistan. Any other settlement would give rise to a lot of trouble."

Speaking on Korea, Mr. Nehru said that while the entry of the People's Government of China into the United Nations had been discussed, something much bigger had been recognised, and that was that New China was a great power, to be dealt with on terms of equality by the other great powers. "That is bigger than the entry into the United Nations," he said. "The basic fact is that in the last two or three years a great new power has arisen in the Far East, thereby upsetting the previous equilibrium there. The fact of non-recognition has made no difference to China, and many of the difficulties which have arisen are due to the non-recognition of facts."

Many complications had arisen because China was not recognised, Mr. Nehru continued. By adopting the principles of the three-man committee, the U. N. had recognised that China was one of the great powers to be dealt with in deciding Far Eastern questions.

Mr. Nehru said: "Everybody agrees that Korea should be a unified and independent country, but it is not a local settlement that should be aimed at in the Far East but the ending of the worldwide tension that exists, and a world settlement of the greater problems. I am quite certain that no question on Korea will be settled without the consent of China. It affects China more than any other power. We must remember that most of the invasions of China in the past have occurred through Korea and the other powers cannot settle it without bringing China into the picture."

Asked his opinion of the continued U. S. support for the Chiang Kai-shek regime, Mr. Nehru said that he considered this policy was "unrealistic," since it meant the non-recognition of the People's Government of China.

The real threat to the position of the U. N. would be if it ceased to represent such a large part of the people of the world. The recognition of China is more or less a symbolic act; non-recognition becomes an insult and an irritation. In effect, recognition becomes a gesture of peace.

Asked whether he considered the invasion of Tibet as a threat to India, he said: "We do not consider it a military threat to India at all. It is not a thing we have liked—the way it is taking place—because it does bring in certain rather new factors which may cause trouble. While Tibet has been considered under the suzerainty of the Chinese, we consider it should be an autonomous country, and we have expressed ourselves in that way. But for the rest we do not propose to interfere—indeed we cannot."

Asked if he thought that the 2,000-year-old friendship between India and China would form a counter-weight against Soviet influence in South-East Asia, Mr. Nehru said that all friendships were "stabilizing factors," so long as those friendships were not aimed

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at lack of friendship with others. In the 1,500 years of the history of South-East Asia, all the South-East Asian countries had been greatly influenced by India and China, archaeologically, culturally, politically, etc.—both had left their impression.

Pakistan Premier's London Conference

Talking for over an hour on January 16, the Pakistan Prime Minister, Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan, put forward his country's case.

He told them that his journey to London had not been a waste of time because, so far as the Commonwealth Prime Ministers were concerned, they had all made a genuine effort to help find a solution to the Kashmir problem—"the Commonwealth Prime Ministers have made every effort in this matter and their suggestions regarding the use of Commonwealth forces was a very practical one."

Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan said that the reason he had not arrived in time for the beginning of the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' conference was not because he was non-co-operative. "I do not believe in non-co-operation," said the Prime Minister. "I believe in co-operation between all the peoples of the world, but I felt that the Prime Ministers of the countries assembled in London should devote some of their time to the vital problem of Kashmir."

"It is not just a problem between India and Pakistan, but one that should concern all the peace-loving peoples of the world. The solution of the Kashmir problem is vital to the peace of the world. In the East today you have only two stable countries —I am not casting aspersions or minimizing the importance of other countries in the East—but so long as the Kashmir dispute lasts, neither Pakistan nor India can make any contribution to the preservation of peace in Asia."

"It was because of that conviction that I felt I would not be able to make any contribution to the Prime Ministers' conference unless they were prepared to apply their wisdom to finding a solution," Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan went on. "I was, indeed, grateful to the Prime Ministers when they agreed to discuss the matter with Mr. Nehru and myself and to help us in this matter."

Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan said that everyone had agreed that the question of Kashmir's future should be decided by means of a free plebiscite. It must be the people of Kashmir themselves who decide their own fate, said the Pakistan Prime Minister, and there is no dispute so far as to how the solution shall be made by the free will of the people.

Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan described some of the background events that led up to the Kashmir dispute, and the resolutions made by the United Nations Commission which called for three stages in carrying out the agreement—(*i*) cease-fire, (*ii*) demilitarization, and (*iii*) a plebiscite. The first part of the resolution was carried out just over two years ago, said the Pakistan Premier, but we got stuck on the second part, and the Prime Ministers applied their minds to the problem of what could be done in breaking the deadlock.

Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan said that altogether the Commonwealth Prime Ministers spent about seven hours in discussing the Kashmir problem. It was suggested that some of the Commonwealth countries could provide forces to be stationed in Kashmir for security, and the countries concerned even offered to pay for the maintenance of such a force, which would be withdrawn from Kashmir as soon as the plebiscite was over.

Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan pointed out that another proposal made was that one force of Indian and Pakistani troops might be formed during this period, and a third proposal that the plebiscite administrator, Admiral Nimitz, should have the authority to raise a local force from among the people of Kashmir itself, and all other forces, regular and irregular, should be disbanded or withdrawn.

Stressing that they wanted a peaceful solution, Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan went on: "Now the only hope that one can have for a peaceful solution is in the Security Council. The matter is before them now, and I hope and pray, for the sake of the peace of the world, that the Security Council will move with great vigour and speed in this matter than it has been done in the past. I am not exaggerating when I say that peace in Asia—and not only in Asia but in the world—depends on a satisfactory resolution and a just solution to this Kashmir problem, and so long as this deadlock lasts, there is always a grave threat to the peace of the world."

Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan's statement was followed by a lively discussion on the question of a plebiscite, withdrawal of troops and possible partition of Kashmir (to which, the Pakistan Prime Minister said, both he and Mr. Nehru were opposed). He added that he was quite prepared to entrust the whole business of the plebiscite to any three men of integrity, and concluded that he had full confidence in the robust commonsense of the people of Pakistan.

Nehru's Reply to Pak Prime Minister

In a statement commenting on the remarks made by the Pakistan Prime Minister, Mr. Nehru said:

"I understand that the Pakistan Prime Minister discussed the Kashmir question at some length at his Press Conference today in the course of which he referred, in some detail, to the private talks that took place at his request, between some of the Commonwealth Prime Ministers on the subject.

"I am surprised to see an account of what he is reported to have said at this Press Conference which, I am assured on good authority, is authentic

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I have been asked to comment on this. All that I have to say is that it is not usual to disclose private conversations. I may say that this was well understood in regard to these conversations also. This is a rule which everyone should respect.

"I might add that some of the statements in the report are not correct and some of the suggestions made are fantastic. India is anxious to settle the Kashmir question peacefully and is ready now, as ever, to let the people of Kashmir decide their future. She has already withdrawn part of her troops from Kashmir and is prepared to continue to do so if Pakistan withdraws her troops as well as the irregular forces.

"India cannot accept the position that Pakistan, an aggressor in Kashmir, should have the same right to retain in or to share in the administration of Kashmir as India.

"India has repeatedly offered to work out with the United Nations' reasonable safeguards to enable the people of Kashmir to express their will and is always ready to do so."

The general impression in Commonwealth circles, until Mr. Liaquat Ali reported the talks as complete failure, was that some of the proposals at least would be considered further. Political observers in London were puzzled, in the first place at Mr. Liaquat Ali's decision to break the well-understood convention not to reveal the details of the informal talks and in the second place, his announcement, contrary to all expectations, that all the proposals had been finally rejected. Neutral observers close to the Commonwealth Prime Ministers commented that none of the proposals reached the stage of detailed examination by the Prime Ministers. They said that the first day's discussions on Kashmir were confined to the clarification by the Indian and Pakistan Prime Ministers of their respective stands on Kashmir. It was during the second day's talks that the Australian Prime Minister Mr. Menzies suggested that the deadlock over demilitarisation of Kashmir might be broken by a Commonwealth force supplied by some of the Commonwealth countries, notably Australia and New Zealand. The immediate Indian reaction to this was that public opinion in India would not tolerate any foreign troops again on Indian soil in any form for any period. Apart from this, stationing of foreign troops in a strategic place like Kashmir could give rise to fear outside that a Western military base was being built up under the guise of policing Kashmir. It is understood that in view of this objection the Prime Ministers did not wish to pursue this suggestion further. The second suggestion then came up that joint force, Indian and Pakistan troops, might be formed for this purpose. Indian reaction to this suggestion was equally categorical. India considers Pakistan as aggressor in Kashmir and the association of Pakistan troops jointly with Indian troops for the maintenance of internal security all over Kashmir would be an extreme submission to aggression. Further, it was pointed out that this kind of joint working had been tried earlier on the borders and it only led to constant friction. It was at the third meeting at chequers that the third proposal of allowing the plebiscite administration to raise a force from among the people of Kashmir was made. These neutral observers said that it was their impression that India did not reject this proposal offhand. India's view on this suggestion was that it involved the consent and co-operation of the Kashmir Government, which was autonomous as far as internal security was concerned. As a State which had acceded to the Indian Union, the Indian Government was responsible for the defence and security of Kashmir. The Indian Government had no authority to delegate this function to any other force without the agreement of the Kashmir administration. These sources said that the impression given to the Prime Ministers was that Mr. Nehru would consult his Cabinet and the Kashmir Government further on this suggestion, and they expressed themselves puzzled by Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan's categorical statement that this suggestion was accepted by him and rejected by Mr. Nehru.

The effect on Pakistan of Mr. Liaquat Ali's manouvrings has been depressing. The section of Pakistan Press which only three weeks ago came out with screaming headlines describing their Prime Minister's "success," now seem to be hard put to it to interpret the failure. Having been instrumental in raising high hopes in Pakistani minds over the result of London discussions, they are now vainly trying to divert their attention to Lake Success. Public resentment, however, at what is described as "Liaquat's stunt" is growing. The *Nawai-waqat*, a prominent Urdu daily of Lahore, has openly charged the Pakistan Prime Minister with having tried to play with the sentiments of his people. It commented that Pakistan had been made to pay a fantastic price for what is nothing less than a farce in the visit of London of Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan.

Sri Nehru's Conference at Paris

Sri Nehru speaking at the Press Conference, reviewed the steps taken towards a settlement of the Kashmir problem. The main argument, he said, was centred on conditions which should govern a plebiscite.

"Why should we supersede the existing local Government in Kashmir in favour of an aggressor, or withdraw our forces completely, leaving Kashmir open to another possible invasion?" he said.

"If the popular Government tells us to go away, we will go away.

"I do not know whether any of you read the Pakistan Press, because that Press is full of incitement to war, and not ordinary war but Holy War—*Jehad*.

"We have told them this is not an atmosphere conducive to peaceful settlement. This is a political or economic problem for the people of Kashmir to decide—not a religious problem. It is not a Hindu and Muslim problem. The conflict in Kashmir is between

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some Muslims and other Muslims between progressive bodies and reactionary bodies. We are on the side of the progressive party. Even so, we have said, 'Let the people of Kashmir decide'."

Sri Nehru made these replies to reporters' questions :

Q: "After commentary of the Chinese radio to the recent United Nations plan, do you still think a satisfactory solution is possible?"

A: "I am sorry I have not seen the commentary. I cannot say without seeing it. Anyhow, I would rather wait for an official reply than a reply on a radio commentary."

Q: "What is your appraisal of the Far Eastern situation, particularly with regard to limiting the conflict in Korea?"

A : "My reply can be a long-distance or a short-term one. It is obvious that since this last war, very big changes have taken place in the whole of Asia. They have affected the whole balance of power or equilibrium of forces in Asia. Various factors have come into play. New countries have become independent, like India, Pakistan, Ceylon, Indonesia and Burma and then there has been this great change in China. The first thing to appreciate is that these big changes have taken place in Asia and notably in China which make it essential for everyone to understand the new situation and not judge it by the past."

He described the Chinese People's Government as "a new Power which is stable and should be recognised as such." He added, "That is a fact, and fact is no less a fact because some people refuse to recognise it as such."

"What is the basis of a settlement in Korea?"

"You can hardly have any stable settlement whether by war or peace without the concurrence or acquiescence of those countries round about. It is not an easy matter today to force a settlement without the concurrence of neighbouring countries."

"What do you think of United States' acceptance of the possibility of Four-Power talks including Communist China?"

"I think certain definite progress has been made in the direction."

"Should China be named as aggressor if she rejects the latest peace proposals?"

"I think any step taken which make it frightfully difficult to have negotiation in future is a dangerous step because then we bolt and bar the door to a peaceful settlement.

"China made it perfectly clear that if the 38th Parallel was crossed, she would consider the United Nations forces as aggressors.

"China made this clear before the Parallel was crossed. You will remember that China has frequently in the past been invaded from Korea and this fact was fairly well known to various Governments."

"Do you think Peking wants a peaceful solution

"I know what the Peking Government has They have put great stress on Formosa."

"What about the situation in Tibet?"

"The situation for some time has been more or static. No advance of the Chinese armies has place."

"What about a Japanese Peace Treaty?"

"It is always a dangerous thing to delay which has to be taken—the sooner taken the the chances of it being successful. It is obvious is going to be a peace treaty with Japan. It is that the Japanese are a people with a great to recover and a people who cannot be kept in jection for long. So it is better to treat them and give them the freedom to go ahead on their lines. Asia is interested, it would be a good have common peace treaty with all the countries. Otherwise, I suppose the time will when individual countries will have peace treaties Japan."

"What do you think of the plan to rearm Japan"

"I don't know whether you will think that I am going to say is practical or not. I think there a provision in the Japanese constitution—the constitution—that Japan will not rearm.

"This constitution has been passed, I largely at the instance of Gen. MacArthur.

"I believe from the point of view of Japan and the Far East it would be a good thing to stick to provision."

In reply to another question on Japanese rearment, Sri Nehru said, "I think it would be conducive to peace in the Far East if there was no rearmament of Japan. If Japan becomes an independent country and if tensions and a war situation exist, I have no doubt that whether you give permission or not Japan will rearm—if not publicly, in other ways."

"Do you think a durable peace with Japan can be made without China and Russia?"

"No, if there is no peace between China, Russia and Japan there is prospective trouble there."

"Any comment on the recognition of Bao Dai

"So far as India is concerned, we have not recognised any party in Indo-China and we have no intention of doing so."

Q : "You will not recognise Bao Dai, you will not recognise Ho Chi Minh. What solution do you think will be reached?"

A : "That is a big question and I have no doubt that the only ultimate solution is independence of Indo-China with the people of Indo-China deciding their fate."

"What is the feeling of the people of India towards the war in Vietnam and will you raise this question in talks with French Premier Rene Pleven?"

"I have no intention of raising this matter

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I have enough complicated problems to face—I don't see why we should add to them."

"What about the Dutch-Indonesian problem over New Guinea?"

"It should be decided peacefully. The decision should largely depend on the good of New Guinea, not on the good of other countries, whatever that might be."

"What do you think of German rearmament?"

"Generally speaking, I dislike rearmament anywhere, I recognise of course that one cannot be idealistic about these matters and no Government can take great risks.

"I am not a pacifist. If I was, I would not keep an army in India, though in spite of this world crisis, we have reduced our Army and are reducing it still further, because we want to reduce military expenditure and use the money for social purposes instead.

"It is obvious that rearmament in Germany is a thing which may have very far-reaching repercussions and one has to think things out. One has to balance many factors. Rearmament of Germany is considered no doubt because Western powers are afraid of the strength of Eastern powers in Europe and of possible aggression.

"The surest guarantee would be to try to relieve the present tensions that exist and make the chances of war remote."

On World Government, Sri Nehru said: "There are very great difficulties in the way and at present it is not something I can see emerging anywhere. It is not something which can be brought about artificially —it has to grow."

Later, referring to rearmament, Sri Nehru said: "No Government can take great risks about its security. It has to prepare for contingencies."

He denied that India had sent any Note to Peking.

"We have been in constant touch with our Ambassador in Peking, keeping him informed of developments and he has kept in touch with the Peking Government. There has been no formal or informal Note to Peking from us."

On India's role as mediator and his own part in helping towards a solution of international problems, Sri Nehru said: "I did at one time send a private message to Marshal Stalin on the one hand and another to Mr. Dean Acheson in regard to Korea. I felt it might do some good. Apart from that I have made no proposals, but we have had a certain responsibility cast upon us by the fact that we are one of the very few countries who have diplomatic relations with China.

"We have become a window to the rest of the world in regard to China. But I am not posing as a mediator or arbitrator."

Bali Desecrated

Every one knows with what active sympathy the Government and people of India have been following from its very start the recent struggle of the Indonesians for emancipation from the bonds of colonial rule. In this India has been only discharging her duty to the people with whom her cultural connexions extended for nearly 1500 years in the past. These cultural influences are still preserved in the garden-island of Bali lying immediately to the east of Java where the social and religious life of the people still bears an unmistakably Indian stamp. It was not very long ago that a great French scholar, the late Prof. Sylvain Levi brought out a collection of Sanskrit texts from Bali representing the ancient Indian literature from the Vedas to the Tantras. It is with great concern that we have just received from a reliable source very disquieting reports of the conditions of insecurity of life and property prevailing in the island. We have no doubt that it is only necessary to draw the attention of the friendly government of the Indonesian Republic to that matter straight in the island, should our report turn out to be correct. We would earnestly request the Government of India to move in the matter through its diplomatic channels. The case is urgent and brooks no delay. In our own country we have seen to what length mob-passions can go, if left unchecked by the forces of authority.

Among the smaller islands of the Malay Archipelago Bali is the best known, as in happier, pre-war times it used to be visited by tourists, especially from Australia and the U.S.A.

Extremely picturesque by its palm-sheltered villages and quaintly decorated temples, it attracted many artists from various countries who revealed the beauty of Bali in sketches and water-colours. Scholarly interest is focussed in the remarkable fact that Bali and its twin, Lombok, are the only islands of the Archipelago which up to the present have retained a curious form of Hinduism together with social institutions originating in ancient India. In Java and Sumatra where Buddhism and Hinduism once flourished, these religions succumbed to Islam, leaving many magnificent sanctuaries as eloquent witnesses of their former ascendancy.

Alarming tidings have recently come about the present disturbed condition of this Happy Island. Javanese terrorists belonging to the Republican army have set up a committee of four local men as rulers of Bali under their protection. This worthy quaternity consists of the administrator of the Kirtya Foundation, an agricultural guard, a schoolmaster and a clerk, who owe their present position solely to their pro-Javanese propensities. They have deposed the legal head of the administration of the Island (Kepala Daera) and removed most of the *pungavas* or hereditary district officers. The Javanese soldiery have taken up their

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quarters in schools, dak bungalows and offices of the Forestry, agricultural and other Government departments. In the name of liberty these so-called nationalists commit all kinds of outrages; murder and plunder are daily occurrences.

It is impossible to decide how far the activity of the dissolute soldiery is due to distinct orders of their superiors or to their own initiative. It may be questioned whether the real power in the Indonesian Republic is not wielded by the Muslim soldiers and their captains who prefer the free and easy life of marauders to the peaceful pursuits of citizens and peasants.

It should however be remembered that the practice followed by the Javanese troops in whose grip Bali is now writhing is in perfect accordance with an *ukase* issued by the Djogya Government as far back as 1948, prescribing that each *daerah* must be governed by a set of their partisans.

Air Accidents

Two very serious air accidents have recently taken place in West Bengal. In one of them four lives were lost and in the other three. The later one took place on December 17 last. Fire was noticed on an Airways India Dakota near Tangail in Pakistan when the plane was flying to Gauhati at an altitude of 7,000 ft. Nitric acid was being carried in a wooden packing case under label of photographic materials. Fire-extinguisher was applied. Instead of stopping the fire, it generated obnoxious fumes which soon filled the plane causing asphyxia to the crew and passengers. The pilot landed the plane on a dry river-bed with no injury to the persons on board. All of them were semi-asphyxiated. The Calcutta Head office was informed of this accident by wireless but they showed extreme callousness in sending any medical aid. The place of accident was within one and a half hour's flying distance from Calcutta. By that evening, one passenger was dead. The first officer expired in the night. Radio operator died next morning. Another passenger was dead by the afternoon. Strangely enough, no news was sent to the relatives of the two members of the crew. Had they been timely informed, efforts could have been made to bring them to Calcutta to give them proper medical aid. It is apprehended that the carbon tetrachloride of the Fire-extinguisher generated phosgene gas or liberated chlorine, both of which are poisons. The carefree callousness shown by the Airways India office in this case may be called criminal.

In the first case, which took place about a month earlier, a freighter air-craft crashed against the Himalayas in Bhutan (several miles north of Hasimara), resulting in the death of all three members of the crew, including Capt. Bearcraft. The air-craft flew head on against the hills and crashed, resulting in 3 deaths. The story circulated in Calcutta, after the accident, was that all the members of the crew fell asleep and so the air-craft went on and on and struck against hills.

It is impossible to believe that all 3 members of the crew simultaneously fell asleep in a running plane as if they were on a suicide trip. It must be remembered that Capt. Bearcraft was one of the best pilots in India. It is rumoured that contraband chlorine had been booked on this plane under false invoice.

Instances of booking of dangerous drugs and chemicals by plane had been earlier reported.

In September last bleaching powder was being carried in an Airways (India) plane bound for Gauhati. The pilot in charge of the plane had to return immediately after take-off, because of suffocation of the crew caused by fumes arising from the chemical.

Sometime near about the same date, a Calcutta firm was sending iodine crystals to Dacca in an Airways (India) plane. The bottles containing the crystals burst in the Aerodrome (probably, due to bad handling of the freight by the Company's porters). This caused detention of the air-craft.

The Port Health Officer, after these two incidents reported the matter to the Controller of Aeronautical Inspection, Calcutta Air-port, Dum Dum. The C.A.I. replied to the Port Health Officer that necessary warning had been issued to all Airline Companies in a circular letter.

The consignee of the packing case which emitted the fumes on the Dakota leading to its forced landing on December 17 was the *Assam Tribune* of Gauhati. Our information is that this firm had been warned previously for getting supplies of inflammable materials under false declaration.

It is absolutely clear that both these accidents have taken place due to the fact that the companies concerned had failed to heed the caution contained in the circular letter of the Controller of Aeronautical Inspection. He had made it clear in his circular that carriage of chemicals like Bleaching Powder, Iodine Crystals, Ammonia, Sulphuric Acid, etc., was forbidden under the Indian Air-craft Rules. The Director-General of Aviation must now come forward to investigate into these cases and satisfy public anxiety. Air travel should not be made hazardous through unscrupulous and illegal practices of greedy companies.

Food

The food position in India is going from bad to worse. For once the Government have taken a very bold step by imposing a 25 per cent cut and for this they deserve to be congratulated. But this cut is localised in statutory ration areas alone. We know of rural areas where people are taking 20 to 30 ounces of food a day. Large quantities of food will be released for procurement if people in these areas could be induced to

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content themselves with at least a 16-ounce diet in the interest of the nation at large. Serious efforts are being made to get food from the U.S.A. The negotiations with that country, however, are still in a fluid state. Meanwhile, attempts should also be made to secure Russian wheat. The rice deal with China has not as yet matured into certainty. Sri Nehru deserves the nation's congratulation in his declaration that no political strings will be attached to the food that India will import. Wastage of food in storage as well as transit is still very high. Serious steps should be taken to reduce wastage to the barest minimum. Arrangements should be made to introduce strict supervision of the work of the procuring and storing agents, which leave much to be desired. No false hopes of whatever description should be held out. The people must be frankly told the real situation so that they might take timely steps to face difficulties.

U.S.A. Technique of Help

The criticism of the *Bombay Chronicle* passed on the "disposal" of surplus in foodgrains or manufactured goods in the country should be an eye-opener to the makers of the Republic's policy with regard to their much-boosted "Point Four Plan" of help to less-developed countries in Asia and Africa. The criticism appeared on December 15, 1950. It should enable them to understand the psychology of bitterness that has been spreading against the "American Way" of life.

"The U. S. refusal to give a large enough price concession to India to enable her to buy 750,000 tons of 'milo' to stave off famine raises again the propriety of destroying food-grains to keep up the price-level. According to an established practice in the United States, all surplus food-grains are bought by the Department of Agriculture to assure fair prices to farmers. The Department of Agriculture is required by law to sell surpluses as close to market price as possible, otherwise dispose it off in any way they please in order to make space for the next year's surplus. It is reported that mountain heaps of wheat, 'milo' and corn are burnt, dumped into the sea or just allowed to rot. This is in addition to food-grains fed to pigs and cattle. Similar destruction of food-grains is reported from other surplus countries. In normal times such a practice may be justifiable in certain people's eyes but to refuse famine-stricken countries at a concession rate surplus food-grains which are otherwise going to be destroyed, sounds inhuman. No high sounding economic theories can justify such an act. One fails to understand how giving away a portion of food-grains from a huge surplus to feed starving millions can upset market rates or hit the U. S. farmers? Such a transaction can be made independently without disturbing the world grain market. We repeat a suggestion made earlier that an international organisation like the U. N. should collect all surplus food-grains from their member countries and supply it to famine-stricken areas either at a concession or even free for the sake of suffering humanity. What better token can one have of the U. N. ideal of peace and world brotherhood? Surplus countries like the United States ought to take a lead in the matter. Instead of looking at it from the narrow national point of view, the U. S. ought to make its surplus food-grains available to scarcity-ridden countries. What better gesture can they show to the non-Communist world?"

"British" Commonwealth Policy Independent of U.S.A.'s

We do not know details of the discussion that took place in the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference during the second and third weeks of January, 1951. We have for some time past been noticing a mounting spirit of criticism of U.S.A.'s handling of world affairs in almost every politically conscious country in the two hemispheres. And we would not be far wrong if we suggest that British politicians have been striving with all their might to build up a policy independent of U.S.A. pretensions and ambitions. The Commonwealth Prime Ministers' latest conference had been, we believe, an attempt in this line. The following cabled from London on December 30 last throws a certain light on this particular development.

"The *New Statesman and Nation* in a front page editorial devoted to an assessment of the Far Eastern situation yesterday condemned the 'gook complex' of American leaders.

"The editorial declared that the first wave of protest against 'the time of acceptance' of the American military programme (particularly that part of it which involved Britain as America's advanced base in Europe) led to Mr. Attlee's visit to Washington.

"It would be a pity if Mr. Truman and his colleagues are now persuaded that no protest from England can ever go farther than this. Beneath the surface the volume of protest continues to grow. The labour movement is today driven by the Government's too ready acceptance of American domination."

It added, "What we need now is an independent statement of British views about a world settlement. It should be drawn up in concert with Mr. Nehru and perhaps with other Commonwealth leaders and it should set out constructive proposals which Britain is ready to bring to the proposed 'four-power' discussions with the Soviet Union.

"We should surely bargain in the matter of the Far East with the bluntest reiteration of the policy already laid down by the Allies in Cairo and Potsdam on favour of the return of Formosa to the Chinese Government.

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"This is now the crux on which a cease-fire turns. The British are already committed to support Peking for membership of the Security Council and the U. N. programme includes the evacuation of all foreign troops from Korea which is the third Chinese demand. If we do not want to be treated as 'gooks' we must follow the Chinese in not behaving like them."

Cominform Military Might

Press Trust of India and *Reuter* cabled from Belgrade on December 28 last the following news :

"Marshal Tito told Parliament today, that nearly 700,000 troops, apart from Red Army units, were under arms in the Cominform countries bordering on Yugoslavia.

He gave detailed figures to show that Hungary, Rumania and Bulgaria had violated their peace treaties by increasing the size of their armed forces to 165,000, 300,000, 195,000 respectively.

The maximum strengths allowed by the peace treaties were 70,000, 138,000 and 65,500 respectively.

Albania had increased her forces correspondingly but she was not prevented from doing so by any treaty.

Because of these developments Yugoslavia had been forced to increase her military expenditure to 29,100,000,000 dinars in 1951 (about 200 million sterling) an increase of about 300,000,000 dinars (about 1,500,000 sterling) on the previous year.

Marshal Tito gave details of 1,397 frontier incidents, which the Cominform countries had operated along Yugoslavia's frontier since July 1948.

'We are consistently against every form of aggression no matter if it comes from capitalist or socialist countries. We need peace more than anything else but not peace at any price'."

For about 48 months the world has been kept busy with guessing when the Comminform countries would jump on Yugoslavia. That these neighbouring States have been able to restrain themselves is a proof that they are fully conscious of the dangerous possibilities of the situation. The abuses hurled at one another have, therefore, been accepted as letting of gas, giving an outlet to more explosive activities. The world is thankful for the respite. For, it feels that a day passed in peace is a day gained for peace.

The Malayan Tangle

Since the retirement of Japanese troops from Malaya, the returning British have been finding it increasingly difficult to re-establish their power over the Archipelago in the Indian Ocean. The "5,000 Communists" are said to be at the back of all the turmoil in the country, and the general public being at best lukewarm towards the British regime, the British have been forced to rely on the power of the military to solve a problem which is political, as there is a feeling of resentment against an "External Authority" that during a hundred years and more have mainly been a handmaid of British finance-capital.

A study, summarized from the *Hindustan Standard*, of the ideological and socio-economic groups in Malaya, gives an idea of this jig-saw puzzle. Of the total population of Malaya, inclusive of Singapore, the Chinese number over 3,000,000. The Malay population is slightly less than the Chinese population. The total number of Indians is estimated at 600,000. The population division clearly reveals the entrenched position of the Chinese community and also explains why the Federal authorities are making assiduous efforts to integrate democracy in the country by utilizing the Chinese populace.

The gradual ascendancy of MCA as the mouthpiece of Chinese democratic politics in the peninsula has undoubtedly isolated the Commies, who are mostly Chinese. Only a few Malaya and Indians have gone over to the Red front. Likewise the activities of UMNO have made the Malay population more or less view the Red guerilla resistance as a "purely Chinese affair." But the presence of militant Malaya nationalism, considered leftist in outlook, is the danger point. It would not be astonishing if it veers round to a policy of positive sympathy for the Reds to oppose UMNO and the Federal authorities. In order to prevent such an unholy link-up both the Federal authorities and UMNO are now engaged in reducing the power of leftist nationalism.

Of late UMNO has increased its following among the Malays and encouraged by the Government it has become the radiating centre of "stop the Commies" efforts and Anglo-Malaya political co-operation. On the other hand MCA is steadily expanding its field of activities. To date its total membership has reached 170,000. It is expected that the membership will mount to 200,000 within three to four weeks. Moreover, the chambers of commerce of different communities—European, Chinese and Indian—as well as the planters' association and the mining interests are supporting all official measures concerning suppression of "Communist banditry."

A new plan has been set in motion by the new Commander-in-Chief. The enforcement of the Briggs Plan shows the determination of the Federal Government to hasten the termination of the protracted Red guerilla warfare. Under the plan, manpower will be used selectively to provide recruits for the security forces, particularly the police force. The plan does not intend to conscript masses of the population as "such action is not considered necessary." The draftees will be required to perform services for a longer period than three years or the duration of the emergency whichever is less.

The plan provides for the direction of labour and the control of workers, but it is intended to keep this power in reserve for the time being. In the police and military forces only persons between the ages of 17 to 45 will be induced. The new man-power conscription move amounts to a selective comandeering of civilian services to put an end to Red disturbances.

The plan also provides for collective punishments

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but it is contemplated that these will be imposed in well-defined and comparatively small areas where the inhabitants have clearly failed to do their duty either by not preventing the commission of crimes when they could or by failing to assist the police in discovering the miscreants. However no collective punishment will be imposed until a proper magisterial inquiry has established that there has been a real and culpable failure of the kind indicated.

Burma Republic's Third Year

Our Burman neighbours celebrated the 3rd year of their life as independent Republicans on January 4 last with due pomp and ceremony. Our felicitations are offered on the occasion.

The year has been one of struggle and strain, the chief of these being the Karen revolt and the Communist group's armed insurrection. The Karen revolt is easy to understand. They demand on behalf of about 30 lakhs Karen an "autonomous" State. But it is difficult to understand how they propose to consolidate their 30 lakhs dispersed throughout Burma. The Karen revolt would have melted away long ago if it had not received encouragement and help from British groups, civil and military, with long experience of Burma acquired from residence in the country during British regime. U.S.A. people—very few—have also been found helping the revolt. After the death of Saw Ba U. Gyi, an outstanding Karen leader, once a member of the Thakin Nu Cabinet, the revolt appears to have lost its momentum and popular appeal.

The Communist attempt to disrupt Burma's economy is also easy to understand. But the fratricidal strife between the White Band and Red Band is not easy to unravel.

A brief newspaper survey of the insurgent groups will not be out of place in order to have a better perspective of Burma's political pattern. So far as the two major groups, namely, the White P.V.O's and the K.N.D.O's are concerned, much of the danger from them, a year ago, has now dwindled though their existence still constitutes a danger to the country and the people. After the death of their leader the late Saw Ba U Gyi, much of the fighting spirit has been knocked out of the K.N.D.O's. About sixty per cent of the White P.V.O's have returned to the Government fold and about twenty per cent more of them are expected to take advantage of the Amnesty, yet twenty per cent, ensconced in their jungle hideouts, continue their resistance against the Government. However, it is hoped that the Peace Missions sent out by what are called the repentant P.V.O's will be able to bring in this recalcitrant group.

The M.N.D.O's who formed a minor insurgent group, according to one of their leaders, have undertaken to give up their resistance and to co-operate with the Government after Independence Day. Thus we are left with one main insurgent group, namely, the Communists who are divided into two parties, the White and the Red. The White Communist dubbed "Stalinist" by the Foreign press for their particular brand of communism of a milder type, are led by Thakin Than Tun and are widely dispersed all over the country. They seem to be well-equipped, well-supplied and very much active. The Red Flag Communists who are termed the "Trotskyists" are led by Thakin Soe.

The Red Flag Organisation was an off-shoot of the Burma Communist Party, though personal rivalry between the two leaders had begun with the inception of the Communist party itself. In Thakin Soe's views, the Communist party being meant for a struggle was only for those who believed in a struggle. On the other hand, Thakin Than Tun maintained that politics is a game where diplomacy has a place alongside the struggle. Differences of opinion between these two leaders culminated in a split in the Communist Party in March 1948 when Thakin Soe issued a manifesto accusing Thakin Than Tun and his then Lieutenant Thakin Thein Pe of compromising with the imperialists and opportunists. It was further suggested by Thakin Soe that the majority members of the Communist Party should be composed of those of his followers. This was, of course, unacceptable to Thakin Than Tun, and Thakin Soe and his followers left the party to form the Red Flag Organisation. The usual recriminations and personal slander were indulged in by both the leaders, culminating in the Red Flags resolving to exterminate the White Flags, the rivalry being so acute as to place this resolve above Thakin Soe's objective of fighting against the imperialist and the liquidation of the A.F.P.F.L.

Thakin Than Tun, leader of the White Flag Communists, was the first Secretary-General of the A.F.P.F.L. His primary objective then was to turn the A.F.P.F.L. into a Communist front. His first acute disappointment was when the A.F.P.F.L. formed the Provisional Parliament under the leadership of Bogyoke Aung San. It was then that with the co-operation of its chief Lieutenant, Goshal alias Thakin Ba Tin, an Indian born and educated in Burma and a member of the Communist Party of India, he made endeavours to wrest the leadership of the A.F.P.F.L. by various means resulting in widespread strikes and agrarian agitation. With the expulsion of the Communist Party from the A.F.P.F.L., Thakin Than Tun went underground and up to the time of writing he continues to be a very real danger to the future of the country. A year ago Thakin Than Tun's White Flag Communists dominated the entire area upward from Toungoo until they were dispersed by a Government offensive.

The White P.V.O.'s or the People's Volunteer Organisation was an offshoot of the Liberation Army and the Burma Defence Army of the Japanese days and lastly the Patriotic Forces which drove out the Japanese Fascists from Burma.

While the A.F.P.F.L. and the Communists led by Thakin Than Tun were wrangling over different issues, the P.V.O.'s as mediators did not hide their sympathy for the Communist cause. With the failure of their

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mediation efforts the P.V.O.'s went underground in July 1948. Even among the P.V.O.'s a split occurred on June 13, 1948, as a direct result of Thakin Nu's 14-Point Programme advocating "Leftist Unity." The Yellow Band supported Thakin Nu's plan while the White Band was prepared to support their own. The A.F.P.F.L. Supreme Council held a meeting on July 1 and 2, 1948, where, after a heated debate, Thakin Nu's Plan was adopted and ratified, while the P.V.O. Plan was turned down by an overwhelming majority of votes. Refusing to accept this decision, the White Band P.V.O.'s continued to convince the country of the practicability and utility of their plan. The A.F.P.F.L. resolutely tried to bring round the P.V.O.'s to its views. It had even offered to transfer power to the P.V.O.'s should they undertake to carry out the programme prescribed by the A.F.P.F.L. Refusing this offer, the P.V.O.'s ultimately went underground.

Thakin Than Tun is reported recently to have surrendered. And the prospects of comparative peace in Burma appear to have brightened.

The much used "ludu" which means the mass of the people has been treated to various political stunts and changes which, apparently, had taken them by surprise. It is imperative that, if the "ludu" are to keep their heads above the stagnant waters of Burmese politics, they should gain a clearer perspective of all that is going on in the political arena, and that they should not be swayed by ideological differences of which they are ignorant.

The Burma Peasants and Workers' Party which had been formed by the members of the Socialist Party who walked out of it is meant to be a party for the general mass of the people and its outlook, undoubtedly, will be influenced by Marxism as its guiding ideology.

This picture of Burma may be taken as fairly representative of conditions in the country. And hopes entertained by outside friends that Thakin Nu's Government is on the way to re-establish control over the whole country is nearer realization now than at any other time after 1945.

South Africa's Dangerous Policy

Addressing the Congress of the Convention, a federal body of African organizations in the Union of South Africa, Mr. W. T. Tsotsi, President of the All-African Convention, envisaged on December 17 last a war—a war between European colonizers and colonials, between exploiters and the exploited :

> "It is a war in which the millons of Asia and Africa, who have for generations been groaning under the yoke of foreign domination and oppression, are at least rising to throw off their shackles and come into their own."

The All-African Convention "was part of a vast world army which had pledged itself in the name of Democracy and peace to fight tyranny and oppression."

Africans should avoid isolated clashes and conserve their forces for a concerted struggle.

For non-Europeans, South Africa was always a Nazi or Fascist State characterised by the Herrenvolk (master people) ideology, with ruthless suppression of human rights and different systems of laws for ruling and subject races. The coming into power of the Nationalist Party of Dr. Malan has emphasised the Fascist nature of the South African State.

Both the Government and the Opposition are "heavy with the wine of racial superiority," and sooner or later nemesis would overtake them, Tsotsi warned.

Non-Europeans were the only group in South Africa capable of defending Democracy. Because they were denied the constitutional means of fighting fascism a dangerous situation existed.

Transforming Yugoslavia

Mr. R. N. Brailsford, the noted British publicist and consistent friend of India, has written an article on Yugoslavia that has appeared in the January issue of the *People* (weekly) of Delhi. It is an attempt to assess the success of the measures which the ruling authorities of this Federation of States have been making to repair the war damages and improve the material and mental improvement of the people. Five-Year Plans have been the order of the day. But a revolt is in progress against every form of bureaucratic centralization" and Marshal Tito has been forced to declare that there "will be no second Five-Year Plan."

Mr. Brailsford passed two months in Yugoslavia and has had opportunity to observe how the people have fought against the conditions created by a "third summer" from February to the end of October. But with "the imaginative audacity" that had enabled them to fight the Hitler hordes, Tito's "young men" set to use their "assets" to the best purpose. The "more prosperous peasants were . . . discontented and half-hearted." And Marshal Tito had to declare that the area under cultivation was last spring still 1,75 acres "below the pre-war level."

But this is not the whole story; there was a brighter side, and it showed itself in Macedonia, the most neglected of the areas of the new Federation. The description of the transformation of Macedonia is worth reproduction which we do below:

"For my eyes, the happiest novelties in Macedonian life were its *zadrugas*. I use that name because neither co-operative nor collective farm is an exact translation. A *zadruga* meant originally a big patriarchal family farmhouse, in which three generations lived, tilling their common fields under the grandfather's direction. A few of these survivals of an older world still existed when first I knew Macedonia. The modern *zadruga* differs from the Russian collective farm in two respects. It is a voluntary creation formed on the initiative of the peasants themselves, and it is managed, not by a director nominated from above, but by a committee and a president elected by its members. The peasants throw their land and cattle into the common stock and work in teams known as "brigades." The produce is divided according to the number of working days each member has to his credit. Small plots of land

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however, assigned to each family for its private use, and it may keep its own poultry and pigs. The Republic helps the *zadruga* with credits free of interest and repayable by instalments over thirty years. With such aid it builds its byres and granaries and has the first claim to such machinery as may be available. Chosen members are sent periodically to take courses in scientific agriculture. Methods of farming have been revolutionised by new rotations, the use of fodder crops and silos. I had no difficulty in believing the claim of a *zadruga* near Bitolia, that in four years it has increased production by 60 per cent. The peasants would show us the new houses they are now able to build. In the old days, as they put it, they "used to sleep on the floor, now they have beds." The older *zadrugas* have reserves of grain that will tide them over the drought. But there is something more than a gain in efficiency and material prosperity. Always in the handsome central building, beside the committee room and the cashier's office, there is a "Home of Culture," with a theatre, which will show films when electricity is available, and a modest library. Usually it has its choir and its amateur theatrical company."

One wishes that what has become possible in primitive Macedonia were possible in India—the people taking the initiative and the Government came to their help as and when it became necessary. This *zadruga* system is reminiscent of our old days and is hard to beat as an instance of social responsibility undertaken in a dutiful spirit.

Science in Asia

The 38th session of the Indian Science Congress and the 1st session of the Pan-Indian-Ocean Congress were held at Bangalore during the first week of January, 1951.

Scientists from far and near, specially from the countries having "colonies" in the Indian Ocean region, graced the occasion and took part in the proceedings, apart from those of Canada, United States and Japan. The countries more concerned were Ceylon, Burma, Malaya, Iran, India, Pakistan. The Indian Institute of Science played the host on the occasion. The suggestion for holding the Pan-Indian-Ocean Conference came from the Australian National Research Council.

The General President of this session of the Indian Science Congress was Prof. Homi Jehangir Bhaba, 42-year old Director of Fundamental Research at Bombay since 1945.

The purpose of the Pan-Indian Ocean Science Congress is to discuss and promote concerted action in regard to scientific problems specially affecting industrial progress, agriculture, health and commercial interest of peoples living around the Indian Ocean, which will further help to strengthen the bonds of peace by promoting a feeling of brotherhood amongst scientists and the maintenance of harmonious relations between them.

The Indian Science Congress has been carrying on its recluse existence without being able to make modern science racy of the soil nor contributing in any significant manner to the enrichment of the country's material life. The setting-up of the Pan-Indian-Ocean Science Congress will, we hope, stir it out of its placidity. For, during the days that lie ahead such an indrawn life is destined to failure. We are sure that science can not be put into compartments marked Asia, Europe, the Americas, Africa and Oceania. There may, however, be something in the arrangement beyond an outward division—East or West, North and South. But the problems tackled by modern science are universal in their sweep, in their causation and consequences. Indian scientists, as such, have to recognize anew this development and contribute their share to the common fund of knowledge.

The address of the President of the Indian Science Congress is a proof that Indian scientists are ready to play their part in the quest after the "fundamental" elements of Nature by using the instruments and contrivances of modern research. Shri Homi Jehangir Bhaba symbolizes this youthful urge. In his address, he traced the developments in scientific research during the last half-a-century from "chemical elements" to "neutral pion." And he summed up his address in the following words as we find it summarized in the daily Press :

> "Research conducted after the war demonstrated that the picture was again not so simple as it was then supposed to be, and two types of mesons were identified—the mu mesons, being those seen in cloud chamber hotographs and the pi mesons responsible for nuclear forces. More recent experiments with the large cyclotron at Berkeley and elsewhere had led to the discovery of yet a new elementary particle, the neutral pion.
>
> "We see now that at least nine different types of elementary physical entities exist in nature, while the existence of two more is almost certain.
>
> "The circumstances that there are a dozen different types of elementary particles in nature would lead us to expect that there may be many more, and indeed with our present knowledge we cannot exclude the possibility that there may be an infinite number of them. This does not mean, however, that we shall never be able to obtain a complete description of them all. It is clear we are now penetrating into a new level of Nature which was practically unknown some twenty years ago."

Dr. Bhaba presided over the Pan-Indian Ocean Science Congress also. Its report is not with us as we write these lines. On the last day of its sittings (January 7) it adopted an interim constitution laying down for objective concerted action in regard to scientific problems affecting Indian Ocean people and the strengthening of the bonds of friendship among them. It also agreed to the President, Secretary and the Heads of the Delegations present here to constitute its Interim Council (Dr. H. J. Bhabha is President).

The Congress has already considered draft proposals on subjects of common interest to countries in the region and it was expected that it might set up national committees in each country to co-ordinate its work and make recommendations for new research.

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On agricultural sciences it said, it was necessary to foster a free interchange of personnel and information in the Indian Ocean area. The objective was to secure increased agricultural production, maintain and increase productive capacity of soils and raise nutritional and living standards of the people of the area. To this end it was thought necessary to form a Standing Committee on agriculture within the framework of the Congress.

The Standing Committee would be briefed to direct special attention to soil geography and socio-economic factors, research on water and soil conservation, problems of rain-fed areas and schemes of agricultural research.

On the subject of economic, educational and social sciences, the Congress recommended the use of sample surveys in the fields of population, public health, agricultural and industrial production, level of living, educational and cultural activities and national incomes.

It also recommended pilot projects in education of tribal children.

The creation of a section in human ecology with special reference to prevention of disease and attainment of optimum health was also considered.

The Congress agreed to hold its next session in August 1953 in Australia on an invitation from that country conveyed by its delegate Prof. A. D. Ross.

Geological Survey Centenary

The Centenary of the Geological Survey of India was celebrated in the Calcutta Museum during the second week of January, 1951. The record of work of this department is magnificent and comparable to that of any similar survey organisation. As such the occasion was rightly observed and celebrated with ceremony and oratory. Press releases were given in profusion. We quote below from one of which the co-authors are Dr. A. K. Dey and Shri M. S. Venkataram.

"Geologically India is divisible into three regions: (1) Peninsular region including the Shillong plateau of Assam in the north-east and the Kutch-Kathiawar region in the west occupying nearly 70 per cent of the land area; (2) the extra-Peninsular region—the Himalayas, Kashmir, Naga Hills of Assam, Manipur, Tripura, Andaman and Nicobar islands—comprising 13 to 15 per cent of the area and (3) Indo-Gangetic plains between Peninsular and extra-Peninsular region.

"The Peninsular region is among the oldest land areas of the world. Except for the Cretaceous and Tertiary beds, fringing the east coast and the southern part of the west coast, and more extensive areas in the west and north-west, and the valuable coal basins, and the basaltic lava flows covering its central and western parts, no rocks younger than the Cambrian are known to occur. This region is a stable land mass of great rigidity. The mountain ranges in the areas of old rocks are of relict type, remnants of hard rocks which effectively resisted sub-aerial denudation for long ages, though complicated by block faulting in the south.

"In contrast to the Peninsular region the extra-Peninsular region is a weak and flexible portion of the earth's crust which has been folded, faulted and overthrust. The steepness and depth of Himalayan gorges are indicative of the recent period of their latest uplift. The longitudinal portion of the gorges was determined when the Himalayan region first rose from the Tethyan sea (Trans-Himalaya) and the down cutting of the gorges kept pace with the upheaval and folding of the ranges. In addition to an ancient stratum of rocks (similar to the oldest peninsular rocks) which were deposited in a major pre-Cambrian geosyncline and compressed to form the earlier Himalayan ranges, there are immense thicknesses of marine strata representative of all systems from Cambrian to Tertiary. The floors of the second geosynclines, within which the strata were deposited, subsided intermittently, but on the whole keeping pace with sedimentation. The Gangetic plains, lying between the Peninsular and extra-Peninsular regions, are of alluvium derived especially from the Himalaya; the lower part of this mass may be contemporary with the Siwaliks, etc., which are of similar origin."

The mineral ores of India, the hope of her industries, have found a place in this article from which we quote below:

"India's mineral wealth has a distinct relation to her geological history. During the most ancient period were deposited her wealth of iron-ore, manganese-ore, chrome-ore (chromite) and other metalliferous ores indispensable for the modern iron and steel industry.

"The rocks of the earlier part of the Aryan era are the storehouse of most of the coal which forms the basis of India's industrial potential.

"The later Aryan period also provided coal and lignite, besides high-grade limestones. Oil, which is at present produced only from the Digboi field in Assam, is also an asset of this period.

"India's mineral wealth, though not in proportion to her growing population, is not insignificant when compared with that of other countries. India is fortunate in having within her domain adequate reserves of coal, iron, and metals required for ferro-alloys, which are the basis of modern industrialisation and power.

"Coal-mining in India is centred mainly in Bihar and West Bengal, but other important deposits are in Madhya Pradesh, Madhya Bharat, Orissa, Hyderabad and Assam. The total reserves of coal down to a depth of 2,000 feet are estimated at 66,000 million tons. Reserves of coking coal have been estimated at 12,000 million tons. Besides these, India has potential reserves of lignite in Bikaner in Rajasthan and South Arcot in Madras.

"In petroleum, India has limited resources. Proved reserves in the proved oil field in Upper Assam should be sufficient to yield a declining production over

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several years to come. India at present produces about 7 per cent of her consumption.

"The vast deposits of iron-ore are most extensive in Singhbhum of Bihar and adjacent districts of Orissa, with others in Bastar, Madhya Pradesh, Madras, Mysore and Hyderabad. The total known reserves of high grade iron-ore in India are of the order of 10,000 million tons.

"India produces manganese-ore of high grade quality, and although the principal deposits are in the Madhya Pradesh, others are widely scattered in Bihar, Orissa, Madras States and Panch Mahals. Reserves are not known but are undoubtedly considerable.

"Production of chromite in India is from Bihar, Mysore, Madras and Orissa.

"Reserves of tungsten-ore are small, confined to Jodhpur and Bankura; these should be able to provide much of the local requirements for ferro-tungsten alloy industry.

"India is a leading producer of ilmenite, the principal ore of titanium. She has large reserves of vanadium-bearing titaniferous iron-ores in the Singhbhum district of Bihar and Mayurbhanj district of Orissa.

"India is of world importance with regard to mica, kyanite and sillimanite. The main regions in which mica occurs in India are the Hazaribagh-Giridih-Gaya region in Bihar, Nellore district in Madras and Ajmer-Merwara in Rajasthan, but the amount and quality of production in Bihar far exceeds those of the other two regions. The mica is literally found in thousands of veins of various sizes. New ones are found as old ones are worked out, and depth limits of mines are gradually increasing. Hence the determination of reserves is practically impossible; all that can be said is that, although the deposits have been worked since the eighteen-seventies, there is no sign yet of exhaustion. On the contrary, production has shown a progressive tendency to increase. Production in 1949 was 151,696 cwts. and export 270,518 cwts.

"Perhaps the largest deposit of kyanite in the world occurs in Kharsawan (Bihar), where the minimum reserves are of the order of a quarter million tons. The same may be said of sillimanite, for the world's largest concentration of this mineral occurs in the Khasi Hills (Assam). Minimum reserves have been estimated at 25,000 tons. Deposits of sillimanite are also known to occur in the Rewah district of Vindhya Pradesh."

Power Projects in Punjab

"The first stage of the Bhakra-Nangal project will soon be completed. Like the completion of other great ventures, it will not bring with it a sense of fulfilment but will bring the State face to face with new tasks to fulfil. One task will be to utilise some 300,000 kwts. of electric energy. Experts have pointed out the imperative need of exploring in advance proper ways of using this power. Failure to do so may leave the State with vast power on its hands but with no plan to make productive use of it. A warning against such a prospect has been given to the Punjab Government by the outgoing Director of Industries, Mr. S. N. Kapur. His words must carry a chilling realism to those who have watched the Punjab Government's struggle with the energy produced by the Mandi scheme. Out of the 30,000 kwts. being produced today, 8,000 kwts. are sold to Pakistan. A comprehensive, well-considered plan of industrialisation is, therefore, called for in order that the energy may be delivered and used in areas which are most in need of it and are ready to make purposeful use of it."

The "refugees" from West Punjab, we have been told, are a vigorous and enterprising set of people. We believe that prior to partition they were large-scale users of electricity. Why they have not found profit in using electric energy in their new homes and industries is a question that requires a reply. If they are going short of electricity then of course the picture is different.

Electrification of Madhya Pradesh Towns

A Nagpur telegram sent out on December 27 last announced a forward move in the State of Madhya Pradesh, the object of which is the "immediate" electrification of 16 towns. The announcement was as follows :

> "An important step in the implementation of Madhya Pradesh Government's Plan of providing the nucleus of a State Electric Supply System was taken today (December 27) when Dr. Rajendra Prasad, President of India, before a large distinguished gathering, declared the Khaparkheda Thermal Station open.
>
> "It is one of the two thermal stations feeding the southern grid. Khaparkheda is on the right bank of the Kanhan about thirteen miles from Nagpur and five miles from Khamptee.
>
> "Sixteen towns with a population of over 10,000 each will, for the first time, get electricity supply from Khaparkheda.
>
> "8,20,000 people living in urban areas will receive immediate benefit of Khaparkheda supply which is ultimately expected to be extended to 3,428,476 people.
>
> "The rural area proposed for early development is nearly 2,000 square miles."

So far as we know the State has been lagging behind in the provision of modern amenities. But it has been straining hard to make up for lost time. And it appears to be succeeding well.

"Electricity is food," said a Serbian aged woman of the working class to Mr. Brailsford. In the case of the Madhya Pradesh, we hope that apart from the lighting of towns the Khaparkheda scheme will increase the food production of its area, thus easing the food position not only in the State but in the whole of India. Madhya Pradesh is a surplus area under food. But during the present crisis, it has a more extended

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India's Ports and Harbours

The Central Minister for Transport and Railways had a two-days' conference on board the Calcutta Port Trusts' vessel *Bengal* on the 7th and 8th January last. The chairmen of Port Trusts of Calcutta, Bombay and Madras and Heads of administration of the ports of Vizagapatam, Cochin and Kandla, top officials of the Central Ministries of Transport, Food, Finance and Commerce and the Collector of Customs, Calcutta, attended. The conference discussed among other things the question of introduction of a single Central Act for the administration of the ports of Cochin, Vizagapatam, Kandla and such other ports as might, in future, be declared as major ports, direct representation for shipping and countrycraft interests on existing Port Trust Boards and the allocation of elected seats on Port Trust Boards.

It reviewed the present allocation of elected seats of Trustees on the Port Trust Boards of Calcutta, Bombay and Madras. It was stated that shipping was under-represented in the existing Port Trust Boards and the time had come to give them direct representation. The conference recommended that the position should be rectified and that in the case of Bombay, countrycraft interests should be given a direct representation as an appreciable percentage of trade at that port was handled by this type of shipping.

A detailed discussion then took place on a draft Bill providing for the administration of the major ports of Cochin, Vizag and Kandla. The intention of this legislation is to empower the Central Government to provide for the development and administration of these ports either directly as a department of the Central Government under an Administrative Officer or through a Statutory Port Trust Board such as is functioning at the ports of Calcutta, Bombay and Madras. The Bill was discussed clause by clause and the conference is stated to have generally approved the principle of the draft legislation.

Another item discussed at the conference related to the provision of officers in Port Administration to give financial advice on the various port expenditure schemes. This proposal was a sequel to the recent discussion in Parliament during the debate on the Bill to amend the Calcutta, Bombay and Madras ports legislation. The principles governing municipal taxation of Port Trust properties and the question of introduction of uniformity in the levy of port charges on foodgrains at all major ports in India were also discussed at the conference.

The matters discussed were all confined to the external efficiency in these institutions. But the inner corruption and inefficiency of these statutory bodies have become a standing disgrace to the country. Pilferings at the Ports and Railways have been adding to the misery of the people.

"Hindi in a Hurry !"

This was the heading of an article in a Bombay daily in criticism of the speech of Shri Jay Chandra Vidyalankar as President of the 38th session of the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan's Rashtra Bhasa Parishad at Kotah in Rajputana during the last 4 days of 1950. Our Bombay contemporary has accepted the logic of the step taken by the Constituent Assembly when it decided in favour of Hindi as the State language. But he finds it difficult to share the "hurry" of the Hindi enthusiasts. Shri Jay Chandra made a grievance of the fact that the State has not been doing its proper bit for Hindi, but we have found nothing constructive in his criticism except the fact that the State has been putting off the constitution of the Federal units on "what has come to be known as the "linguistic basis."

We have ourselves made this criticism since the beginning making it clear that this postponement will be leading to tensions that in this formative period of our State should have been avoided. The point of our own criticism was that the constitution should provide for the learning of one of the major languages of India other than the mother tongue on every aspirant for Federal appointments. We are glad to notice that Shri Amar Nath Jha, Chairman of the Federal Public Service Commission, has made the same suggestion in course of a speech he delivered at Mathura on December 26 last to the students and staff of the K. R. College. We gladly make room for this part of the said speech. The report said that Amarnathji "emphasized the need that each State must learn at least one of the major State languages because Gujrati, Bengali, etc. are richer than Hindi." The effect of this idea would be to counteract the rise of "Hindi imperialism" against which feeling has been already rising.

We do not write of such a danger without reason. Shri R. R. Divakar, Minister of State for Information and Broadcasting inaugurating this particular conference on December 27 last, made pointed reference to this. The issue is so important that we reproduce these portions of his speech as reported in the Press :

> "Some of the people from the South are generally afraid of a certain kind of 'language imperialism' from Hindi. Certain other genuine difficulties in learning Hindi also are there.
>
> But I do not think that it is beyond the ability of the people belonging to Hindi-speaking States to do it. abuse others of all misunderstandings. It should be possible for Hindi-speaking people to give the South as much time as is necessary for them to master the Hindi language.
>
> They must also make them feel that they would have their own contribution to make for building up Hindi as the "lingua-franca."
>
> No Hindi-speaking States will be justified in trying to lay down the rule or dictate the terms on which Hindi should develop. Hindi-speaking people can also create confidence among the Southerners by themselves learning one of the southern languages and by trying to promote some of them.
>
> Translation of works of merit in the southern

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languages into Hindi would be another way which would make Southerners shed their distrust."

"If there was a proper approach by the Hindi-speaking people and patient effort made to induce confidence in the people of the South there would be no difficulty in the spread of the language faster than we imagine."

Shri Chakravarti Rajagopalachari was more forthright in the expression of this apprehension :

"On the other hand, let me respectfully warn Hindi lovers, not to depend upon the coercion which a numerical majority of an ill-knit continental population can at the moment exercise. It will lead to disintegration and hostility rather than unity. Let us remember that for thousands of years many languages lived and grew side by side in India, and Hindi did not succeed in ousting other languages by force of its dominant momentum.

"This negative historic phenomenon should guide us in our steps. Let there be no indecent haste."

"My fear is that such haste will give the people of the East and South an impression that those whose mother tongue is Hindi are seeking to use their language as an instrument of oppression and domination in public affairs. This should be avoided at all costs. The slower but the surer pace of a voluntary synthesis is far wiser than the haste of enthusiasm.

"I have said perhaps what may not please but I am earnest and I claim to have worked for Hindi in the South for the last thirty years and am not a lukewarm about it."

Compost Production in West Bengal

In the production of compost in rural areas West Bengal has a encouraging story to tell. A Government communique issued by the Directorate of Publicity describes details of the minor success attained which we publish below:

"West Bengal's target of production of compost manure in the rural areas, in 1949-50, was exceeded by 17,000 tons, the total production being 1,17,000 tons. Of this quantity, at least 1,04,000 tons is known to have been actually utilised during the year. As many as 1492 persons qualified themselves for award of prizes of Rs. 15 each; 1448 for prizes of Rs. 10 each and 277 for the special prizes of Rs. 50 each.

This year again, the Government of West Bengal in the Agriculture Department have offered prizes for encouraging production of compost manure from rural refuse, including household waste, farm refuse and cattle-shed sweepings, etc., in the rural areas. This year two prizes of Rs. 15 and Rs. 10 each will be awarded to the best compost producers in each Union. In addition, all cultivators producing 1,000 cubic feet of ripe compost, equivalent to 20 tons, will be awarded special prizes of Rs. 50 each.

Another scheme for encouraging eradication of water-hyacinth and other aquatic weeds and utilising these for production of compost manure has been sanctioned by Government. Each cultivator preparing compost manure out of these weeds will be entitled to payment of Rs. 1-8 per ton of ripe manure from Government and any one preparing 100 tons or above of ripe manure will also be eligible for a prize of Rs. 100. This would, it is hoped, encourage larger number of people in the rural areas to eradicate these weed-pests for preparing valuable compost for their food crops—and thereby add their mite towards the food self-sufficiency of the State."

It must be pointed out, though, that these are but small beginnings. Millions of tons of compost are needed, where a bare hundred thousand tons are produced.

"Earn While You Learn"

The Education Department of Uttar Pradesh has taken one step forward in the sphere of the "self-help" content of basic education. It has prepared a scheme for production and marketing of certain useful articles in the primary schools and junior and secondary schools. The scheme will be introduced in 25,000 schools. The State Training in handicraft already forms a part of the curriculum of the basic education. The Education Department has opened camps in the eastern districts for training of teachers in spinning, weaving and carding. The Government have instructed the heads of the educational institutions asking them to get articles of every day use prepared by the students according to local needs.

Presiding over the 25th session of the All-India Educational Conference at the Osmania University on December 29 last, Dr. Zakir Hussain, Vice-Chancellor of the Aligarh University, emphasized the same point by declaring that the achievements of the Indian Universities fell short of what our circumstances required; it was not enough for them to have some scholars and scientists of eminence: they should have leadership in all walks of their national life, men with a grasp of reality and who appreciated the needs of life and dedicated themselves to their fulfilment.

What Indian Universities needed today was a re-orientation of their functions in national life, functions that were to be assigned to them. It would be most prudent if the needs of Universities could be studied and provided for with a view to making them effective means of national reconstruction. The key-note of University work should be social responsibility—but social responsibility freely undertaken and not under duress.

There was nothing more urgent than the introduction of basic education throughout the country today. They should know that the resources of the State would not render this possible for yet some time to come. They should organise well-thought-out programmes of basic education in selected schools and in compact areas; make use of all available non-official agencies anxious to put forth their best for this important task; give them liberally the resources they lacked; organise an eight-year course as one integral whole basic education, so that running expenses of the school were met by the sale of useable articles produced by children.

"Scalping"

The Association on American Indian Affairs has through its National Films Committee brought forth

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evidence, says the *World Interpreter* of New York, to show that "white men," not the Indians, started the practice of scalping. Millions of people in the West have grown up on this belief for 2 to 3 hundred years. Thus have western historians done injustice to Red Indians who number today more than 2 millions.

The paper quotes authorities to prove the truth of this charge against the white man. James Mooney of the Smithsonian Institution wrote in 1910 : "Scalping was continued originally in North America to a limited area in the Eastern United States and the lower St. Lawrence region. It was absent from New England and much of the Atlantic Coast region, and was unknown until comparatively recent times throughout the whole Interior and Plains area. It was not found on the Pacific Coast or the Canadian Northwest."

Another expert, Georg Frederici, also writing for the Smithsonian, pointed out that the New England Puritans, in 1637, were first to offer premiums for native heads. He asserts, besides, "The acme of the custom was reached after the institution by whites of scalp premiums, accompanied by the employment of natives for scalp gathering, and scalping by the whites themselves." Frederici says that during the later wars in which the colonists were concerned, "scalp hunting was incited to still greater intensity. The premiums were large, ranging up to 100 pounds for one scalp; and they applied to Indians as well as to white enemies....Members of friendly tribes, and even the white countrymen of the scalpers were not safe, and even graves were made to yield victims."

Pennsylvania offered a regular schedule of scalp prices on July 7, 1764, through Governor Penn (not to be confused with William). Rates varied from $50 to $150, according to age, tribe, etc. In June, 1755, General Braddock guaranteed his soldiers and Indian allies five pounds for every enemy scalp.

Sinclair Lewis

Sinclair Lewis, the American novelist and creator of "Babbitt," died at Rome on January 10 last. Lewis earned fame by his bitter satires on American urban life, on the hypocritical clergy of his time, and on the outlook and the ways of American businessmen in particular. The Nobel Prize for literature first to be given to an American, was awarded him for qualities which were summed up as "his great and living art of painting life, with a talent for creating types, with wit and humour." He effectively exposed the myth that life in his country was only noble and happy.

To us in India his *Babbitt* was an introduction to U.S.A. life bursting with prosperity. We were enabled by him to have a glimpse into the dark abyss created by modern industrialism with its sacrifice of human beings at the altar of plutocracy.

Further acquaintance with the dark forces at work came when Sinclair Lewis exposed the judicial murder of Sacco and Venzetti, two Italian-born miners employed in Pennsylvanian coal mines. The police had put them up as Communists. This exposure was as searching as that by Emile Zola of the Dreyfus scandal precipitated by high officials in the French Army moved by their prejudice against a rising Jewish officer.

Thakkar Bapa

On the 19th January last was snapped another link with the Gandhian Age by the departure of Amrit Lal Thakkar from this world at his 82nd year. From 1869 to 1951, his life has covered the most dynamic years of India's recent history, and in it Amrit Lal Thakkar has played a most constructive part.

Born at Rajkot in Gujarat, he passed out in life as an engineer from Poona. Thereafter he saw service in Bombay City and finally in East Africa from which he returned in 1914. He joined the Servant of India Society, and true to the vows of initiation he served the lowly, the poor and the voiceless in India to the last days of his life.

Later he came under the influence of Gandhiji who ever found in Amrit Lal a never-failing friend in every department of social service. As Secretary of the Harijan Sevak Sangh, of the Kasturba Memorial Fund he carried all responsibilities, and shunned all honours. But these dogged him, and only a week or two before his death, he was made President of the Managing Committee of this Fund in the absence of Vallabhbhai Patel pre-deceasing him by 34 days only.

His silent service to the "tribals" in India, about 2 million souls, will earn him a place in India's history. A pioneer in this line, Amrit Lal demonstrated what a single man can do by persistence in changing the minds of men—exploiter and exploited. He has died full of years. We may not mourn for him but may best commemorate him by following the path indicated by him. May his soul rest in peace!

Shiv Narain

Death occurred here at 1 p.m. on December 10 last of Lala Shiv Narain, one of the oldest members of the Delhi Bar Association and a former President of the All-India Kayastha Conference. He was 74 years old.

He was a leading advocate of Delhi and was connected with many welfare and charitable organizations. For many years President of the Delhi Bar Association he was one of the senior Vice-Presidents of the Foreign Relations Society.

He died of cerebral haemorrhage. He leaves behind his widow, two sons and three daughters.

Lala Shiv Narain was associated with the Reception Committee of the Indian National Congress special session held in Delhi in 1918. He had been a member of the Delhi Municipal Committee for a long period. He defended Congressmen during the non-co-operation movement, the two civil disobedience movements and later in 1942.

Lala Shiv Narain has died full of years and full of honours. May his soul rest in peace !

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DIRECTIONS IN SCULPTURE

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By D. P. ROY CHOWDHURY,

Principal, School of Arts and Crafts, Madras

Every action is initiated by a purpose which aims at an objective. Art functions as one such action. The objective of plastic or graphic art is to seek an expression which is forged by a strong emotion and released through a concrete pattern. The pattern has a message to give. Therefore it is significant. The significance relates to the interpretation of an experience gained by coming in direct contact with an object that excites the artist to respond to the call for an expression. Therefore, it is strictly personal.

The expression thus released usually has a mission to communicate to one who is ready to receive it. In the circumstances the means of communication is endowed with the quality of a language which is not only expected to be knowledgeable but should also have the driving force to convey the spirit of the message without being trapped by abstrusiveness. In the absence of this essential quality in the medium of communication, the purpose of expression is lost.

I have dragged the explanation to this length in order to collect vital points that relate to modern trends in sculpture in our country. These trends represent a new language that intends to stay. I have said "New Language" because it is distinct from that of our traditional motives and the conventional patterns, of the West, as well. The language of sculpture, whatever pattern it may refer to, scrupulously avoids vagueness in its message on account of its defined articulation, which is composed of silhouettes all around the structure with clear-cut sharp lines. It has no background of its own to rely on for an atmospheric effect. Nor is it supported by any description easily obtainable in literature. Facilities to exercise the imagination in a three dimensional language are therefore curtailed to the minimum. In painting, the accessories of a background are part and parcel of the picture, of which the pattern is designed to enhance the importance of the main theme. Here the imagination of the observer has a tremendous scope for growth. The accessories in the background remain just dull and dumb to give importance to the subject which is destined to play the leading role. Literature is also no less privileged because a simple suggestion can help to exercise the imagination to a long range. But suggestion in sculpture drawn from any source other than its own does not work to an advantage unless deception is acclaimed as an achievement. It is so, because correct presentation of sculpture depends on the quality of the light, and its cordial reception on various planes of the surface. Sculpture in its true characteristic, associates itself with massiveness. It is severe, yet serene, and stands as a symbol of reverence. It leaves no room for those possibilities of favourable accidents that often render service to a composition in colour. The demand of sculpture is to be left alone to create an atmosphere for its assertive existence. The expression in a three dimensional language is therefore exhaustive within its own form. To the image of beauty thus fashioned belongs the sacredness of a shrine. Hence expression through this medium cannot fall in line with what can be produced by a sketchy appeal in a picture.

An imposing stature on a gigantic scale is an essential quality of a sculpture. When reduced in size to fit in with an interior decoration, it is helplessly exposed to damaging interpretation or takes shelter under an illusive effect. The effect is created to add a quality that perhaps never existed in the content of the original. The aid thus made available serves its purpose well from a particular angle, but at the cost of the whole truth. It is well suited for a deceptive presentation and so the planning involved is mischievous. This trend is fast developing into a trade to meet the needs of drawing-room accessories.

Many sculptors of our country have been dragged into taking up the occupation as a lucrative business. They cannot be blamed because the artist must sell to live. The principal seductive agents in this respect are unassimilated ideals worked up into "isms" gathered from the West. When superficial approach is the only means of understanding, discrimination has to be abandoned. It is a convenient adjustment since discrimination when it leads up to a conviction, looks for reasoning which is based on sincere study and correct assessment of values. But there is strain in such a pursuit; therefore, the task is made easy by accepting the currents of the raging fashions of the day. The tide of the time having come to the rescue, decision is pawned for intellectual gambling on abstract themes. These themes serve certain purposes on occasions, no doubt, but they fail to meet the objective, to the extent desirable on account of the equipment of language being defective. It would not be irrelevant if I say that the development of a reliable language is not achieved in a day. Its stability is built up by currency of long standing. Since generation after generation contributes to the making of language, every language is a collection of signs created to identify things or suggest different meanings to familiar objects or intentions. But the new language of art, as it is being evolved in our country, is ambiguous. Hence its utility is unpredictable until it has survived trials for a considerable time.

I feel sorry to add that the borrowed progressive outlook falls short of expectations as to what is due from a higher form of art. I have to emphasise here that the gift from the artist is not to be merely a passing phase or just submission to current fashion. Art must live for posterity. Professions of progress of the modernists have not been realised in practice for the reason that there has been no sincerity of purpose. I, however, hope that artists who have been led astray in their pursuit of quick recognition will be more serious in their attempts of expression, otherwise the ambitious project welcomed in haste may suddenly collapse on account of the greater speed of the changing fashion.*

* Printed by the courtesy of the All-India Radio from a broadcast made on 24th January, 1951 for South-East Asia and Far East.

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WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE
A Layman's Humble Tribute

By C. L. R. SASTRI

"Not marble nor the gilded monuments
Of princes shall outlive this powerful rhyme."
—Shakespeare

I am perfectly aware that it is the "very sea-mark of the utmost sail" of impertinence to attempt to write on Shakespeare at this time of day. One is stricken dumb at the sight of the huge mass of Shakespearean criticism; and still it goes on and on without any hope of respite. No wonder that, before it, "gorgons and hydras and chimeras dire" lose somewhat of their quality of frightfulness. Even to peruse a list of the volumes that deal, directly or indirectly, with that master-mind is enough to drive one mad. What a progeny he has, indeed! He himself was careless of fame to a degree; and after finishing his plays was sublimely indifferent as to what might happen to them afterwards. He had a job to do, and he did it. It was no business of his to rack his brain over the probable nature of their appeal to posterity. That consideration, apparently, did not weigh with him in the least. His concern, rather, was wholly with the present: that is to say, with *his* "bank and shoal of time." No author, we are compelled to ruminate, could have been so little vain. Those who ply the pen are not, usually, given to such a philosophic disdain about their productions: they do bestow an amount of thought upon their likely reception by the public—both the immediate public and the remote—that, at whiles, appears as the apex, apogee and apotheosis of absurdity. One is led to exclaim: "Have they no sense of proportion?"

The Vanity of Artists

Their incessant care is about their own work: the likelihood or otherwise of its popularity, of its permanence. Perhaps their dreams also are mainly of these. Nor is this, let me suggest, very unreasonable. Your literary man is a sort of creator: yes, even if he is only a critic and an essayist and a writer on miscellaneous subjects. His every sentence, if he is a scrupulous artist, is "one entire and perfect chrysolite." It admits of no interference at the hands of anyone. It was not jerked off lazily, as a thing of no consequence, and deserves to be respected on that account alone. It requires some more than common talent to cultivate your own manner of writing out of the rubbish-heap of words that is lying about for everybody's use. This is the first step in the process. The second is to make that chosen instrument of yours so distinguished and so much a part of yourself that discerning readers can at once find it out to be yours wherever it is seen.

Your professional author is, therefore, naturally a trifle self-conscious with reference to his work; and his eyes see far into the future. But Shakespeare did not suffer from this last infirmity of noble minds. Beyond a shrewd guess that he was such a lord of utterance as "never was on sea or land," that no marble nor the gilded monuments of princes would outlive his powerful rhyme, he did not ponder painfully over questions relating to his probable place among the world's singers. That itself is, I submit, highly suggestive. Your true Olympians have a nonchalance about themselves that puts to shame the self-pomposities of the lesser rabble of mortals.

Shakespearean Commentaries

I have remarked that the number of commentaries on Shakespeare that have achieved print is well-nigh legion. He has been surveyed from *every* possible point of view: except, maybe, from the point of view of having been a woman, as Samuel ("Erewhon") Butler profoundly prognosticated about Homer. There are those that would like to foist his work on Bacon. There are those that argue that he was a crusted Conservative—the late Mr. Charles Whibley, a gifted writer, was chief of these—and those (like the inimitable Mr. Robert Lynd) that are equally vehement that he was a fiery Radical. There are those that hold him as a thing "ensky'd and sainted," as Lucio says of Isabella in *Measure for Measure* (there are many passages in his plays that are peerless for moral excellence and for philosophical penetration); and there are those again—and the late Mr. Lytton Strachey was the leader of *these*—that taunt him for words and phrases, for "the ithyphallic fun," as Mr. Logan Pearsall Smith calls it, that would meet with short shrift at the hands of the censor even in our notoriously lax times. Finally, there are those that regard him as having been a model of sanity and those that will have nothing to do with this theory.

Now, *is* there much sanity in these words that he puts into the mouth of Othello, when he raves that he will never flinch from his determination to punish Desdemona?

"Never Iago. Like to the Pontic sea.
Whose icy current and compulsive course
Ne'er feels retiring ebb, but keeps due on
To the Propontic and the Hellespont;
Even so my bloody thoughts, with violent pace,
Shall ne'er look back, ne'er ebb to humble love,
Till that a capable and wide revenge
Swallow them up."

His Capacity for Wringing Tears

As for his capacity for wringing tears from our eyes,—why, he has no equal. *King Richard II* is a compact of pathos. One cannot read it without a lump in the throat. King Richard's:

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". . . of comfort, no man speak:
Let's talk of graves, of worms, and epitaphs;
Make dust our paper, and with rainy eyes
Write sorrow on the bosom of the earth . . . .
For God's sake let us sit upon the ground,
And tell sad stories of the death of kings";

his parting words to the Queen his wife:

"Join not with grief; fair woman, do not so,
To make my end too sudden: learn, good soul,
To think our former state a happy dream:
From which awak'd, the truth of what we are
Shows us but this: I am sworn brother, sweet,
To grim Necessity; and he and I
Will keep a league till death";

and the most shattering lines of them all:

"Part us, Northumberland; I towards the north,
Where shivering cold and sickness pines the clime;
My wife to France, from whence, set forth in pomp,
She came adorned hither like sweet May,
Sent back like Hallowmas or short'st of day":

are these not unequalled sobstuff? And the scene between Arthur and Hubert in *King John*? Is it not a worthy pendant to these? And Constance's outbursts of grief?

His Many-sidedness

There is, unfortunately, a strain of jingoism in our bard that cannot but be matter for our abiding sorrow. His partiality for that ne'er-do-well, King Henry V, is too palpable; and old John of Gaunt's rhapsody about England, "this royal throne of kings, this sceptred isle," etc., in *King Richard II*, which every school-boy knows, and the equally chauvinistic vaunt of the Bastard Falconbridge, in *King John*:

". . . nought shall make us rue,
If England to itself do rest but true,"

are sickening in the extreme.

As for his wit and humour, the two parts of *King Henry IV* are replete with them. Take Falstaff away, he that was not only witty himself but that was the cause of wit in others, and how poor does Shakespeare become! And then look at those tragedies.

Those Tragedies

Any *one* of them would have assured immortality of fame to an author. And how to choose among them? *Hamlet*, of course, is the prime favourite. But is *King Lear* below it in grandeur? And is *Macbeth*? And is *Othello*? And is *Antony and Cleopatra*? To me each one of them is more or less equally good. One quality is pre-eminent in one, and another in another. For sheer intellectuality *Hamlet* does bear away the bell: for pathos, *King Lear*: for a sort of macabre splendour, *Macbeth*: for that green-eyed monster, jealousy, *Othello*: and for verbal fireworks *Antony and Cleopatra*. I have already quoted from *King Richard II*. What about these lines from *King Lear* in the matter of the *utter* breaking down of one's feelings? Lear is saying to Cordelia:

"No, no, no, no! Come, let's away to prison;
We two alone will sing like birds in the cage:
When thou dost ask me blessing I'll kneel down
And ask of thee forgiveness: so we'll live,
And pray, and sing, and tell old tales and laugh
At gilded butterflies, and hear poor rogues
Talk of court news; . . .".

Cut-and-Come-Again Quality

There is a kind of cut-and-come-again glory about these tragedies that is a perpetual wonder. Read them for the hundredth time and not a jot or a tittle of their beauty is abated. And let us give up comparisons. I like even the three parts of *King Henry VI*: I have read *Titus Andronicus* and am not visibly the worse for the experience. There is not much of Shakespeare there, it is true, but what of that? If he has merely *looked over* a sheet of blackened paper,—blackened, that is, with writing,—then that moment it takes on a prettiness all its own. He is free, indeed—though others abide our question; and he is really not of an age, but for all time.

Speaking for myself, I have long since ceased to regard him as a mortal, flesh of our flesh and bone of our bone. Rather should he be described as a demi-god —one who lives in the suburbs of Paradise and was born into this world just to instruct us in the art of adding word to word in such a manner as to bring forth, finally, an inimitable verbal orchestration. Anyhow, it is certain that there was a divinity that shaped his language—rough-hew it how he would, on occasion. It may be remarked about his utterance that it

". . . robs the Hybla bees,
And leaves them honeyless,"

as he himself caused it to be said of Antony's. His command of words was, to put it at the lowest, not of this earth. It came "from afar"; and was "apparell'd in celestial light." Who can sing his glory,—that glory which he himself defines in the First Part of *King Henry VI*, as being like

". . . a circle in the water,
Which never ceaseth to enlarge itself
Till by broad spreading it disperses to nought?"

Can Range the Whole Gamut of Human Experience

His pen can range the whole gamut of human experience with a sureness of touch that would be incredible if we had not the proof of it by our side. Wherefrom he acquired that knowledge, and wherefrom he picked up that vocabulary, it is not for the likes of me to suggest; and, perhaps, even acknowledged scholars may be hard put to it to explain adequately, either to themselves or to others. He was a man-about-town and could be, in his own fashion, very busy. He had his theatre to attend to and his plays to be written; and, besides, there were the hours to be spent in carousing in the Mermaid Tavern and in breaking a dialectical lance with glorious 'Ben.' What says Fuller?

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"Many were the wit combats between Shakespeare and Ben Jonson which two I behold like a Spanish great galleon and an English man-of-war. Master Jonson, like the former, was built far higher in learning, solid but slow in his performance. Shakespeare, like the English man-of-war, lesser in bulk, but higher in sailing, could turn with all tides, tack about, and take advantage of all winds, by the quickness of his wit and invention."

HE WAS CONTENT TO REAP WHERE HE DID NOT SOW

It is true that he was not under any tyrannical necessity of inventing plots, because he was not too nice in the matter of filching them from the older authors—especially from Plutarch. Plutarch's *Lives* was a veritable mine of information for him. He was content—nay, supremely content—to reap where he did not sow, and to let that ancient Greek do the journeyman's work for him. Probably, Enobarbus's famous description of Cleopatra's barge (wherein she first met Mark Antony on the river Cydmus) is nothing but pure Plutarch in metrical form. Where detail was concerned Shakespeare was—let the horrible truth be confessed—often enough a most "omnipotent" pirate, even as Poins was a most "omnipotent" villain, according to the worthy testimony of Falstaff: though, to be sure, it is not to be denied that when he was *in the mood* he could riot in detail as well as the next man. Here is Mistress Quickly, for instance, standing up to Falstaff anent his proposal of marriage to her:

> "Thou didst swear to me upon a parcel-gilt goblet, sitting in my Dolphin-chamber, at the round table, by a sea-coal fire, upon Wednesday in Whitsun week, when the prince broke thy head for liking his father to a singing-man of Windsor; thou didst swear to me then, as I was washing thy wound, to marry me, and make me my lady thy wife. Canst thou deny it? Did not good wife Keech, the butcher's wife, come to then and call me gossip Quickly? coming in to borrow a mess of Vinegar; telling us she had a good dish of prawns; whereby thou didst desire to eat some; whereby I told thee they were ill for a green wound? And didst thou not when she was gone downstairs, desire me to be no more so familiarity with such poor people; saying that ere long they should call me madam? And didst thou not kiss me, and bid me fetch thee thirty shillings? I put thee now to thy book-oath: deny it, if thou canst."—*The Second Part of King Henry IV.*

A MAGICIAN WITH WORDS

This is, certainly, circumstantial evidence gone crazy. Our bard, then, could be inventive when he was so minded. But, for the most part, he did not, so far as the piling on of such items is concerned, scruple to borrow right and left: he must have been indolent to a degree. The fact to be borne in mind, however, is that he never let the process stop there: he could always be relied upon to transform that base metal into gold of the finest. His real *forte* lay in converting the raw material to hand into the immortal stuff of poetry. Shakespeare, in short, was a magician with words: with his Prospero's wand he could summon them, as it were, out of the vasty deep. He had "a poet's eye, in a fine frenzy rolling"; and thus could give

> ". . . to airy nothing
> A local habitation and a name."

HIS TEEMING BRAIN

That he had a fertile imagination can be easily proved. Imagination is of two kinds. That which we commonly meet with is the imagination of, if I may call it so, *incidents;* and for the highest of that kind we have to go to the detective novelists and fiction writers generally. The other kind is the imagination of, again if I may call it so, *ideas.* In this latter kind Shakespeare was supreme. In his teeming brain one idea begot another, and that one another still, and so on till we have a mosaic of ideas that had for its starting point that first idea; or, contrarywise, we have, not the mosaic of ideas just now spoken of, but the self-same idea distended to its furthest dimensions, the self-same idea on which, in the process of development, "the light that never was on sea or land" is focussed. The "to be, or not to be" soliloquy of Hamlet is, I think, an ideal example of the former kind. Of the latter kind there are any number of instances. What about this in *Macbeth*? Macbeth is asking the physician to cure his lady of her "thick coming fancies":

> "Cure her of that:
> Canst thou not minister to a mind diseased;
> Pluck from the memory a rooted sorrow;
> Raze out the written troubles of the brain;
> And with some sweet oblivious antidote
> Cleanse the stuff'd bosom of that perilous stuff
> Which weighs upon the heart?"

DIFFICULT TO QUOTE

Note here how the same idea had been expressed in *several* ways. Quotation is really difficult because the text of Shakespeare's plays is full of this kind of thing; and that, too, both in prose and in poetry. The chief trouble with him is, indeed, this of quotation. The quotations come, not single spies, but in battalions. Almost every alternate passage clamours to be quoted; and this, not only in the more celebrated plays, but even in the less. Sometimes one cannot see the wood for the trees. What about this, again, from *Antony and Cleopatra?* Cleopatra, in Walter Pater's celebrated phrase, is "expanding" her notion of Antony's manly nature "to the measure of her intention":

> "His legs bestrid the ocean: his rear'd arm
> Crested the world: his voice was propertied
> As all the tuned spheres, and that to friends;
> But when he meant to quail and shake the orb,
> He was as rattling thunder. For his bounty,
> There was no winter in't; an autumn 'twas
> That grew the more by reaping: his delights
> Were dolphin-like; they showed his back above
> The element they lived in: in his livery
> Walked crowns and crownets; realms and islands were
> As plates dropp'd from his pocket."

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On looking back, I find that there is still a lot more to be written and that there is no space to write it in. I have not said anything about Shakespeare's heroines, and that beautiful play, *Twelfth Night*, has not been so much as mentioned. I have passed by *Troilus and Cressida* and *Romeo and Juliet* and *The Tempest* and that favourite of my own, *Measure for Measure*. The famous *Merchant* has gone the same way of non-recognition. It cannot be helped. It is not easy to do justice to every point within this small compass. Shakespeare is a "tun" of an author, as Falstaff was a "tun" of a man, and he cannot be adequately treated inside a few pages. My article is in the nature of a sincere tribute and should be taken as such and as nothing else.

"The Noblest Roman of Them All"

My sole excuse is that I admire him "this side idolatry." I have spent many happy hours in his company; and the more I read of him the more he rises in my estimation. I am, as a rule, an enthusiast of English *prose* rather than of English poetry. But when Shakespeare and Wordsworth are "in the case" the matter becomes entirely different. I am sorry that much attention has not been paid to Shakespeare's *prose. Well, it is as good as his poetry.* He makes Falstaff not merely witty but spout glorious prose. The prose passages in *Hamlet* are every whit on the same level as the poetic ones.

But let me stop here; and conclude, as several others have concluded before me, that Shakespeare is, and ever will be, "the noblest Roman of them all"; and that, for the perfect utterance of beautiful words, he is, in the late Mr. Maurice Baring's memorable phrase in another connection, "the Pillars of Hercules of mortal achievement."

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FISHERIES RESOURCES OF INDIA

By Prof. CHATURBHUJ MAMORIA, M.A., M.COM.

The term fishery is usually applied to the taking of all forms of life from the rivers or the seas. It thus includes the catching of lobsters and crabs, the collecting of oysters, the hunting of whales and seals, gathering sponges and corals as well as the capturing of true fish—which is edible. It is with this last fish that we are concerned here. Fish is the easiest available food whose supply is said to be inexhaustible if properly exploited. It has been estimated, for example, that in the world as a whole fish form less than 3 per cent of animal food consumed by man, but in places, such as Iceland, Newfoundland and parts of Norway and Japan they form a far higher percentage. The proteins and fats in the fish are easily digestible and compare favourably in nutritive value with beef. Fish fats and specially fish livers contain valuable vitamins which are essential in the prevention of rickets and other diseases arising from the deficiency of vitamins A and D.

It has been well said that "measured by the labour involved" fish is among the least costly of all protein foods. Fish can be easily caught because in raising the harvests of fish man has not to incur so much expenditure as in agriculture or industrial pursuits. The breeding of fish does not tax in any way man's pocket or efforts. There are no fields to plough and cultivate, no seeds to sow and no cattle to tend in order to reap the bountiful harvest. The only cost incurred in obtaining fish is in catching it or in preserving it for future use at a distance from the place of production. In this respect it is the cheapest available food-stuff. It supports a high population in those countries where land is not hospitable as in Norway or Japan or western Columbia.

Coming to our own land we observe that during the last few years there has been an acute food shortage in the country, as a result of which only 39 per cent of the people are well-fed, 41 per cent poorly fed and about 20 per cent are badly nourised. Besides this, majority of our people do not afford a nutritive diet. What matters most is that a high percentage of the Indian population does not get enough to eat and still a higher percentage does not get the 'right type of food.' This is, in main, due to lack of food resources. In India only 0.72 acres of land per capita is sown, of which only 0.57 is under food crops, which is quite inadequate for this purpose. In terms of nutritional potential this area is miserably small. Dr. O. E. Baker (Agricultural Expert from U.S.A.) has calculated that the per capita requirement in respect of cultivated areas for different standards of dietary is as follows :

Emergency Restricted Diet	..	1.2 Acres.
Adequate Diet at Minimum Cost	..	1.8 „
Adequate Diet at Moderate Cost	..	2.3 „
Liberal Diet	..	3.1 „

Not only this, agriculture seems to have reached its maximum production under the present condition. Fisheries can, therefore, I am confident, supplement food supplies to a great extent providing all the essential ingredients required for body-building. It is claimed that after agriculture and livestock, fisheries constitute the most important industry. It may be emphasized that the fisheries resources of India are very rich, both in regard to the variety and numbers of edible fish.

Fisheries in India are found dispersed throughtout the entire length and breadth of the country and along our vast coastal belt. Numerous concentrations of fishermen are found in small villages. Indian fisheries yield a mere fraction of what they could, were they exploited

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in a fashion comparable with those of Europe, North America or Japan. Indian fisheries are among the richest in the world. The 3,200 miles long coastline is margined by a shallow water area, within the 100 fathom line, of nearly 1,15,000 sq. miles. But we have as yet touched a part of the narrow strip of 5 to 10 miles only within the sea. In a country of the size of India with its extensive seaboard, perennial rivers and irrigation canals and innumerable rain-fed tanks and *jhils*, the physical and geographical conditions under which fisheries exist are very varied. As many as 1500 varieties of fish are known to exist in Indian waters but only certain types are caught in appreciable quantities. It has been rightly suggested that in India we have been able to tap only 5 to 6 per cent of the entire fishable marine area.

Kinds of Fisheries

As said above we have vast resources of fish inside and along the coasts of the country. Fish is caught wherever available from any piece of water. Indian fisheries may be conveniently divided into four main types :

1. The Sea fisheries
2. Fresh water fisheries
3. Estuarine fisheries
4. Pearl fisheries

The sea fisheries are confined to the coastal water from 5 to 10 miles from the shore. Besides these, we have vast resources also inside the land borders. The inland fisheries of India include two sources of fish development, first, the fresh water sources like rivers, canals, irrigation channels, lakes, tanks, ponds, etc. These are known as the "Fresh Water" or "Riverine Fisheries." Secondly, they include those sources in the delta areas where the rivers meet the sea or the back-water areas where the sea runs into the land. These are known as "Estuarine or Deltaic Fisheries."

In the following table the total annual fish production from the important sources has been estimated as below :

Fish Production in India

Type	*Quantities in lakhs of maunds*	*Value in lakhs of rupees*
Sea fish	116.7	302.7
Fresh water fish	62.6	742.3
Total	179.3	1045.0

It will be evident from this table that the sea yields almost double the harvest but from the point of value fresh water fisheries are more important. Sea fish does not fetch as much price as fresh water fish because most of the fishing centres on the seacoast are inaccessible from the consuming markets and also because more sea-fish are generally caught than can be consumed fresh. Fresh water fish, on the other hand, are caught in limited quantities in thousands of small inland centres in India. The quantities landed in any particular centre are easily absorbed in the fresh condition.

It is a well-known fact that fresh water sources, at present, produce about one-third of the total production of fish in India, the sea-water sources producing the remaining two-thirds. We have to develop both these sources of fish supply. Rivers, lakes, ponds, tanks and similar enclosed waters are scattered throughout the country. Artificial ponds can also be constructed for fish culture. China, Central Europe, the Balkans, the Islands of the Pacific, southern and south-western parts of U.S.A., have all extensive systems of farm ponds and in the latter country artificial enclosure of water created as an incident to soil conservation programmes or irrigation projects have been converted into breeding farms of fish. The annual average yield of some species of fish from the farm ponds of U.S.A., has been reported to be as high as 150 lbs. per acre, which figure has sometimes risen to 400 lbs. and even to 1,000 lbs. *i.e.*, about twelve maunds per acre. These farms are usually about an acre each. In a country like India where vast areas are under heavy rainfall, a programme of fuller utilization of ponds, tanks, and paddy fields for the development of fish culture ought to present less difficulties.

1. Sea Fisheries

The sea fisheries are generally confined to the coastal water from 5 to 10 miles from the shore in the provinces of Sind (Pakistan), Gujarat, Kanara, Malabar Coast, Madras, Coromandal Coast and the Gulf of Mannar.

During the monsoon months sea-fishing is generally poor, squally weather conditions in the sea and increase in the flow and volume of water in rivers and tanks respectively being responsible for this. As sea-fishing is confined to the coastal waters, the fishing boats ply only when calm weather prevails. The fishing season starts more or less simultaneously at all fishing centres of the west coast immediately after the conclusion of the south-west monsoons. The season reaches its height in some years in October, and some years in November. It is at its lowest in February from when onwards there is a progressive decline in the quantities caught. On the east coast the conditions are slightly different, because this part of the coastline is not within the belt of south-west monsoons. The fishing operation is, therefore, more or less uniformly spread throughout the year, and during the months of May and June when fishing is very poor on the west coast appreciable quantities of fish are caught here.

The chief catch of the east and west coast are prawns, jew-fish, mackerel, mullets, salmon (Indian pomfret, cat-fish, seer, sardine, rays, flying-fish—all of which are edible. These varieties are caught on a limited scale as there is little demand from the rural areas. The fishing implements are very old and include drift and cast nets and stationary nets, etc.

The following table gives the total annual production of sea fish in various provinces :

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Estimated Production of Sea Fish in India

Provinces	Total catch in maunds	Per cent of Indian total	Value in lakhs of rupees	Percentage of Indian total	Number of fishermen	Catch per head
Sind	390.2	3.35	21.0	6.93	7,130	50
Bombay	1,361.1	11.68	73.0	24.12	32,991	41
Madras:						
West Coast	2,897.4	24.82	50.7	16.75	42,371	68
East Coast	1,769.5	15.17	31.3	10.34	91,530	28
Cochin and Travancore	3,215.7	27.56	81.0	26.76	38,248	80
Bengal and Orissa	2,032.3	17.42	45.7	15.10	——	—
Total	11,666.3	100.00	302.7	100.00	——	—

It will be noted that all the fishing grounds are not equally productive. The west coast is about 1,150 miles but 66 per cent of the total catch is landed here while the Bay of Bengal coast, although it stretches over 11,700 miles produces only the remaining one-third. Along the west coast, again, the south Kanara and Malabar districts of Madras Province—with a coastline of 215 miles account for roughly a quarter of the Indian total. It has been estimated that the total annual production of sea fish in India is 11.6 million maunds valued at 302.7 lakhs of rupees. Of this 71 per cent is produced in India and Pakistan and 29 per cent in the Indian States.

Important Sea Fisheries Areas

(1) In sea fisheries, Madras holds a highly creditable record. Its coastline of 1,750 miles is surrounded by 40,000 sq. miles of shallow sea water, wherein the hardy Madrasi fishermen make good catches of mackerel, cat-fishes and sardines on the crude catamarans (which are built of logs tied side by side). The area of their operation is limited to only 3 miles from the coast as these cannot carry farther than this distance. Thus the fishing area is confined around Ganjam, Gopalpur, Vizagapatam, Cocanada, Masulipatam, Nellore, Madras, Pondichery and Nagapatam in the east coast and Calicut and Mangalore on the west coast.

The Madras Fisheries Department is the best organised in India and has in its charge a wide range of activities connected with this industry. The Department has reformed manufacturing processes in fish oil trade by introducing a simple process for the extraction of oil in which fish is boiled into open vats and the resultant mass is bagged and put into a hand screw press, while the residue serves as good manure known as "Fish Guano," which is largely used in the tea gardens of South India, Ceylon, U. K., and Germany. It also manufactures isinglass, pearl buttons and shell-bangles. The fish oil is used in jute mills and in the manufacture of soap, candles and paint manufacture. The department has also established a cannery, developed a variety of canned fish and opened oyster farms under hygienic conditions. There are 100 fish-curing yards along the coast and as much as 1,210,907 maunds of fish were cured during 1937-38.

It has also organised the working of fish and is running a number of factories to manufacture fish oil, manure and soap, etc. The Krusadi Biological Station, Paniban, rears pearls and oysters. Rich chank-fisheries are also exploited in one of Asia's best aquariums in Madras.

(2) Bombay stands second in order of importance in sea fisheries. Here the fisheries are connected almost entirely with the exploitation of sea wealth. Bombay has many advantages over other provinces. It has a long coastline dotted over with excellent harbours for fishing craft, and fair weather season of more than seven months and fishing population more alive to their opportunities and more daring than those of other provinces. The harbour gives shelter to small fishing boats which are durable and can remain on the sea for days together. The fishermen of Ratnagiri are among the most enterprising in India. They make a large catch of soles, pomfret, sea perches. Now motor transport is used to bring the fish to the markets from the catching fields and for this purpose four Government launches and eight private ones are employed.

(3) The Cutch and the Kathiawar coasts are also famous for sea-fishing. A large number of small fishing vessels ply over these coasts between Surat and Bassein. Large factories have also been opened by Tata and Sons at Ernaculam to manufacture sardine oil and tinned fish. For some time past ice factories have also been started at Chendia (in the Kanara district) and at Malwan (in Ratnagiri district) which can the fish and thus obviate the necessity of carrying large quantities of fish direct to Bombay. The government has also undertaken the breeding of small fish for the promotion of inland fisheries and these are supplied at nominal rates to all. Co-operative Societies have improved the financial conditions of the fishermen besides bringing them in touch with the modern and scientific methods of curing, canning and oil manufacture.

The Bombay Government's post-war scheme for the improvement of fisheries includes the construction of an acquarium with research facilities in Bombay and two more along the coast and a technological laboratory; the procuring of specially designed vessels for cruising over a wider range in search of fish; the establishment of ice factories and cold storage depots in Bombay and along the entire coast, and adoption of effective measures to increase the efficiency and welfare of fishermen.

(4) With the combined coastline of over 200 miles and 4,000 sq. miles of shallow water within the 100 fathom line the Travancore and Cochin States have well-organised fishing industry. Monsoons check year-round fishing in these waters and at present only catamarans are in general use. Here pomfrets, seer, tunny, whiting and mackerel are caught. Shoal fisheries are of great

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importance and during favouable seasons butter-fish, ribbon-fish, white bait and cat-fish are so abundant that large quantities of them are salted and dried both for home consumption and for export to Ceylon, Burma and Straits Settlement. A refrigerating plant has been installed in Trivandrum for the storage of fresh fish. The Government Fisheries Department also manufactures shark liver oil.

2. Fresh Water Fisheries

After the sea water fisheries come the fresh water fisheries. The fishing season is somewhat different in fresh water. In the large rivers of Northern India, there is generally not much fishing during the rains and the season begins in October with the subsidence of floods. The demand for fish in the plains is small during summer months. Hence, during summer and monsoon months. fishing is generally poor in most parts of the Punjab, Uttar Pradesh and Central India. Tanks are best fished when the water level is low. It is noteworthy that in Madras, Hyderabad-Deccan and Central Provinces where tanks represent the chief source of supply, the largest quantities are obtained from April to July.

The chief fish caught in fresh water are cat-fish, saw fish, herrings and mackerel.

The total estimated marketable surplus of fresh water fish is 6.25 million maunds valued at 742.3 lakhs. Of this about 94 per cent of the available fresh water fish is marketed in the Indian provinces and the balance is disposed off in the Indian States. Bengal leads both in production and in value of the fish caught with 50.1 and 58.32 per cent respectively. Bihar ranks second, Assam is a close third and the three provinces of Bengal, Bihar and Assam together account for 77 per cent of the total Indian fresh water fish marketed in India. It may be noted that Madras, which is the leading province in the production of sea-fish, produces only three per cent of the fresh water fish in India.

The following table shows the supply of fresh water fish in the chief producing areas :

Production of Fresh Water Fish in India

Provinces	Production in mds.	Percentage of total catch	Estimated value in lakhs of rupees	Percentage to total
Assam	721.6	11.5	46.22	6.23
Bengal	3,133.2	50.1	432.92	58.32
Bihar	959.5	15.3	95.99	12.92
Madras	187.0	3.0	13.96	1.88
Orissa	326.0	5.2	34.92	4.70
Sind	266.5	4.3	38.56	5.19
C. P.	156.0	2.5	16.28	2.19
U. P.	147.0	2.3	22.77	3.07
Bombay & others	113.2	1.8	14.87	2.01
States	248.9	4.0	25.84	3.48
Total	6,258.9	100.0	742.33	100.00

Important Fresh Water Fish Areas

The main areas of fresh water fishing are Bengal, U.P., Travancore and Madras.

(1) The fisheries of Uttar Pradesh are prolific as well-distributed as a large number of big rivers and their tributaries flow through the province. The chief them are Ganga, Jamuna, Sarda, Gogra, Rapti and Betwa. Almost all districts have lakes, ponds and tanks in which fishing is resorted to. The important fish comprise mahaseer, rohu, hilsa, katla, kalabans, mahseer, English trout and prawns.

These fisheries, though rich, are not yet adequately developed and properly exploited for the demand. There are great possibilities of trout-culture in hundreds of miles of streams in the Himalayas.

(2) The Bengal province has some of the richest fishing grounds in India. Nearly one million Bengalis subsist by fishing or selling fish and there is no caste prejudice against fish-eating in Bengal. The principal rivers together with numerous small rivulets and branches offer vast opportunities of fresh water fishing. A vast amount of rohu, hilsa, katla are caught, but river fishing is considerably handicapped by the climatic conditions of Bengal, as the usual breeding-time of fish is the rainy season when the water area expands and the eggs of fish escape in a large number of creeps and paddy fields, where with the drying up of water they perish.

Fish culture is also practised in tanks far away from the rivers, but the supply of fish from these tanks is not very reliable as the number decreases with the approach of summer season when the depth of water goes down.

(3) In Travancore among fresh water fisheries the lake fisheries—which extend from the borders of Cochin to Trivandrum are important. The largest lake measures 30 miles in length and a maximum width of 10 miles. Because of proximity to the sea and the influence some varieties of fish and prawns migrate to these lakes at times. Prawns are the most important catch here.

(4) Fresh water fisheries of the Madras province are very extensive and cover an enormous area. The most important rivers suitable for fishing are the Godavari, the Kistna, and the Cauvery, the westerly draining flowing into the Arabian Sea and the streams rising in the Nilgiris. The upper reaches, particularly the deep gorges of the rivers flowing into the Bay of Bengal serve as fish sanctuaries. Tanks and reservoirs also serve important fisheries, although they are primarily intended for irrigation.

Trout-culture in Nilgiris has proved very successful. They now abound with a large quantity of food material and provide sport and large income to the government.

3. Estuarine Fisheries

The estuaries of the Mahanadi, the Ganga, and the Brahamputra stretching from Puri to Hooghly is famous for fishing. This area provides cock-up, hilsa, pomfrets, prawns, catla, catfish, and rohu. These are caught in

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trawl nets, drift nets and gilling nets. Among the estuarine fisheries the delta of Bengal holds a prominent position. Here the estuarine fisheries are mainly developed in the grounds covering an area of about 5,800 square miles—which consist of swamp forest, estuary islands, a multitude of rivers joining with each other by a number of small channels. Estuarine fishing is being carried on in 24 Paraganas and the district of Khulna from which areas over 40,000 maunds of edible fish are transported to Calcutta. The chief drawback in the proper development of these fisheries is the lack of transport facilities. These fisheries are situated far away from the ordinary traffic routes and hence fish have to be brought over long distances to the despatching centres with the result that putrefaction sets in very quickly. Moreover, as the fishing boats are very crude and poor in design they are incapable of being sailed in the interior of the Sunderbans and this fact restricts the extent of the fishing areas.

4. Pearl Fisheries

Commercially very valuable fishing consists of pearl-fishing. According to the National Planning Committee on "Fisheries," "The waters of the gulf dividing Indian Union from Ceylon and of the Arabian Sea near the edge of the Kathiawar Peninsula, as well as in the Gulf of Cutch, are rich in oyster beds, yielding highly valuable pearls."

In the Madras province the pearl oysters are reared near Krusadi Island, Panban with the possibility of producing cultured pearls.

In Bombay province, small pearl fisheries exist within the harbour of Bombay. Pearl oyster fisheries are found at Thana (20 miles from Bombay). Pearl fishing is also carried on in the gulf of Cutch.

Present Condition

The above description leads us to believe that in India only a few varieties of fish are caught as the people are greatly accustomed to the consumption of a certain variety of fish and that only. Though Indian waters are vast storehouses of varieties of fish, we have been able to tap only 5 or 6 per cent of the entire fishable area. This situation is due to a number of factors which are given below:

(1) The fishermen are part-time cultivators and hence, they do not take care and precaution to improve the fishing methods. Moreover, they are heavily indebted to the mahajans who dominate the whole trade and dictate terms. Being illiterate they are badly disorganised.

(2) Lack of transport facilities and introduction of new methods or varieties have checked the proper development of fisheries here.

(3) The fishing rights are generally leased out and hence the landlord loses any interest in developing the present as well as the potential fishery resources.

(4) The old methods of fishing according to which fish is intensively caught in small areas—also leads to destruction and exhausts the stock of fish in the locality.

(5) Owing to the increase in population and the development of agricultural practice, the land is being reclaimed by filling jhils in Bengal. This results in the reduction of fish supply as well in the water area.

(6) The expansion of jute cultivation in new areas has further aggravated the situation because the steeping of jute makes the water injurious for fish.

(7) Neglect of tanks and other sources of water supply consequent on the development of better irrigation facilities.

(8) Pollution of streams and waterways in general by sewage water.

How insignificant is our effort in regard to the proper development of fisheries, whether marine or inland, becomes patent when one observes the widespread organisation for the statistical research, technological, training and marketing aspects of the fisheries industry, which has grown up in some of the more advanced countries. When we note the latest available production figures, we realise equally vividly how backward we in India are in the matter of development of fisheries. Leaving aside Iceland, Newfoundland and Norway which have special facilities and where the annual production per head ranges from 680 lbs. to 6,223 lbs. and taking only some of the countries to which India could be potentially comparable, we find that Japan produces 111 lbs. per head per year, Canada 109 lbs., Denmark 63 lbs., U.K. 49 lbs., Portugal 37 lbs., Spain 37 lbs., U.S.A., 35 lbs., Germany 20 lbs., France 20 lbs., Soviet Union 18 lbs; and India together with Iran and Burma only 5 lbs. This low production in India is due to the causes enumerated above.

Consumption of Fish

According to the National Planning Committee, "Notwithstanding the prevalence of vegetarianism, a large number of every caste and creed in India are accustomed to use fish in their daily diet." In India the average per capita consumption is only 3 lbs. per annum. West Bengal, the leading consumer, having 6 lbs. per capita consumption. In the East Punjab it is 0.9 lbs. and in Bihar 2 lbs. per annum. This means that the daily consumption of fish per head in India could only be one-seventh of an ounce. In plain language this means that of this protective and vitamin-supplying item of food an Indian is able to take daily only 1|28 the quantity which his Japanese brother takes.

One half of the total production is consumed as fresh fish; one-fifth is cured by salting; another one-fifth is simply sun-dried, while about 10 per cent is converted into fish fertilizers. Fish fat is rich in vitamin A and D and hence large quantities are used as food for man. Surplus fish is converted into oil and fertilizers. Two kinds of oil are obtained, *viz.*, the "medicinal oil" from the livers of sharks and other fishes; while "fish oil" is got from certain marine or fresh water species. Certain industrial products like fish-meal, fish-manure, fish-mews and shark-fins, isinglass are also obtained from fish in India.

In India fish is preserved by dessication with or

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without salt and by the use of antiseptic preservations, such as brine and vinegar. The Indian fishermen practise dessication by drying fish in the sun as the process is simple and handy. During the rainy season when sun-drying is difficult, salt-drying is used. Fish is also canned and put in cans filled with oil. Canning of sardines and prawns and mackerel is practised on a limited scale in Madras and Bombay.

Trade

Practically speaking there is no import of raw fish in India, but large quantities of dried fish—both salted and unsalted, and canned fish and fish products like cod-liver-oil and fish-manure, of the total annual average of Rs. 16 lakhs are imported from Norway, Sweden and Arabia and Muscat territory. India also exports preserved fish to China, Burma, Ceylon, and Straits Settlement to the value of Rs. 10 lakhs every year.

Suggestion for Improvement

As has already been stated the fisheries of India are very extensive, varied and rich, but to meet the demands of the increasing population of India they are very inadequate. It is, therefore, imperative that the fisheries of India should be fully explored and properly developed.

For the further and full development of Indian fisheries the following suggestions may be offered :

(1) As the problems of conservation and development of the fishery resources of rivers generally concern more than one Provincial or State Government, the Central Government should invite the Provinces and States to confer and to formulate joint measures for the conservation and development of their fishery resources as a whole, in order to ensure uniform methods of research, control and exploitation in all contiguous Provinces and States.

(2) Since the conservation and development of the fisheries is essential in artificial reservoirs, the Central Ministry of Agriculture should in consulation with the Central Waterworks Irrigation and Navigation Commission Authorities set up the necessary machinery for the framing of and implementing programmes of conservation and development of fishery resources.

(3) As fry and fingerlings of carps and other species of fish suitable for stocking are the first requisite for the working of any scheme of fish culture, the Provincial and the State Governments should set up carp fry collecting and distributing centres from which fry and fingerlings may be supplied to the areas which are deficit in this respect.

(4) All provinces and states should immediately carry out and extend surveys of culturable waters with a view to stocking all such areas with carps or other suitable species of fish.

(5) Urgent steps should be taken by the Governments concerned to intensify and extend stocking operations particularly by (*a*) utilisation of all culturable waters whether owned by the Provincial or State Governments or under their control; (*b*) encouraging and assisting by advice and supply of fry the proprietors of privately owned tanks to take up fishing; (*c*) establishing fry collecting centres and arranging for supply of fry to fish farmers at concession rates; (*d*) controlling unrestricted fishing by legislation; (*e*) and establishing demonstration fish farms in selected areas.

(5) With a view to utilisation of all fishery resources it is necessary that all tanks, ponds, beels, and other culturable waters as are left fallow at present should be taken under the control of the respective Governments by legislation.

(6) The Governments should give subsidies to owners of derelict but culturable tanks for the repair and improvement of these tanks for pisciculture.

In regard to marine fisheries, the Indian Fisheries Conference (1948) urged the Central Government and the Governments of the maritime provinces the necessity of taking the following measures :

(1) The Central Government should carry out pilot experiments in off-shore and deep-sea fishing to test the suitability of different kinds of craft and gear for Indian waters and determine fishing seasons, fishing intensities and undertake extensive surveys for locating and charting fishing grounds; (2) Central, Provincial and State Governments should take steps to improve harbour facilities at all important fishing centres; (3) Provincial and State Governments should encourage local enterprise to undertake fishing by powered vessels fitted with cold storage facilities and other modern equipment.

No scheme of development of India's fishery resources can hope to succeed unless the transport and marketing problem is also solved. As large quantities of fish caught in coastal areas can not be transported to the consuming centres in fresh conditions and are processed by unscientific factory methods and under unhygienic conditions, it is necessary that the Governments of the maritime provinces should take urgent measures to establish fish-curing yards where required and to improve such yards by providing (*a*) cement platforms with super-structures for curing and drying of fish; (*b*) adequate quantities of water, and salt of suitable quality at concession rates; and (*c*) temporary storage facilities and (*e*) supervisory and technical staff to help the curers.

(2) In view of the very great disparity of prices received by the fishermen and those paid by the consumers, and for safeguarding the interests of the producers and consumers, Government should, as far as possible, encourage marketing by organising co-operative societies of fishermen, wherever practicable.

(3) In view of fish being a highly perishable commodity and the urgent need of making an increasingly large quantity of fish in a wholesome condition available to consumers all over the country it is necessary that the Government should make arrangements for adequate supply of ice to the fishing industry for use from the time of the catch to its ultimate disposal; and should set up or encourage private enterprise to put up cold storage plant for fish preservation at all the large coastal

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the use of insulated or refrigerated road van; and should provide refrigeration experts to help the Governments of the maritime provinces to prepare schemes for the cold storage of fish.

(4) In view of the urgent need of quick transport of fish from the catching and collection centres to the consuming centres all over the country, (*a*) the Governments of the maritime provinces should introduce and popularise the use by the fishing industry of fast motor carrier boats; (b) they should also encourage the use of motor vans for the rapid transport of fish by road, and they should help to obtain motor vans, trucks, equipment, motor and fuel oil, and it should give high priority and special facilities for the transport of fish and fish fry by fast trains at concession rates.

Finally, we may suggest the following measures for the improvement of the social and economic status of fishermen :

(1) Government should give loans and subsidies to needy fishermen, preferably through co-operative societies, for building boats, making and repairing nets and other fishery equipment.

(2) Government should open schools for the children of fishermen, and teaching in these schools should have a distinct fishery bias.

(3) Provincial and State Governments should establish centres for the higher training of literate fisher boys in navigation, use of mechanised vessels and improved fishing technique.

(4) The Provincial and State Governments should survey the existing proprietary rights of the fishermen in the waters fished by them and devise suitable measures in order to give the fishermen security of tenure which is vital for effecting improvement in production.

(5) Provincial and State Governments should establish services through which technical and other information might be widely distributed among the fishermen.*

*Vide : *Indian Information*, October 15, 1948.

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KOREA THROUGH AGES

The Genesis and Nature of Korean Conflict

By Prof. S. B. MOOKERJI, M.A.

The two Koreas—North and South—have been at war since June 25 last. During the post-war years a regular tug-of-war has been going on between Russian Communism on the one hand and American Economic Imperialism on the other. It was foreseen long ago that the two Koreas representing two conflicting ideologies would, sooner or later, come in conflict with each other.

Immediately after the hostilities had broken out, the Security Council of the United Nations went into session to consider the United States' complaint of "aggression against the Government of South Korea" by North Korean forces. On June 25, the invasion of South Korea by the North was branded as an act of aggression by the Security Council. The Council further called for a cessation of hostilities and ordered the Northern forces back over the border. President Truman proclaimed his country's firm resolve of supporting vigorously the efforts of the Security Council to end the serious breach of peace in Korea. General MacArthur was ordered to rush all available arms aid from Japan to South Korea. Next came the order to rush all possible supplies to help the South Koreans. The Security Council in its resolution of June 27 recommended "that the members of the United Nations furnish such assistance to the Republic of Korea as may be necessary to repel the armed attack and to restore international peace and amity in that area."

The North Korean army, trained by Soviet instructors, is reported to have been equipped with rifles, mortars, heavy guns and ammunition by the U.S.S.R. Russian fighter and reconaissance planes, bombers, light tanks and light naval aircraft are also believed to have been lavishly supplied to it. It is estimated that 70,000 North Korean troops and 70 tanks took the field in the opening round of the conflict. South Korea's defence fell like ninepins before the onslaught of the North. The U.S.A. in the name of the United Nations fought, unsuccessfully though, to stem the onrushing tide from the North. The 'alias' however deceived nobody. Kim Ir Sen, Premier of North Korea, in an appeal to the commanders of South Korean troops over the Pyangyong Radio said not long after the outbreak of hostilities:

> "Now you have no Government, National Assembly, nor General Staff. Who is now issuing orders and leading the army which you are commanding? It is the General Staff of the American Army."

Strenuous eflorts of the U.S.A. notwithstanding, the Northerners won the first round of the contest. It was *vini vidi vici* for them. The Government of South Korea abandoned its capital Seoul almost immediately after the commencement of hostilities. The greater part of South Korea was overrun. The Southerners

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and their allies were on the run on all fronts. But then there was a turn in the tide. It was now the turn of the South to hit back and hit back effectively at that. The Northerners yielded ground to the counter-offensive and retreated as quickly as, perhaps more quickly than, they had advanced, the enemy following closely behind. The end of the conflict seemed within sight. It was decided by the United Nations that its troops should cross the 38th Parallel—the artificial line of demarcation between North and South Korea—and re-unite the two Koreas. The infant Indian Union was against this and warned that in that case the conflagration might spread. But she was outvoted and the Anglo-American bloc had its own way. Its army moved northward. Everything seemed to be proceeding according to plan. The American troops were assured that they would be back home before the Christmas. But then China came to the rescue of North Korea. Chinese 'volunteers' in overwhelming numbers were thrown into the conflict, 400,000 of them are today fighting in Korea. The U. N. troops and their satellites, the South Koreans, are in full retreat. A repetition of Dunkirk seems to be in the offing.

Two days after the outbreak of the war President Truman sent a note to Russia asking her to use her influence to persuade North Korea to withdraw her troops. Marshal Stalin in his reply to this note made it clear that it was not North Korea, but the South, that had struck the first blow.

Competent authorities have in the meanwhile challenged the validity of the Security Council's resolution of June 27. Article XXVII of the United Nations Charter lays down that measures of a coercive nature by the United Nations against any state require the approval of all the five permanent members of the Security Council, *viz.*, America, China, England, France and Russia. But at the time the resolution was passed, Russia had temporarily withdrawn from the Security Council. She staged a come-back only in August. The Kuomintang-appointed Chinese delegate at Lake Success did not and do not represent the Chinese people.

All the members of U. N. General Assembly with the exception of Byelo-Russia, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Russia, Ukraine and Yugoslavia approved the resolution under reference. This, in short, is the genesis and history of the Korean conflagration.

Korea, consisting of a peninsula and more or less 200 islands, forms a part of Further Asia. To the Koreans, their country is known as Chosen or Morning Calm. Bounded on the north by the Tumen and Yalu rivers, the Japan Sea on the east, the Strait of Korea on the South and the Yalu River and the Yellow Sea on the west, Korea has an area of 86,000 square miles. Northern Korea is intensely cold and thinly populated. Southern and western Korea is warmer and more populous and prosperous. Agriculture is the principal occupation of the Koreans in general and of Southerners in particular. The people, descended from the Mongolian family, speak a language which belongs to the Turanian group. Unlike the Chinese and Japanese in physiognomy, they have dark and straight hair, slanting eyes and a yellowish complexion in common with both. They numbered 23,000,000 in 1[illegible]

It is not new for Korea, a strategic bridge between Japan and the Manchurian mainland to find itself the unhappy cockpit of Far Eastern power-politics. It has caused two major Far Eastern conflicts in the last 60 years, *viz.*, the Sino-Japanese War of 1894-95 and the Russo-Japanese War of 1904-5. Japan is within 120 miles of Pusan on the South Korean coast while from the farthest point on the north-western coast Vladivostok is not more than 100 miles.

Korea's history has all along followed a pattern all its own. In the past she has been reduced to slavery again and again after a brief spell of independence as a consequence of conflicts between two large and powerful States. In the early centuries of the Christian era Korea was a feudatory of the Han Emperors of China. It was China that sowed the first seeds of civilisation in Korea. With the fall of the Hans, Korea slipped into the hands of China to be overrun by barbarians from the Siberian Steppe. The ancestors of modern Koreans, a mixture of the conquerors and the children of the soil, were known as the Korai and North Korea [illegible] was called by the same name. The name Korea, a derivative of Korai, was subsequently applied to the whole peninsula. The Tang Emperors of China conquered Korai in 668 A.D. Before them the Suis had made futile attempts in this direction. Korai re-gained freedom after the decline of the Tang Empire in the 10th century A.D. Since then Korea has never been directly ruled by China; but she has paid tribute whenever a strong ruler was on the throne of the celestial kingdom. Japan next became a menace to Korean independence. During the regency of Hydeoshi Japan made a bid to conquer Korea in 1592. China came to her help. Due to internal troubles following Hydeoshi's death in 1598 Japan retreated, for the time being, from the Korean scene. Korea was a tributary of Manchu China. Peace prevailed in Korea during the Manchu regime in China and after.

In 1860, the Manchus surrendered the northern province of Ussuri to Czarist Russia bringing the latter a European power to the very borders of Korea. Later in the 19th century Korea was opened to various Western powers, as a result of treaty engagements (*Cf.* Treaties with England, America and Germany in 1883, with Russia and Italy in 1884, treaty with France in 1886 and with Austria in 1892). It was about this time that Japan again began to cast longing looks at Korea. The Sino-Japanese War of 1894-95 led to a elimination of Chinese influence from Korea. It [illegible] Korea to become a bone of contention

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between Russia and Japan. Their rival interests in the country involved them in a war in the opening years of the present century. Fortune favoured Japan. Korea was annexed to the Japanese Empire in 1910. Since then Korean delegations composed of exiled Korean citizens have knocked at the doors of one international conference after another for a hearing of Korea's case for independence. But this hearing was never granted.

Korea has a bitter memory of Japanese rule. Japan tried her best to stamp out Korea's individuality in all walks of life. The economic life of the country was regulated by the Japanese plutocracy. Japanese became the state-language of Korea. Instruction in Korean language and history was banned.

World War II marks the beginning of a new epoch in the history of modern Korea. In September, 1945, American forces landed at Chemulpo, occupied Seoul, the capital of Korea, and the whole of southern Korea. In the meanwhile Russian troops had advanced to Kinko on the 38th Parallel in the north. The two armies met here. In the light of the decision of the Yalta Conference Korea was subsequently divided along the 38th Parallel. The two Koreas—North and South—were ushered into existence. Pyangyong became the capital of North Korea and Seoul, that of South Korea. According to a decision of the Moscow Conference of the anti-Axis allies held in December, 1945, a Russo-American Commission was to set up a provisional Government for the whole of Korea after consultation with the democratic parties in the country. The Commission could not agree as to which of the Korean parties and cliques were democratic and, which, not. The U.S.A. placed the case of Korea before the United Nations. The General Assembly recommended a general election in Korea under the supervision of a United Nations Commission. Russia opposed. But hers was a voice in the wilderness. The United Nations Korea Commission was appointed in November 1947. It was composed of representatives of Australia, Canada, India, Nationalist China, France, Ukraine, Syria and various other countries. Mr. K. P. Menon of India was appointed Chairman of the Commission, which was boycotted by Russia. The North Korean Government refused all facilities to the Commission in its own territory. In the South Korean election held in May, 1948, the Korean Democratic Nationalist Party under Dr. Sygman Rhee came to power. The Republic of Korea was born and admitted to the membership of the United Nations. In a resolution of December 12, 1948, the General Assmebly requested both Russia and the U.S.A. to withdraw their troops from their respective spheres of influence in Korea. Within a fortnight the U.S.S.R. announced the withdrawal of Russian troops from North Korea. The North Korean People's Republic had come into existence long before this withdrawal. The U.S.A. army evacuated South Korea in June, 1948. A Military Aid Mission was however left behind. A Russian proposal for the dissolution of the Korea Commission and the admission of North Korea to the United Nations was turned down by the General Assembly.

Koreans themselves have never supported the partition of their country. They are eager for the unification and independence of the two Koreas. The clash of interests, the conflict of policies of the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. have stood in the way. They too want Korean unity—unity in their own patterns. Each wants the Korean State organised on its own model. Hence the universally sought-after consummation is yet to be achieved. In the north a State has been organised on Russian model with more economic and perhaps less personal and political liberty for the people. In the South, on the other hand, the State is of the American type and supposed to be democratic from a political point of view. In reality it is a Fascistic police state, which, in common with all democracies, upholds the principle of economic oligarchy.

The Korean Democratic Nationalist Party, like the Kuomintang of China is a champion of landed aristocracy. Not a few of the South Korean leaders of today were Japanese puppets not long ago. Before the outbreak of the present war reactionary youths patrolled the streets of Seoul, shouting pro-Government, rightist slogans. These demonstrators may be compared with the Blueshirts of the Kuomintang. Two thousand teachers have been sacked by the Rhee Government. The victims were alleged to have slightly leftist political leanings or ill-defined political views. The Government declared some time back that no anti-Government paper would be tolerated in South Korea. Corruption reigns rampant in all walks of South Korean life—social, economic and political. Social corruption and political bickerings have brought the country to the edge of the precipice. In its desperate efforts to remain in power the Rhee Government have let loose a veritable reign of terror by an endless chain of ruthless, repressive measures. Before the outbreak of present hostilities there were 14,000 political prisoners in South Korea. Many of these have been since put to death. The U.S.A. have all along tried to bolster up this re-actionary Government of South Korea. Last year South Korea received 120,000,000 dollars in Marshall Aid. This year the U.S.A. has allotted 100,000,000 dollars to her in economic assistance. In the current year she has already obtained 10,000,000 dollars in military aid. Besides, when the U.S.A. army left Korea in June, 1948, it left behind considerable quantities of arms, ammunition and military equipments. But everything has gone down the bottomless pit of inefficiency and corruption.

It is not always easy to get at the state of affairs in North Korea behind the iron curtains. The People's Republic of North Korea was ushered into existence,

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undoubtedly with Russia's blessings, after the general elections on the basis of universal adult suffrage and vote by secret ballot held in 1946. The Communist leader Kim Ir Sen is the Premier of North Korea. The first thing done by the new Government was the re-distribution of lands, which freed the peasantry from age-old bondage. Principal industries, such as transport, communications and banks, have been nationalised. The country has been industrialised. Labour legislation has reduced working hours in factories, workshops and in offices. Employment of workers below 14 years of age has been tabooed. Equality between the sexes has been achieved. The People's committees have 11,509 and the Supreme People's Assembly of North Korea has 69 women deputies. A two-year plan has already been executed. The standard of living has gone up.

An armed clash between the two Koreas, as noted above, was a foregone conclusion. The Korea Commission lay the blame at the door of North Korea. For all the 52 border incidents from January, 1949, to March, 1950, mentioned in its report submitted in March, North Korea has been held responsible. But not a few are doubtful of the Commission's impartiality.

Brigadier-General William Roberts, Former Chief of the U.S.A. Military Aid Mission in Korea, told a press conference at Los Angeles on July 14, that America had not given heavy military equipment to South Korea before the war mainly because the Southerners wanted very much to attack their compatriots across the border. In the General's own words "To prevent them from attacking we gave them no combat air-force, no tanks and no heavy artillery." South Korea has, of course, contradicted the statement. But contradiction alone does not negate a truth.

The war in Korea is, on the one hand, a conflict between Russian Sovietism and American Economic Imperialism. Korea is but a pawn in the Russo-American game of power-politics on the Far East chess-board. Russia wants the elimination of America from Korea. But it is vitally necessary for the U.S. to stay on at all costs in Korea. Looked at from this angle of vision the conflict in Korea is the latest—we do not believe it to be the last—phase of the Russo-American tug-of-war for the conquest—ideological or otherwise—of the Far East. But the conflict has another facet. The Korean war is a determined bid of the "neglected estates" of humanity to free themselves from the vicious coils of bondage and exploitation, alien and indigenous. That the masses of South Korea are no friends or admirers of the U.S.A. or its puppet Dr. Rhee becomes evident when the speed of the Northern advance is taken into consideration. Without the moral support, and, in some cases at least, active co-operation of the people of the invaded country its defence cannot collapse as "quickly" and as completely as did that of South Korea before the onslaught of the North. Viewed in this light, the Korean war is an important and significant episode in the grand drama of the struggle for human emancipation steadily reaching a climax in the Eastern and South-Eastern Asian amphitheatre.

Will the spark originating in obscure Korea develop into a global conflagration? It is for the pundits in international politics to attempt an answer. The course of events however has fanned the flames and seems to have drawn the world to a dangerous proximity of another World War. One thing, however, is clear. The conflict in Korea is a preparation—a full dress rehearsal—for World War III. It is besides an attempt by the potential principal actors in the supreme tragedy-to-come to gauge each other's strength and preparedness. It is moreover a move to ascertain beforehand the probable alignment of powers when the dreaded conflagration starts.

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"In the long pull over several thousand years the human race has had enough experience to produce the principles which we need to live happy lives and to build a good society. There have been men of wisdom and genius who have reflected on the experience of the ages and have come up with some great ideas. These ideas when taken together form our civilization. A civilization is a working system of ideas. Liberal education is a civilizing force because, in addition to imparting certain skills, it transmits to us the tradition in which we live. It provides the traditional liberal principles in the light of which men can unite in deliberation about the issues which divide them. It is the education which all men ought to have who have a voice in the ruling of a community."

—Raymond H. Wittcoff, member of the board of directors of the Great Books Foundation.

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THE RELATION BETWEEN THE EAST INDIA COMPANY AND THEIR SERVANTS IN INDIA

[*Based on the original documents preserved in the Archives of the Government of India*]

By Prof. R. M. LAHIRI, M.A., D.Phil.

We have noticed in the course of the Government of India's dealings with the Court of Directors that on many occasions the prohibitory orders passed by the Court as the ultimate authority were not carried out by their servants in India. Striking instances of ineffective protests by the Directors abound in the correspondence on Assam affairs. For the purpose of study the early British period (1826-38) of Assamese History is most suitable.

On the occasion of the transfer of the eastern part of Cachar (1832) to Gambhir Singh, the Prince of Manipur, the Court of Directors strongly disapproved of the measure, but their intervention proved ineffective. When again the principality of Jaintia (1835) was annexed by the Calcutta authorities without any reference to their masters at home, the Court not only protested against such annexation, which they condemned as "impolitic and unjustifiable," but also in their anxiety to prevent such recurrences, gave a distinct ruling that in future no territory of a native prince should be annexed without their previous sanction. Their protest this time also went unheeded. The Court again, as mentioned above, on the eve of the resumption of Purandar Singh's dominions (Upper Assam) reminded their agents in India of their newly promulgated ruling and told them to regard all such annexations as provisional measures liable to revision. Their servants in India, contrary to all expectation, even carried out this measure in the teeth of the opposition of the Home authorities.* No step was taken against what appeared to be a "misdemeanor" on the part of their agents in India. The Court of Directors again seemed to climb down. Such instances can be multiplied.

From the above it appears that the authorities in Leadenhall Street were helpless against the wilful disobedience on the part of their servants in India and that they had no power to prevent what they considered to be wrong or unfair. But what appears to be true is not true and an incidental discussion of the position of the Court in its relation with the Government of India will help us in understanding the real situation. A detailed discussion of the above matter is not possible here because the subject-matter covers a greater period (1773-1858) than that undertaken by us.

Though the Court of Directors were supreme authorities over the affairs of the East India Company in India, they used their powers with wise restraint; certain extraneous circumstances and the nature of the functions they were entrusted with, regulated all their activities with regard to the management of Indian affairs.

As regards the general management of Indian affairs, much was left to the discretion of the local Government because, situated as the Home authorities were at a vast distance from India, the orders transmitted by them rarely reached India in time. Events in India sometimes succeeded one another with such bewildering rapidity that, what to speak of the authorities in England even the 'men on the spot' could not foresee the course of events and they had to act on many occasions on their own responsibility as the exigencies of the time dictated.[1] And as happened in those circumstances, sometimes they had to act contrary to the wishes and directions of the Home authorities as when the Calcutta authorities had taken Cachar, an independent principality, under the Company's protection without reference to the Court of Directors. But "circumstances in many cases rendered such disobedience a virtue."[2]

Then again it must be remembered that "the Court of Directors was not so much an executive as a deliberative body." Its main function was not to direct the details of administration but to scrutinize and revise the past acts of their servants in India; to lay down principles and to issue general instructions for their future guidance.[3] We have also to bear in mind that in most cases the decisions of the men on the spot were just and ultimately conducive to the interests of the Company. Far away from the actual scene of

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* "There are many indications of a questionable co-operation between the Company's servants abroad and their masters at home." Roberts: *History of British India*, p. 228.

1. Letter from Court of Directors to Board of Control, August 27 of 1829.

2. In 1811, Lord Minto won the consent of the Home Government for an attack on Java . . . A formidable fleet assembled at Malacca. The Governor-General himself accompanied the expedition . . . Java was occupied. The Directors had ordered that if the expedition were successful, Dutch fortifications were to be levelled and the troops withdrawn, but Minto seeing that it would be an inhuman act to abandon the Dutch Colonists to the mercies of an exasperated native population had the courage and independence to disregard those instructions.—Roberts, *History of British India*, Second Edition, p. 275.

3. Petition from East India Company to Parliament, February, 1858.

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operation; the Court of Directors could no doubt take a detached view of things which was so essential for the fair discharge of duties, but at the same time their lack of first-hand knowledge of the affairs of India justly precluded them from taking a realistic view of the situation which was equally essential for the speedy and efficient performance of duties.

The appointment of Lord Cornwallis marked the decisive preference for sending men of high families from England to fill the office of the Governor-General. The noblemen sent from England had a wider grasp of foreign affairs and politics generally than could be expected of the servants of the Company; they had higher moral standards and their views, even their hostile criticisms,[4] were generally received with far more respect by the Directors than those of the former servants of the Company.[5]

The Court of Directors again as the Supreme authority had certainly power of revoking the decisions of their servants in India, nay, they had the power of recalling their Governors-General as they recalled Lord Ellenborough and drove Wellesley to resign.[6] But on many occasions they shrank from taking such drastic steps because public revocation of the measures issued by their servants in India or sudden removal of the highest officers from office in the midst of great public duties would have placed them in some degree of embarrassment and humiliation.[7]

Lastly we must take into account another factor which is overlooked by many. Though the Board of Control as constituted by the Act of 1784 (better known as Pitt's India Act) was to be strictly a Board of Control, "it gradually employed powers not merely in the way of superintendence and control but also in systematic and active management," which was strongly resented by the Court of Directors[8] and during the later part of the Company's administration the evergrowing conflict between the Court of Directors and the Board of Control and the waning power of the former body[9] (so ably discussed in Philips' East India Company) had their unhappy repercussion on their servants in India. Even some of the Governors-General were adroit enough to play off one against the other[10] and were thus less inclined to respect the orders of the Home Government. Lord Ellenborough regarded the Court of Directors as nothing more than a channel of communication between the Governor-General and the Board of Control and openly said "Supreme authority does not reside in the Court itself."[11] Lord Dalhousie had a poor idea of the despatches sent by the Home Government and alleged "These were penned for the most part by head clerks and signed by many without being read."[12]

All the above factors and circumstances "unavoidably regulated but did not exclude the controlling authority of the Court of Directors"[13] and during the period under review the Company through its Court of Directors still remained an important factor in the system of Indian administration.[14]

Had all the prohibitory orders and judgments passed by the Court been accepted in toto by their servants in India and had they regulated their conduct accordingly, strict discipline would have been maintained no doubt, but "an empire more magnificent than that of Rome" would not have arisen. Wellesley and Lord Hastings were bold or rash enough to ignore the principles of Indian policy laid down by the Home authorities and it was they who had most extended the Company's possessions in India. Nevertheless these judgments and prohibitory orders had had their value. These orders by serving ultimately as rules for the future guidance of their servants in India and "by acting as a brake on the speed of the Company's expansion, benefited its power in India which was thereby afforded periodic intervals of peace in which to consolidate and organise its resources."[15]*

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4. Lord Cornwallis strongly resented the interference of Directors in the appointment of officers and even threatened to resign if so . . . pernicious a system should again be revived. . . —Letter to John Woodhouse, Director of the Company, August 10, 1789.

5. Keith: *A Constitutional History of India*, p. 141.

6. (*a*) "With regard to supersession of Wellesley Pitt expressed the opinion that the G. G. had acted most imprudently and illegally and that he could not be suffered to remain in the Government . . . The Court of Directors voted for his condemnation by an overwhelming majority."—Roberts: *History of British India*, p. 262.

(*b*) "The Court of Directors most justly disapproved of Ellenborough's policy in Sind . . . and they accused him of systematically subordinating the interests of the Civil to those of the Military service."—Roberts: *Ibid.*, p. 332.

7. (*a*) Bentinck's Minute, September 14, 1831.

(*b*) Lord Ellenborough's Letter to Secret Committee, January 18, 1844.

8. C. H. Philips: *The East India Company*, Chapter VII. Roberts: *History of British India*, p. 386.

9. "The strength, influence and independence of the Court of Directors as against the Board of Control varied in proportion to the strength of the East India Interest in Parliament. In 1834 there were 45 East India members as against 103 in 1806."—Philips: *East India Company* 1784-1834, p. 297.

10. Roberts: *History of British India*, p. 386.

11. Letter to Secret Committee, January 18, 1844.

12. Dalhousie's private letter to Sir George Couper, December 1851.

13. Letter from Court to Board, August 27, 1829.

14. Keith: *Constitutional History of India*, p. 140.

15. Philips: *East India Company*, p. 301.

* Adapted from the writer's book *The Annexation of Assam*, published by the Government of Assam.

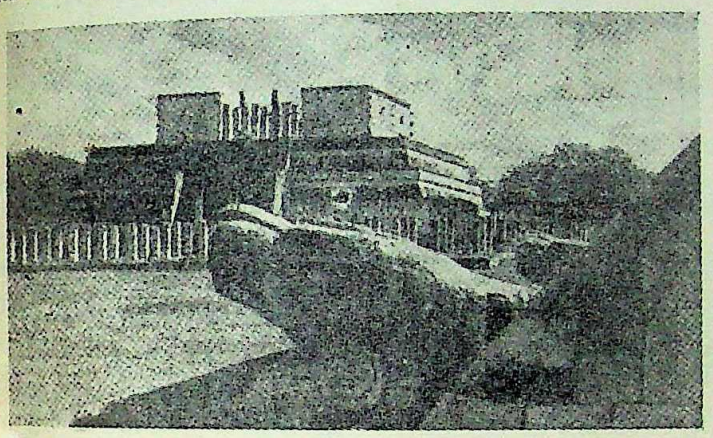
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INDIAN GODS AND TEMPLES IN AMERICA

By S. P. SHOME

When Columbus discovered America, there lived in that New (?) World an ancient people who were definitely brilliant in every department of human pursuit. They were living in all the States of America, specially in Mexico, and had a magnificent civilization which profoundly surprises the modern world.



The Temple of the Thousand Pillars (Chichen Itza). This temple resembles the Sahasra Stambha temple at Madura

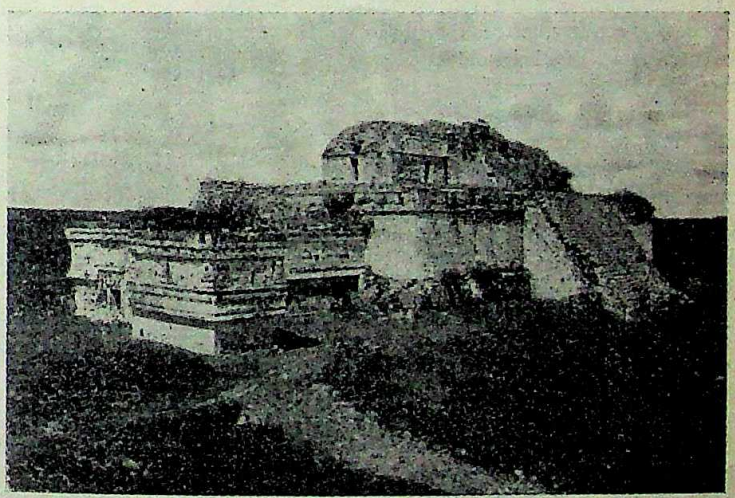
The region where it developed includes the States of Tabasco and Chiapas in Mexico, in Guatemala, and just along the western frontier of Honduras. This region, now overgrown with a dense tropical forest, had been cleared by the aboriginal Indians and put under intensive cultivation. Great cities had flourished on every side. Lofty pyramid-temples and splendid palaces of cut stone, spacious plazas and courts filled with elaborately-carved monuments of strange yet imposing dignity, market-places, terraces, causeways were to have been counted, not by tens and scores but by hundreds and thousands.

Indeed, before the white settlers came to America, it is not improbable that the country had been very densely populated. Nor did the arts and sciences of the people lag behind architecture and sculpture of the modern world. Hard metal, it is true, the people of this so-called New World did not have, but the lack of it did not prevent them from carving such a hard substance as jade, which they made into beautiful pectoral plaques sometimes six inches square, showing their principal deities and rulers in acts of adoration or sacrifice.

Necklaces, anklets, wristlets, ear-rings, nose-ornaments, beads, and pendants were fashioned from the same refractory material, which, even without the aid of metal tools, seems to have presented little difficulty to the ancient people of America.

Exquisite wood carvings, delicate modelling in stucco, ceramics, painting, weaving, and gorgeous mosaics made of brilliantly-coloured feathers were some of the other arts in which, so far as the native races of the New World are concerned, are equal, if not superior, to the achievements of the Old World. And when one comes to a knowledge of the abstract sciences, such as arithmetic, chronology, and astronomy, they have few peers among their 'bosses' even in the Old World.

It would carry us too far astray to explore these fascinating fields of ancient American learning, and it must suffice for the present occasion to point out that their system of keeping account of past time—that is, their chronology—was more accurate than anything known in Europe, Asia, or Africa before the fall of the Roman Empire, and it is an open question whether



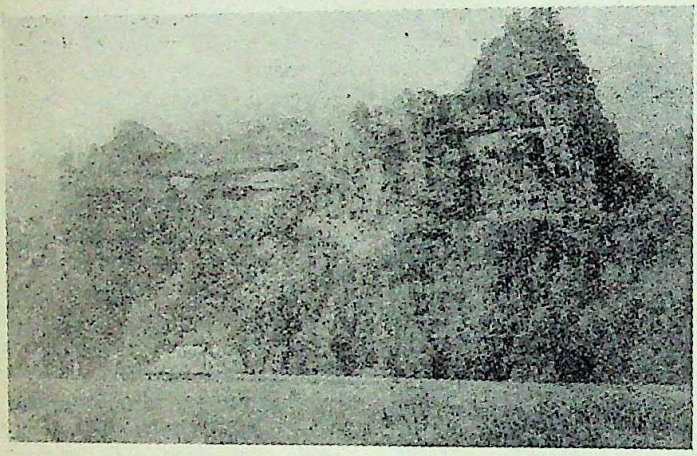
The Palace of the Itzen Rulers (Chichen Itza)

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West Indian chronology, in the field of elapsed time, is not more accurate even than the modern Gregorian Calendar.

But the Dark Ages appeared when the white settlers began to blaze their way through the country; and art, architecture and learning soon suffered an eclipse—and from which the people never again fully recovered.



Tlachtli-ground or the Ball Court. It constitutes a splendid open air auditorium capable of accomodating 5,000 people. The interior walls are entirely covered with elaborate sculptures portraying lines of marching warriors

The American-Indians during the eighteenth century, were forced to abandon most of their old regions, where they had wrought so laboriously and had achieved so splendidly, and to seek new homes elsewhere. The cause, or to be precise, causes of this great Indian exodus are not difficult to understand. The incessant tide of expansion of the whiteman's dominance had hewed a clearing by diminishing the ancient tribes of America, until from Canada to Mexico the whiteman's rule became supreme. Today their standard of life has been artificially lowered by the whiteman, and in his private dealings with the Indians, he has never allowed them the rights and treatment to which they are entitled, and considers them 'inferior beings' or objects of contempt and exploitation.

The agricultural practices in vogue among the ancient American-Indians were such as gradually to improve the productivity of the land available for cultivation. Planting eventually became impossible, as

the repeated burnings, which alone served to clear ground for the white settlers, literally forced them search for new homes. No lesser calamity than it would seem, could have driven a whole nation such a drastic step as the complete abandonment the regions wherein they had expended such tremendous effort.

Whatever may have been responsible for gradual extinction of the Amer Indians, the fact itself is sufficie clear that in the beginning of eighteenth century the Indians w pushing northward toward the and even still, unexplored forest Canada, looking for a new and promising land in which to fo their homes.

When men like Grenville, H kins, Raleigh and Drake swept from the Devon coast "West Ho" in search of adventure gallons of gold, they were somew disappointed as they landed at place in America, which was parched and waterless land. The was no surface water, and there we no rivers or streams nearby only one or two lakes. The coun was of limestone formation, wit subterranean water supply. He



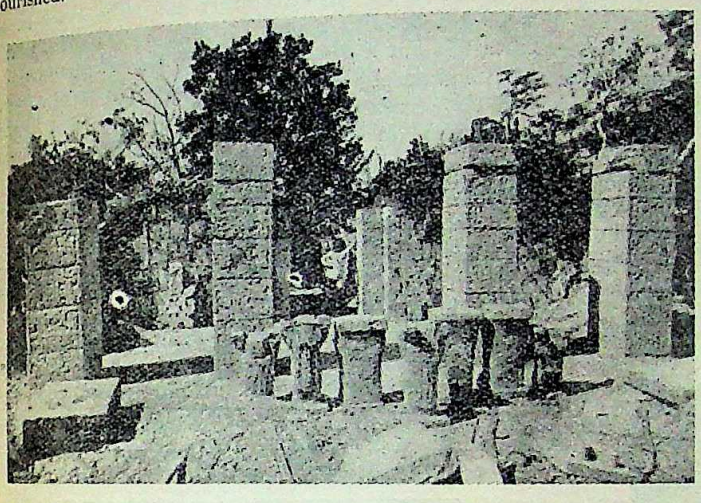
The Cenote of Sacrifice. The water in this great pocket is 70 feet deep and remains at the same level practically all the year round

and there about the country a few natural openings wells had been formed, great holes in the ground, some times several hundred feet in diameter, places where the limestone crust had become undermined and

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fallen through, exposing subterranean water. These the Indians called *cenotes*, and wherever they existed, there, by the very force of circumstances, important centres of white population were established and later flourished.



The Temple of Warriors (Chichen Itza). The ceiling of the temple was supported by four square columns, all sides of which were covered with elaborate sculptures representing gods, rulers, priests and warriors

Although there is some confusion as to the exact date, the civilization of the American-Indians was in existence between 471 and 1530 A.D., and the "Holy Men of the Mayan tribe" as they are almost worshipfully called in the native chronicles, the Books of Chilan Balam, set up their tribal deities, their Lares and Penates.

Before settlers began to fringe the eastern coast of North America, the Indians lived in the shadow of the great temples, let us say, surrounded by all the manifestations of the highest native civilization this continent had, and were secure in the protection of their gods, rulers, and priests. Before the whiteman raided the coasts of America, the Indians were living in peace and security and were pushing onward into the region of the unknown for greater safety, more confidence, and more comforts of life. Their early struggle with the white settlers must have been acute. Their old buildings and temples suggest that they were forced to abandon their old cities on account of wholesale massacre by the whitemen. Towns and cities were littered with skeletons in the raids by the white settlers and human blood and wilderness reigned where there had been gardens.

II

In 1004 A.D. the three largest city-states—Chichen Itza, Uxmal, and Mayapan—formed a tripple alliance, under the name of the League of Mayapan, by which agreement the government of the peninsula was divided equally among the

period of true Indian Renaissance. Under the peaceful conditions and general prosperity brought about by the league, art and architecture flourished. Great buildings of cut stone, elaborately decorated with sculptures, were put up on every side. No town or village was so small and unimportant as not to boast its pyramid-temple and chief's house built of stone. It was in every sense a true Renaissance, and under its quickening influence the Indian aesthetic instinct blossomed forth anew.

Chichen Itza does not seem to have felt this stimulation as strongly as her sister state, Uxmal, for example, although there are a number of buildings at the Itzan capital which date from this period—the Akab'tzib (House of the Dark Writing), the Chichanchob (Red House), the House of the Deer, and parts of the Monjas (Monastery)—in fact, most of the middle section of the city, that part lying south and west of the Temple of the Thousand Pillars.

In 1201 A.D. the political structure of the country was shaken



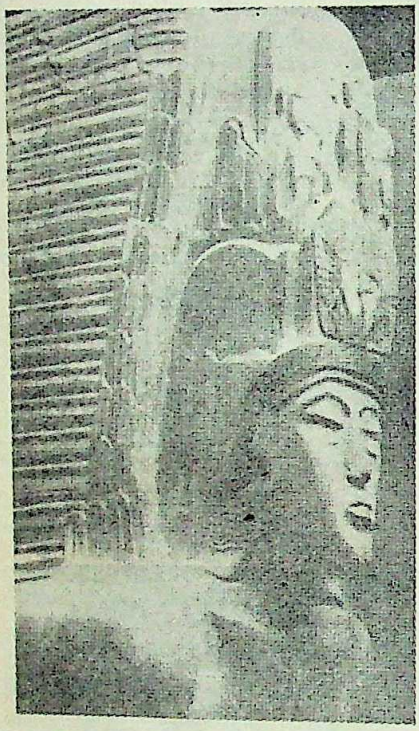
A Ganesh-like God from a temple in Central America

to its foundation and the League of Mayapan violently disrupted by war within itself. In that

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year Hunnac Ceel, the ruler of Mayapan, made war upon Chac Xib Chac (the Very Red Man), the Itzan ruler, because of "certain banquetings with the ruler of Izamal," according to one of the chronicles, and aided by his Toltec-Aztec allies from central Mexico, inflicted a crushing defeat upon the Holy Men of Itza.



A Vishnu-like God from a temple in Central America

The chronicles do not enlighten us further as to what end overtook the "Very Red Man." Perhaps he fell fighting bravely, as his name might imply, in the defence of his capital. Concerning the fate of the city itself, however, archaeology leaves us in little doubt. From this time onward until its final abandonment in 1448, Chichen Itza was held in thrall by the Indian rulers, the Toltec-Aztec allies of Hunnac Ceel.

III

The intercourse between the different Indian tribes of America, gave to these pioneers of civilization new customs, new aesthetic inspirations, a new architecture, even a new religion, all of which reacted powerfully upon the ancient people and raised their civilization to a position of honour and sanctity never enjoyed by them before or since.

The ancient people of America worshipped the fair golden-haired god, Quetzalcoatl, the "Feathered Serpent." They raised temples and sanctuaries to [illegible] new god, all adorned with highly realistic repres[illegible]tions of the Feathered Serpent (which is also similar to the Hindu god, Nagaraj Basuki)—in colu[illegible] balustrades, cornices, and bas-reliefs—until his sinu[illegible] trail was to be seen on every side. The cities ex[illegible]rienced a building boom. The so-called Castillo, w[illegible] in fact is not a castle at all, but the principal te[illegible] of Kukulcan at Chichen Itza, covers an acre of gr[illegible] and towers more than 100 feet above the level of [illegible] broad plaza at its base, overtopping the highest t[illegible] Four balustraded stairways ascend its terraced si[illegible] and the sanctuary on the summit is entered thro[illegible] a doorway flanked by feathered serpent columns.

Another enormous construction of the Indian [illegible] and sculpture at Chichen Itza is the Temple of [illegible] Thousand Pillars, a vast architectural complex enc[illegible]ing a central plaza consisting of more than five [illegible] and composed of pyramid-temples, colonnaded h[illegible] sunken courts, terraces and platforms; and here, [illegible] everywhere may be seen the trail of Kukulcan, t[illegible] Feathered Serpent, patron deity of the Indians.



A dancing god reminiscent of Hindu God Siva (Guatemala)

Other buildings of importance are the Tlach[illegible] ground or Ball Court and the Temple of Hamb[illegible] the Caracol or Astronomical Observatory, the Te[illegible] of the Warriors, the High Priest's Grave, the s[illegible] altars, which prove the remarkable efficiency of [illegible] American-Indians in those days. Their progressive [illegible] vigorous outlook gave to that really old world a [illegible] impetus which showed a crowning distinction in [illegible] field of art and culture.

The Toltec-Aztec Indians were the first to ev[illegible]ize successfully the semi-sacred character of [illegible] which was acquired in the passing centuries. This

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done by inaugurating at its brink a gruesome sacrificial rite, which was destined to attract pilgrims thither from all parts of the land; no less, indeed, than hurling into its gloomy depths the young Indian maidens to appease the wrath of offended deities.



Another image of God Siva found in a temple at Guatemala

Along with these human sacrifices all sorts of valuable personal objects were thrown into the pool, which until the present day bears the name of Cenote of Sacrifice. Gold and jade ornaments, beautiful pieces of pottery, carved wood, in fact everything of the highest value found its way thither, there to lie for five centuries or more, until rescued from oblivion by the dredge of an archeologist.

The very spectacularity of this cruel rite—the maidens at the brink of the dark pool, the incensing of the priests, the sides lined with waiting thousands, a push, perchance a startled cry, a splash below, and silence—all combined to arouse a general interest in the ceremony. Pilgrims came from far and near to hurl their personal treasures into the depths. Pendants and bells of gold have been found here which are known to have been made no nearer than Costa Rica, and pottery of peculiar type, not unlike Indian ware, which could only have come from the north-western States of America. Such was the fame and appeal of this death by water.

The Indian rulers of the country on their part had spared no efforts to give the ceremony a proper setting. The great Temple of Kukulcan had been located with special reference to this pool of sacrifice—that is facing it—and connected with it by a stone causeway or 'Via Sacra', a quarter of a mile long, 30 feet broad, and in places built up 25 feet above the level of the plain. Other temples had been erected in the immediate vicinity, including two elaborately decorated dancing platforms, and at the edge of the cenote itself there was a small shrine for the last solemn rites.

The sombre natural beauty of this deep pool, with its chalky white sides covered with clinging vines of green, the imposing temples, and other buildings associated with it, the long procession of gorgeously-robed priests leading their victims to the brink, the spectacular sacrifice itself—a dramatic hurtling through the air into the dark, silent water below—all combined to affect powerfully the Indian mind. Thousands were attracted thither, until by the early fifteenth century Chichen Itza had become, because of this great ceremony, the most holy city in the continent of America—nay more, the Mecca of the Indian World.



This God found in a temple at Guatemala might easily be mistaken for Hanuman, the monkey-god of India

IV

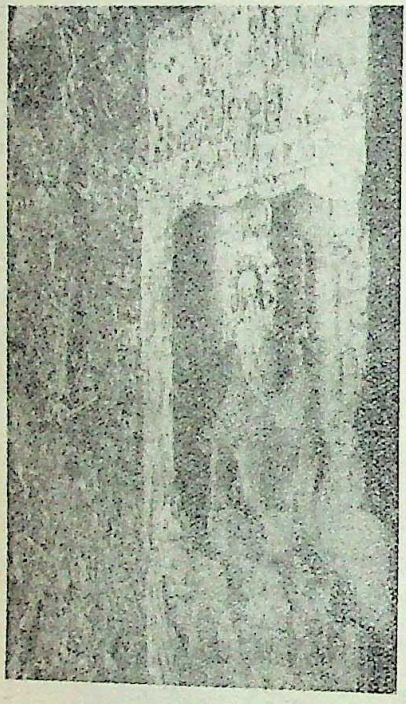
For a decade now the Carnegie Institute of Washington has had under consideration a plan for the intensive study of the ancient civilization of the American-Indians. Several preliminary expeditions had been sent to the different parts of the continent to ascertain the precise nature of the practical as well as the archeological problems involved, and in June, 1923, a formal plan of study covering a period of not

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less than 10 years was presented to the Mexican Government.

This plan having been approved by the Director of Anthropology, who has jurisdiction over all archeological remains in the Republic of Mexico, an agreement was reached under the terms of which the Carnegie Institute was granted the privilege of carrying on archeological investigations at Chichen Itza and other places for a period of 10 years, or more, beginning from January 1, 1924.



Interior of the Temple of Warriors at Chichen Itza (Mexico)

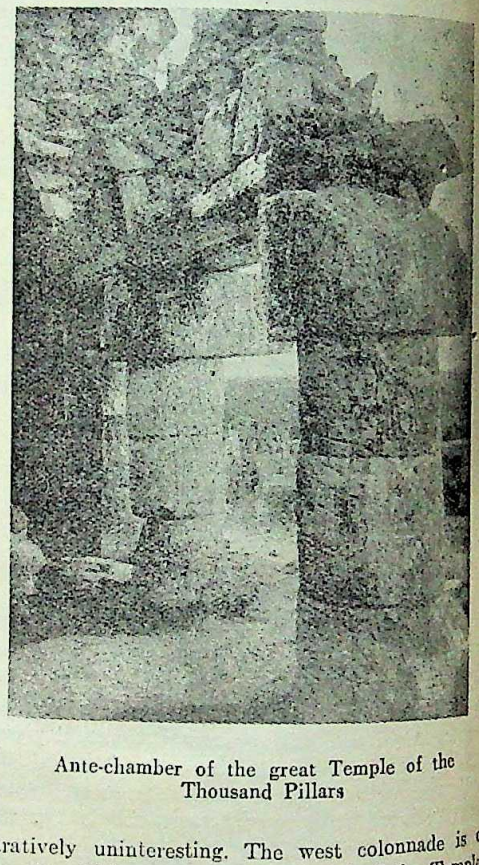
The principal work since 1924 was the excavation of the place where the Temple of the Thousand Pillars, an enormous construction with all of its parts, is situated, covering more than twenty acres. This temple is named the Thousand Pillars because its chief architectural features are the pillars, some of which are square, others round, some sculptured and others plain. In the different colonnades, porticos, temples, halls, and minor courts surrounding the great Temple of the Pillars, the architectural centre of the temple, more than a thousand different pillars have already been counted, ample to justify the name chosen for it.

The Temple of the Thousand Pillars covers five acres of ground. Originally it was paved with a hard lime-plaster, traces of which still are to be found at the edges, though towards the centre this pavement has been destroyed by the forest which has everywhere thrown a green mantle over Chichen Itza.

its final abandonment in the middle of the sixteen century.

The north and west sides of the temple bounded by two very long colonnades of round pil with square capitals, five pillars with square capi and also other five pillars. The remaining sid are occupied by even more imposing buildings greater complexity of ground plan, and it was in of these, the actual excavation began on May 28, 19

The gateway on the western side seems to be com



Ante-chamber of the great Temple of the Thousand Pillars

paratively uninteresting. The west colonnade is only two steps higher than the floor level of the Temple of the Pillars, and this gateway seems to have been a simple passageway between the pillars of the colonnade without sculptural embellishment at either end.

The northern gateway appeared to be more interesting. The North Colonnade surmounts a terrace 7 feet above the level of the temple, and it is through this terrace, or platform, underneath the colonnade proper, that the northern gateway passes. Both ends of this it was found, had been decorated with flanking sculptured panels; the panels on the eastern side at each end had the image of Hanuman carved upon them, whereas the western jambs were carved with macaws or parrots. Round shields and other animal and bird figures completed the sculptural decoration of this gateway, which was paved with well-cut flagstones.

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The eight pillars across the front divide the facade into nine doorways. All the pillars are made alike—that is, in sections composed of large dressed blocks of limestone—and all are plain save the four central ones at the back, which are elaborately sculptured and enclose a sculptured throne or platform.

Three round shields, one above the other, come next, and judging from the large number recovered in the excavations, these must have been a frequently recurring element in the decoration of the facade.

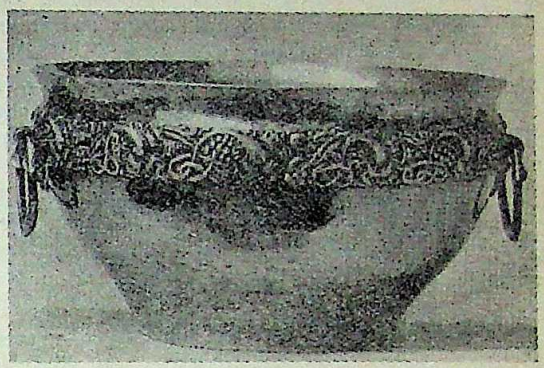


Tigers and birds on the wall of a temple at Teocali, Mexico

Above the next to the last doorway, at each end, there is a human figure fastened to the wall by a tenon at its back. These are gorgeously clothed in feather-work cloaks, panaches of plumes rising from their head-dresses, embroidered girdles, and jade necklaces, pendants, ear-rings, wristlets and anklets completing the costume. The right hand grasps a spear decorated with tufts of feathers, and the left an embroidered disc or *chakra*.

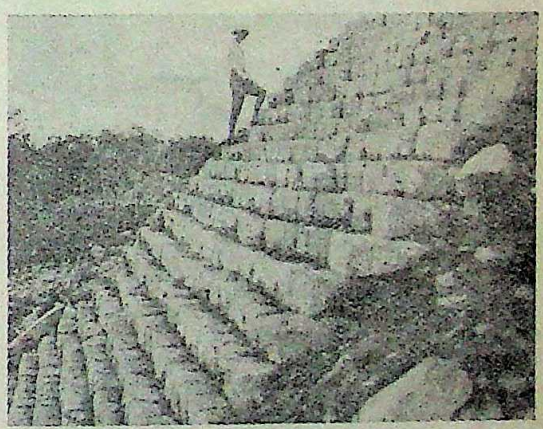
The building is surmounted by a cornice of the same style as the medial one. These two cornices are themselves extremely decorative. They are composed of three members, the top and bottom ones being plain, the former sloping upward, the latter downward. The middle member, however, is sculptured with a pair of intertwining rattlesnakes, a head and tail with plumed decorations at one end of the cornice and the other head and tail at the other end.

Imagine, then, this facade in its entirety; the nine ample doorways separated by solid square pillars, the two rattlesnake cornices, the masks, shields, human, animal, and bird figures, this long and elaborately carved panel being painted from one end to the other with a variety of colours—red, blue, green, and yellow, —the whole constituting a picture of dazzling and heroic splendour difficult for the modern eye to visualize, however accustomed it may be to chromatic riot by our own flaming billboards.



A decorated bowl found in the Temple of the Thousand Pillars

Passing into the cool shade of the colonnade through the middle doorway and walking towards the back, one passes between the outer pair of sculptured pillars, also painted, and stands before a dais or throne, the sides of which are sculptured with rows of warriors, and the cornice with intertwining rattlesnakes running around the top. It is flanked by the inner pair of sculptured pillars.



Stairway ascending the western face of the Temple of Kuklucan, Patron Deity of Chichen Itza

All four sides of these four pillars are sculptured, making a total of sixteen panels. Most of the sculptured subjects are warriors elaborately clothed in feather-work, embroidered cotton stuff, and jade jewelry, and armed with spears, clubs, and shields. An interesting exception is the front of the back pillar at the left, which is carved with the representation of Kukulcan, whose likeness is to be found in India in the Sahasra Stambha Temple at Madura, while the Temple of Warriors is reminiscent of Naga sculpture. The

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Ganesh-like god and the Vishnu-like god of Central America and the monkey god Hanuman in the temples of the American-Indians are of the same types as are usually seen in India. The dancing god of Chichen Itza is reminiscent of Hindu god, Siva. The important feature in the construction of temples and gods of the American-Indians is the striking similarity between the ancient architecture and statuary of America and those of ancient India. The sculptured fragments of temples and palaces, the crude workmanship scattered here and there in South America, Mexico and Honduras, tell us the tale, eloquently enough, of Indian civilization spreading its wings over the remotest parts of America in the past. Attempt should now be made by the Oriental scholars to study the ancient civilization of Am... from two sides. In the first place, they must writ... accordance with the modern investigation, an auth... tative history of the ancient people of Amer... While, of course, I do not say that nothing of ... kind has been undertaken, it seems to me that ... ancient history of America has been written mo... by Euro-Americans without making due refere... to the ancient civilization of India. In the sec... place, they will have to revivify the arts and ... ture of the ancient people of America, with a ... outlook, which alone will make those poor ... great again in their own country. If these two thi... happen, we can prophesy a great future for ... indigenous Indians of America.

———:O:———

ERIC GILL
The British Sculptor and Designer

By IRIS CONLAY

The sculptor of the Stations of the Cross in Westminster Cathedral in London, the creator of the stone figures of Prospero and Ariel on Broadcasting House,



Eric Gill at work in his studio

the Headquarters of the British Broadcasting Corporation, the designer of ... [illegible] ... cutter of letters, the book illustrator, the philosopher and writer—all these are aspects of a man whose ... and activities were one. It is the essence of Eric G... that he did not value being an artist above being ... man—a workman is what he called himself, and ... aim was to create a 'cell of good living.'

His life began in Brighton in 1882. Brighton ... both prosperous and fashionable in those days, but ... Gill family were neither. They lived in one of a ... of houses that backed on to the railway station. T... father was a Nonconformist clergyman, and educati... was accounted of more worth than wealth. Eric ... therefore sent to school young. He records his earli... experience of an art class :

> "We have been making little mats by inte... weaving strips of shiny blue and white paper—... exciting but intelligible. Then the teacher starts ... on clay modelling. She gives me a lump of grey ... clay, about as big as a plover's egg, and sugges... that I shall make something by squeezing it abou... She shows me how to do it, but does not tell ... what or why. I am miserable and bored. I remem... clearly the grey light and my impotence. If only ... could have told her it was not in my line !"

It was certainly not in his line. The five-year-... Eric of this period afterwards became one of the fi... artists in Britain for many generations to wo... directly on to the stone without clay models. He ... this, not to impress, or to strike an attitude among ... contemporaries, but because, having been trained as ... mason, working directly on stone was natural to him.

"Art for art's sake" was an abomination to ... Gill. All his achievements as an artist grew out of ... achievements as a workman. Tombstones and letterin... on shop fronts are generally workmen's jobs, and Eric ... took a pleasure in perfecting these things. He was only

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given the job of carving the Stations of the Cross at Westminster Cathedral because he was a mere mason.

He was hardly known then, but a perceptive architect believed in his ability and potentiality. At this time, too, he had only been a Catholic for a year, and, allied to a rare gift for linear grace, he brought to his work the fresh vision of a Christianity newly-found. The results are the deeply satisfying and simple ikon-like plaques which are perhaps the most living things in Westminster Cathedral today.

Lying safely stored in the last studio that he worked in, is another piece of sculpture for Westminster Cathedral—a magnificent Hopton-wood stone reredos for the English martyrs' memorial chapel. Few people have seen this, Gill's last work, but those who have believe that it is the peak of his production as a sculptor. In the centre is Christ crucified, and on either side stand the martyrs, St. Thomas More, Lord Chancellor of England under King Henry VIII, and St. John Fisher, Bishop of Rochester in the same reign.

From a shop front painted by Gill, Stanley Morison discovered a type-designer for Monotype, the mechanical type-composing company. Morison liked, the Sans-serif letters he saw over a bookseller's window in Bristol and commissioned the artist, who was Gill, to complete the alphabet. He subsequently designed eight founts of types.

After that there were book illustrations for the Golden Cockerell Press, of which the 60 engravings for Troilus and Creseyde are the best-known, more type-designing, and other sculptures including a memorial to the servants of the Victoria and Albert museum in South Kensington; a Deposition in black marble (his favourite work) in Canterbury; a St. John the Baptist at Oxford; Prospero and Ariel on Broadcasting House; ten panels on the New Museum at Jerusalem, and a creation of Adam at Geneva.

This bas-relief of Adam in the foyer of the League of Nations council hall is a particularly magnificent conception. It is a frieze 55 ft. (17 metres) long and about 8 feet (3 metres) high and Gill's original idea was to fill the space with what he considered a worthy subject—the turning-out of the money-changers from the Temple. Eyebrows were lifted high at such a suggestion, and the more tactful alternative of the creation of man was selected. Under a great text pro-claiming the over-mastery of God, Gill's colossal representation of Adam, the man before the Fall, spreads majestically. It is flanked on either side by panels of children and animals in the same perfection of untainted nature.

But it was never the importance of the work which mattered to Gill. 'What I achieve as a sculptor is of no consequence,' he once said to a fellow artist, 'I can only be a beginning—it will take generations, but if only the beginnings of a reasonable, decent, holy tradition of working might be effected—that is the thing.'



Eric Gill with his magnificent bas-relief of the reclining Adam, which he designed and executed for the frieze in the foyer of the League of Nations Council Chamber

To create the holy tradition he fought constantly against the "machine" State. He wrote books, he lectured, he lived in protest against it. First at Ditch-ling, then at Capel-y-ffin in the remote hills of North Wales, and finally at Pigotts, he surrounded himself by a community who set out first to praise God by their work and then to live a complete and satisfying human life. When Ditchling became over-publicised as a show place for gaping pilgrims, a retreat was made to the Welsh Mountains. They proved too remote for the contacts necessary for work, and Gill's last home was Pigotts, in Buckinghamshire. Here he had a private chapel, shaping the stone altar himself and all the chapel's furniture. Here a happy band of students and family were gathered round him. Against a wall in the courtyard, enclosed by his farmhouse, leant his own tombstone carved by himself, waiting for the day. . . .

The day came on November 18th, 1940. The plain-chant Requiem Mass was sung by a choir of his own grandchildren, and his body was conveyed on an open farm cart drawn by the domestic pony down the long hill to the cemetery at Speen.

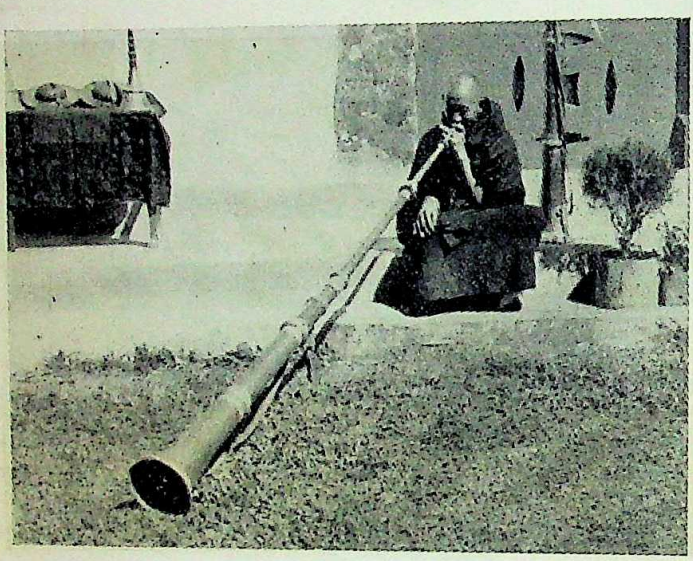
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TIBETAN MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS

By ANAGARIKA SASANA RATANA

STRANGE and full of mysticism are the religious ceremonies of the Buddhist priesthood in the "Land of Snow." Day by day, from early morning till late at night, in thousands of Tibetan monasteries the monks assemble to worship the innumerable deities of the Lamaistic pantheon. Gathering in the mystic darkness of the temple-halls, they chant their prayers and perform the prescribed rites. Weird are the appliances for these ceremonies—thunderbolts, little bells, magic daggers and ritual knives—and not less queer are the musical instruments played to accompany the prayers.



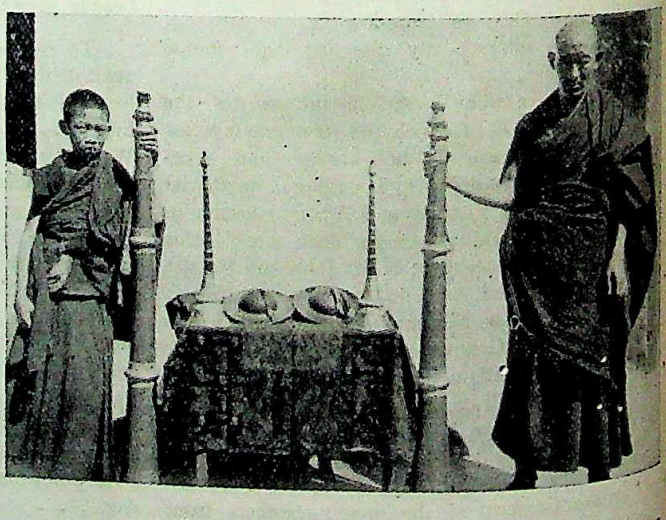
A Lama playing the Dungring trumpet

Several experienced Lamas—their number varies according to the size of the congregation and the religious service which is being held—form the temple orchestra. The music they produce sounds to the uninitiated noisy and untuneful; it, however, follows strict and orthodox rules. A form of musical score depicted by wavy lines with small marks indicates when each instrument has to be played and how the choral accompaniment rises and falls.

The most striking among the musical instruments used in Tibetan monasteries are long telescopic trumpets, called Dungring, which may be up to 14 [illegible] long. Their deep boomings, from the roofs of [illegible] temples, herald the dawn, summoning the devotees [illegible] morning prayers. They are supposed to reproduce [illegible] trumpeting of elephants, [illegible] according to Tibetan religious [illegible] liefs, guard the main quarters of [illegible] world.

The flageolets produce a [illegible] melodious sound; they are [illegible] Gyeling and a minimum of two [illegible] to be found in each [illegible] orchestra. Some of these flutes [illegible] good examples of Tibetan [illegible] manship as they are frequent[illegible] wrought in silver and studded [illegible] semi-precious stones. To play [illegible] a straw has to be inserted into [illegible] mouthpiece.

Other instruments used in [illegible] gious services are the cymbals [illegible] simplicity themselves, which have, however, to be handled in a [illegible] minutely prescribed manner. Further[illegible] more, huge white conch-shells, called Dungkar, usually set in an ornamental holder, and gong and rattle-



Some Tibetan musical instruments

the last mentioned being generally applied in Tibetan religious dances—are used. Various drums are incorporated in the orchestra. Some of these are round, flat and mounted on a stick, which is held vertically

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They are played with a long, curved stick tipped with leather. The most extraordinary Tibetan drum is the Damaru, shaped like an hour-glass; it bears a remarkable resemblance to the hand-drums of the Shamans of Siberia. It consists of two domes of human skulls, attached so that the hollow surfaces face outward, the open parts being covered with stretched human skins. Two short strings with a small wooden ball on each, are fastened to the neck formed by the junction of the skulls. When the drum is jerked to and fro, they strike against the skin surface producing a high rattling sound. The Damaru is generally used during the ordinary religious services for indicating the pauses between the various parts of the ceremony.

This drum is, however, above all an important instrument of the Tibetan magicians, who apply it in their rites when calling or frightening away inimical demons. These wizards usually use the Damaru in connection with another instrument also made of human bone, which is called Kangling. The Kangling is a trumpet made from a thighbone and the Tibetans claim that especially those trumpets made of the left thighbone of a 16 years old girl, of criminals or people who died a violent death, are most efficient in the performance of secret rites. It is also claimed that the Lama who makes the thighbone trumpet, has to eat a piece of the skin covering the bone in order to give the Kangling the magic power to summon the demons.

Compared with the variety of musical instruments played by the Lamas, only few instruments are used



The Tibetan temple drum

by Tibetan laymen. Small drums and rattles are carried by Achelhamo, the travelling dancers and actors of Tibet, and a three-stringed, long-necked guitar is played by the wandering troubadours who make their way across the "Roof of the World," chanting merrily the old ballads of heroes of a past age.

———:O:———

GETTING ON THE CONTOUR

By NORT BASER

This is the story of a soil conservation district and its approach to the land-use problem—how American farmers and soil experts are working shoulder to shoulder to obtain permanent maximum productivity of the land, according to its capacity and needs. Specifically, it is the story of the Harford County Soil Conservation District, one of the first to be established in the United States. Nestling in the northeastern part of the east coast State of Maryland, it is typical of the more than 2,000 soil conservation districts which now blanket the nation, making good land-use practices, in the democratic manner, available to 4,500,000 farms.

Thus the Harford district's story is essentially the same as that of any other district in the U.S.—differing only in the names of the people and in the character of some of its strictly local problems.

The experts will tell you Harford County's productive topsoil was originally 9 to 10 inches deep. Now it averages only 5 to 6 inches. In some hilly spots it has disappeared entirely. Nor will they fail to remind you that it took nature from 500 to 800 years to build 1 inch of that precious soil.

The Harford soil conservation program was designed primarily for the smaller dirt farmer. Examples are legion in the area. In fact, one Harford County farm in every four has a soil conservation plan of one kind or another, the total area amounting to roughly 69,500 acres, one-third of the district area. This new pattern of land-use has grown rapidly, chiefly on its own merit, since it was first introduced in the county in 1939 with the establishment of a demonstration area. The demonstrations were under the supervision of the U.S. Soil Conservation Service with the concurrence of the Maryland State Advisory Committee.

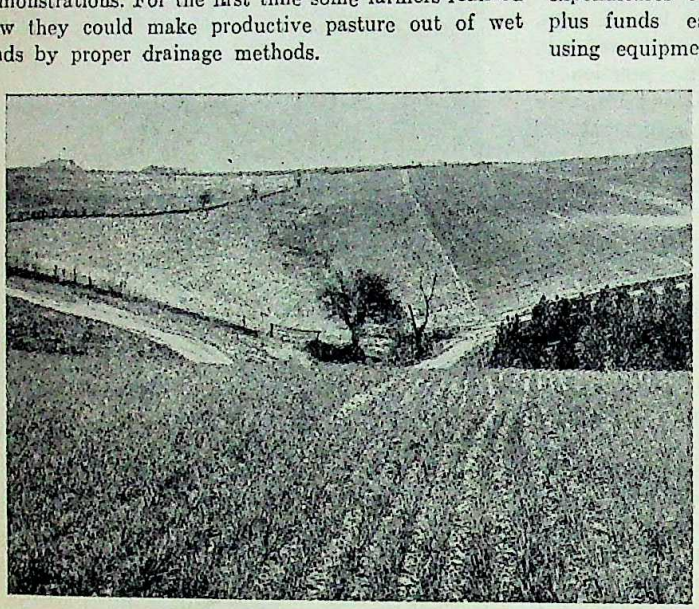
Farmers in the area began to see that plowing of straight furrows up and down hill was the cause of their erosion problems. They observed that those same sloping fields could be plowed on the level so that the curved furrows would serve as a trough to catch rainfall and allow much of it to soak into the ground. They saw the value of diversion channels on the steeper slopes to check wasteful run-off of soil and water.

The advantages of strip cropping were also intro-

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duced. Contour strips of close-growing plants, like ladino clover or grass, between alternate strips of clean-tilled row crops proved a wonderful antidote for erosion. The use of cover crops, crop rotation, fertilizer, and lime was made more popular through these demonstrations. For the first time some farmers realized how they could make productive pasture out of wet lands by proper drainage methods.



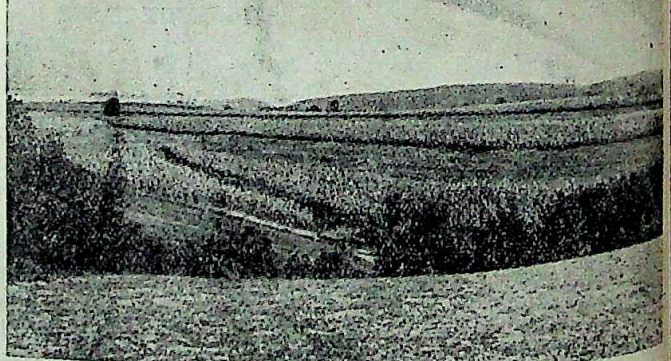
View of an American firm before contour strips were laid out

By the summer of 1939, techniques had so improved and farmer interest had so increased that both Harford and neighbouring Baltimore counties were organized into one district. This spurred even greater activity and resulted in more requests for assistance than the limited technical staff assigned to the area could handle. Then in May 1944, a referendum of landowners dictated the dividing of Harford and Baltimore counties into separate districts. This meant more technical assistance, and besides it was felt that a group of supervisors representing only their own county would be in a better position to understand local problems and to obtain more support from county governments. Thus, since 1945, the number of farm plans in the Harford district has grown from 200 plus to more than 500.

Key to this soil-saving program's popularity are the supervisors, five in number. All are active farmers, three being elected by the men they represent and two being appointed by the State Soil Conservation Committee. It is the responsibility of the supervisors to give the landowners they represent the maximum control over the program. They guide the policies, meet once a month to assign priority to requests for assistance on various farms, and to help settle other problems which may arise. They also control expenditures of district funds allocated by the State plus funds earned from assessments to farmers using equipment assigned to the district to install drainage ditches and diversion terraces.

Local technicians in the employ of the U. S. Soil Conservation Service take over from there. Occasionally they help the supervisors recommend revisions in farm plans, but they never set foot on a man's farm unless requested to do so. They want the program to prove itself—which it is doing. Headquarters for the Soil Conservation Service in the Harford District is at Bel Air county seat. The technician in charge has earned the confidence of the farmers and townspeople who recognize the fine job he is doing and like his easy, friendly air of co-operation. Early in 1949, he received a request to lay out a conservation plan for a 156-acre farm. First he had the soil surveyed to learn its present condition, how much erosion existed and its degree of slope. Then he drew up a land capability map, all to scale and in color. Armed with this, he visited the farm. He learned that there were 68 head of dairy cattle and 10 heifers, and that both pasture and more corn was needed.

The farmer and the technician then walked together over every acre of the farm, discussing what the map indicated



An American farm showing contour strips with grass water-way where there had been a gully 2 feet deep six years ago

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the best use should be. The farmer agreed that contour strip cropping would help him in a couple of the hilly fields and that another would be better suited to pasture. He saw he would have to change several of his fences and put in some drainage tile in one low field. When all the details were worked out, the soil conservationist wrote them into a plan for the farmer to sign. The contour lines were tentatively outlined in April, but they were not layed out until after hay harvest. When they were established, each plowed furrow was at right angles to the slope so that rain would no longer wash the topsoil away but would sink in around the roots of crops. New fence lines will not be established until the present fences need repair.

That is how the program works. This particular farmer's problem is typical of most farms in the district—but sometimes conditions are much worse and more drastic measures of control must be recommended. Too often farmers do not become alarmed until they notice ugly gullies eating away their fields. They fail to realize that sheet erosion can cause great damage if it is not halted by strip cropping, diversion terraces, cover crops, fertilization, crop rotation, or other measures.

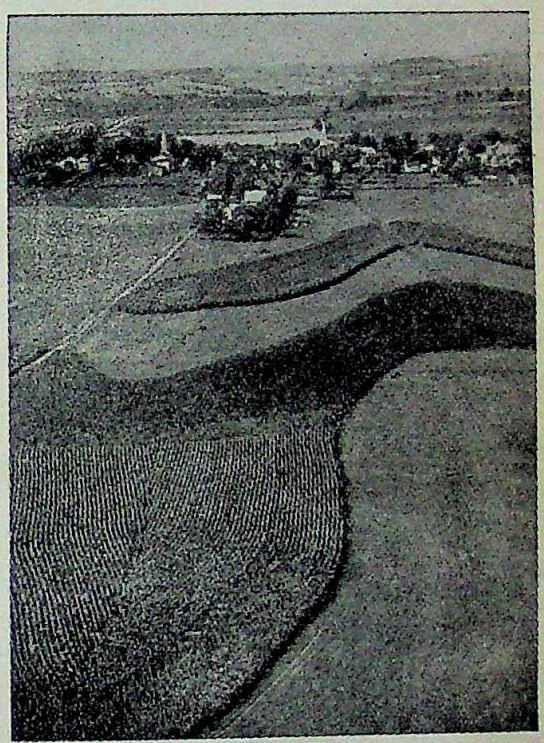
In many cases the local conservationist finds it profitable to seek the aid of other agencies. The University of Maryland Extension Service or the county agent are always ready to help with farm plans for erosion control. The State Soil Conservation Committee will advise on points of law and co-operation. Or if improvement of a wood lot is needed, the State Forest Service will lend a hand. These technicians stand ready to advise the farmer. After that, it is up to him.

Usually the farmer discovers he must spend a considerable amount of effort and some money over a period of several years to get his farm back into the maximum productivity of which it is capable. But sometimes he is agreeably surprised—especially if he has a healthy wood lot.

Often a wood lot helps provide the lumber for upkeep of farm buildings or nets a modest sale of timber to offset soil improvements. Farmers without such windfalls must make more of a sacrifice, though actually the cost of putting in a farm conservation plan is nominal. A farmer can put in the recommended contours and strip cropping himself during slack periods. Changing fences is not usually advised until present lines need repair. Of course, measures such as correcting deep gullies, putting in drainage tile or buying large quantities of lime and fertilizer are more costly.

What does the farmer gain by making all these improvements? One American farmer answers this question: "My yields have increased 40 to 50 per cent on some land that was formerly badly eroded. Now all my cropland is producing equally well because the fertilizer, seed and manure stay on the slopes instead of washing off."

Another farmer says, "Now that I am farming in contour strips all the gullies are healed over and my grass waterways are gradually levelling up. The water that comes from my fields is now clear. My yields have increased by one-fourth on the average—and I am saving time and effort through increased efficiency of equipment."



View of part of an American farm which is co-operating with the soil conservation services in the eastern State of Maryland

And another sums it up with, "I think the curved rows of contour strips make a farm and the countryside in general so much more beautiful that farmers take more pride in their work and want to do a better job of farming. I know it has made a better farmer of me." Besides getting 50 per cent more corn from his hillsides, he notes that springs which used to go dry in summer now have a small trickle all summer long.

That is why more farms in the Harford district are taking on a new look. Each convert brings the over-all conservation pattern nearer to completion. There is no doubt that the conservation movement in the United States is progressing at a pace fast enough to point a definite pattern of land use for the future farmers of America, as well as demonstrating the value of soil conservation methods to the farmers of other lands.—From *American Forests*.

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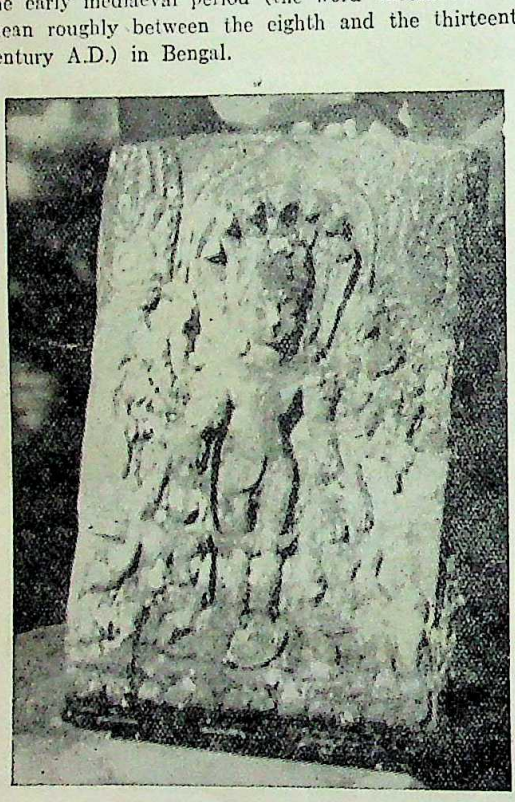
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THE EKTESWAR TEMPLE

Archaeological Survey Report of Bankura District

By RABINDRANATH CHAUDHURI

On October 23, 1949, I paid a visit to the Ekteswar village two miles from Bankura, B. N. Railway station, to see the oldest temple of Bengal, Ekteswar. The antiquity and architectural simplicity of the temple attracted me so much that I could not help going there again on November 2, 1949 to study in detail mensuration work and the features of ancient architecture of the early mediaeval period (the word 'mediaeval' will mean roughly between the eighth and the thirteenth century A.D.) in Bengal.



The image of Khandarani or Goddess Durga under the diadem of Sapta-Naga or Ananta-Basuki

Before I proceed further I must acknowledge my indebtedness to Sri Jogesh Chandra Ray, M.Sc., Vidyanidhi, the eminent educationist, who gave me first-hand knowledge of the history of the temple.

The Temple

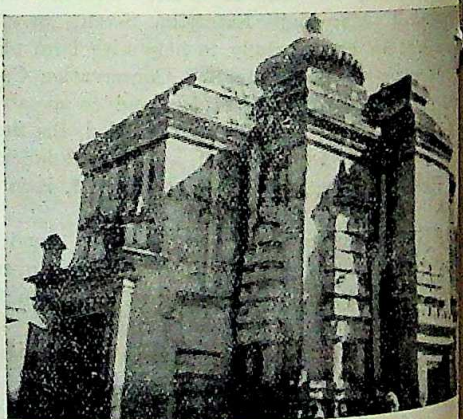
The Ekteswar temple is built upon a hillock with heavy red-stone, and is surrounded by a strong and well-built stone enclosure. The character of the temple seems to be of the simple fort and primitive type. But much of its primitive original grandeur has been replaced by a thorough repair by the Pandas in 1920 A.D. They used in repair ordinary lime and thick sand mortar. Generally 6 ft. × 4 ft. × 2 ft. and 4 ft. × 4 ft. × 2 ft. red stone has been used for structure and for the enclosure too.

There is an open chamber (Kunda)[1] inside temple. The image is seen posted in the ch which is 7 ft. deep from the floor level of the A tunnel (8 ins. dm.) is seen just by the side of image. It is about 500 ft. in its length and is conn with the river Darakeswar (or Dhalkishore) ad it and remains full of water, specially during the when the river water gets into the tunnel and the above-mentioned chamber full of water. Thi genious process helps the image to remain for mo of the year in touch with the sacred river water

Among all the existing ancient monument Bengal such a contact with river-water is a pecul in itself and is very different from all other techni that are found in ancient monumental works.

The Image

It is not a set image, the peak of the sm hillock was cut in such a way that it looks like image having a leg shape. The derivation of the



The Ekteswar Temple

Ekteswar is appropriately applied with the view of image; which is derived thus : Ekapada[2], Ekaswar,[3] Ekata-iswar,[4] Ekteswar.[5]

From a reference in the Rigveda it is seen there was a God of the shape of a goat with one the Sanskrit name of the God is Ekapada-Chha Such affinity of the words Ekapadeswar and Ekt Chhaga, in spite of the absence of the word Chha

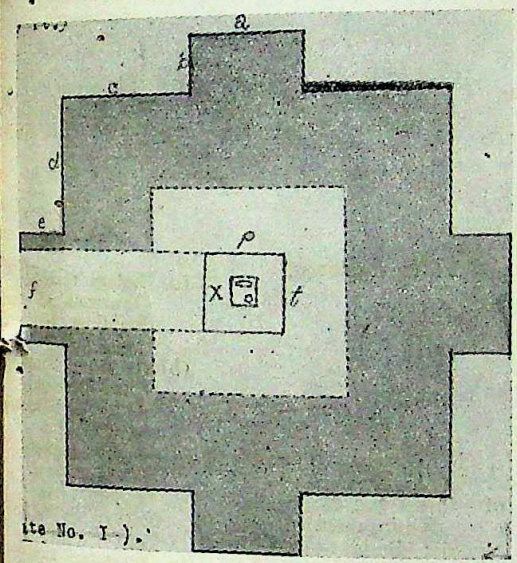
1. कुन्ड
2. एकपाद 3. एकपादेश्वर 4. एकता-ईश्वर 5. एकेश्व
6. एक-पाद-छाग

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Ekapadeswar, casts reflection of the traditional influence of the Rig-Vedic Brahmanical culture on the image.

In addition to this a cultural colour may be applied to Ekteswar image. From archaeological evidence, it appears that this district was a renowned seat of ancient culture in Bishal-Banga (Greater Bengal), which is supported by the Susunia Rock Inscription of King Chandra Varma of Pushkarana, Barjora P.S., Bankura district, C. 350, and was specially under the influence of both, (*i*) Brahmanical and (*ii*) Buddhist and Jain faiths. The northern part of this district was under the influence of Brahmanical and Buddhist faiths, and the southern part of partly Jain and partly Tantric Buddhist faiths, the border line being the river Darakeswar.

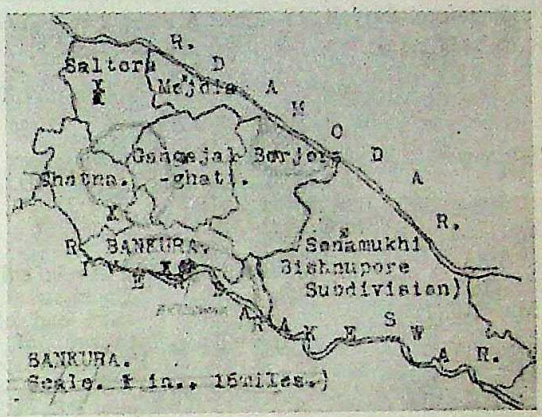


The plan and elevation of the Temple is exhibited here :
1. Seat of the Temple: 2025 sq. ft. (*a*) 8 ft. 10 ins., (*b*) 4 ft. 6 ins., (*c*) and (*d*) 11 ft., (*e*) 4 ft. 6 ins., (*f*) Gateway.
2. Inside Area of the Temple : 256 sq. ft. (16 ft. × 16 ft.) (*p*) 11 ft. (*t*) 16 ft. (*x*) : The image and the tunnel. (Depth of the Chamber 7 ft.)

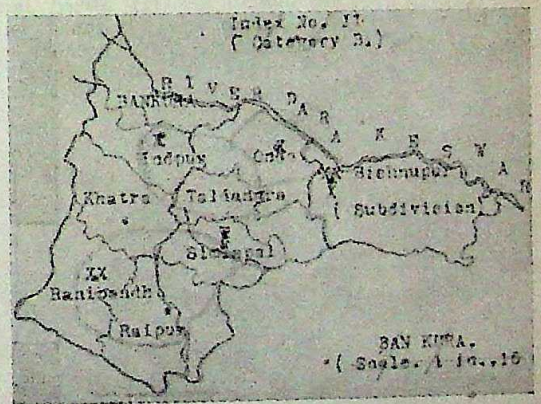
This divergence of cultures sometime in the early mediaeval period came to a halt and they mingled with one another. It was a union of the Brahmanical (Siva) and Buddhist and Jain cults (Siva-Buddhist cults). By this time the Jain faith was completely merged into Buddhism. The line of demarcation of different faiths being the river Darakeswar, this union took place in the centre, that is, at the site of the existing temple. This union did away with different ideologies and they mingled into one of mystic shape that is Ekata (unity) Iswar (God), *i.e.*, Ekteswar (unity of gods).

This union of faiths is also supported, though in a somewhat different form, by a local legend that at the site of the existing temple the ever-conflicting Rajas of Vishnupore and Chhatna (in this district) shed off their inimical attitude and brought in an *ekata* (unity) among themselves.

The Rajas are of 14th century A.D., but the age of the temple appears to be 11th century A.D., so the legendary colour loses its strength in regard to its being accepted.



Taking into account the time-factor there might be some deviation of the legendary view about the time of the union but there is one thing in common which is Ekata (unity) amongst them. Yet the age of the temple leads one to accept the former view that is unity amongst the then two prevailing and important mediaeval religions in Bengal.



The Pandas (priests)

There are two classes of Pandas who serve here as priests, one is called Deghoria[7] and the other Dhamatkarani.[8] The former does the work of actual priests and the latter the less important works relating to the worship of the idol. The word Deghoria and Dhamatkarani are derived thus : (*i*) Deghoria (Brahmin):

7. देघोरिया 8. धामात करनी

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Deva-Griha (Temple)[9], (*ii*) Dhamatkarani: Those who work in the Dham (sacred place).[10]

During my visit to the historical Ekteswar temple, I found some other images collected by the local people from different places for their worship and kept inside other temples built by the Pandas between 1920 to 1932 A.D. The descriptions of the images are given below: (*i*) Ganesh Murti, (God of success—Siddhi)[11] with four arms, sitting on a rat. Mediaeval period (12th century A.D.)—(3 ft. 8 ins.× 2 ft., carved out on sand stone).

(*ii*) A slab showing a bull, *bahana* (carrier of Siva).

(2 ft. 5 ins. × 1 ft. 4 ins. ×2 ft. 8 ins. height). Mediaeval period 10th to 11th century A.D.

(*iii*) Two slabs showing the goddess (4 ft. 2 ins. 2 ft. 6 ins. × 2 ft. 6 ins. and 1 ft. × 10 ins.) with twelve arms with weapons standing under the shade of Sapta-naga[13] (serpent of seven hoods). The People worship the images as Khanda Rani and Angar Basuki,[14] though the Vedic name of the image is Durga.[15]* Mediaeval period 9th to 10th century A.D.

TABLE

Category	*Ancient faith (Early Mediaeval period, up to C. 10th A.D.)*	*Mediaeval period (C. 11th A.D. onwards)*	*Inhabitants*	*Archaeological, topographical evidence of the temple.*
A (Vide Index Map No. I)	(1) Brahmanical	(1) Hindu cults,—Brahmanical, Vaishnava and others, (centre of the cults Pushkarana, present Pakshannya, in Barjora P.S., 4th century A.D., Gupta period, Bankura).	Hindu: Brahmin and others 75 per cent and Aboriginal 25 per cent.	1 (*a*) Ekteswar temple (Brahmanical faith), Bankura P.S. (*b*) Basuli temple (Vaishnava faith), Chhatna P.S.
	(2) Buddhist	(2) Buddhist.	Not in existence.	2 (*a*) Bèlera temple, (Brahmanical or Buddhist faith), Onda P.S. (*b*) Dharma temple (Siva-Buddha), border of Bankura and Onda P.S.
B (Vide Index Map No. II)	1 (*a*) *Jain.* (*b*) Tantric Buddhist.	(1) Mixed Jain and Buddhist cults under a peculiar form of Brahmanical cults.	(1) Bawries, Bhumiji and other classes of this type, 45 per cent, (all degenerated Jain and Buddhist).	1 (*a*) Ambica temple and Parsvanath temple, (Jain faith), Ranibandh P.S. (*b*) Harmasra Buddhist temple, (Buddhist Tantric faith). (*c*) One Kali Murti (image) belonging to Tantric Buddhist faith found during excavation of a tank in Ambicanagar Union P.S., Ranibandh.
		(2) Purely of Brahmanical faith (migrated in later mediaeval period).	Brahmin and other Hindus 55 per cent.	2. Brahmanical —Nil.

9. देव×गृह×ईया=देघोरिया 10. ये धामे कर्म्माणि कुर्व्वन्ति
11. सिद्धि 12. वाहन
13. सप्तनाग 14. अनन्त वासूकी 15. दुर्गा

* Reference: *The Background of Assamese Culture* by R. [illegible] B.E., Plate XXIII, p. 60. Sri Suryya Hill Pock, Goalpara, Assam.

Note.—I saw all up-to-date collections of the Indian Museum, Calcutta, and Ashutosh Museum of Indian Art, University of Calcutta, but such peculiar Sombeswari Durga Murti is not seen there.

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THE PRESIDENT OF INDIA

By K. K. BASU, M.A., LL.B. (Cantab.), Barrister-at-Law

Prof. Banerjee's rejoinder* to my article hardly affects my main arguments and it would not have merited any reply but for the fact that it is based on palpable misappreciation of some of my views.

Practising lawyers, I am sure, will be grateful to Prof. Banerjee for suggesting that they should familiarise themselves with political science. May I also do a like service to "keen" students of political science by pointing out the importance of some knowledge of the canons of construction of a Constitution in such students when they undertake to interpret a Constitution? Knowledge of political science, however admirable and necessary to frame a Constitution, has little or no bearing when provisions of a Constitution have to be construed. And I would remind the eminent Professor that the field of a practising lawyer is interpretation, and not extension or abridgement, of such provisions. It may also be left to the seekers of advice in matters constitutional to explain why they admittedly prefer the advice and opinions of practising lawyers on such matters to those of "keen" and "serious" students of political science whose sphere of activity is limited to the instruction of the young.

I

While disapproving my observation that both in origin and effect a written constitution radically differs from an unwritten constitution Prof. Banerjee chose not to deal with some of the implications of a written constitution specified by me[1] by way of elucidation of the said observation. At the risk of repeating myself to a certain extent, I may point out that a written constitution differs in *origin* from an unwritten constitution inasmuch as it is created at a time and as a whole by the conscious exertion of the people. It (written constitution) differs from the other in *effect* because of the doctrine of *ultra vires* implicit in Constitutions with "controlled" legislatures like the American and the Indian. These distinctions pertain to the very nature of such Constitutions, and are therefore fundamental. They have been emphasised as such by Marshall C. J. in *Marbury vs. Madison*.[2] Relevant portions of his judgment are set out below:

"That the people have an original right to establish, for their future government, such principles as, in their opinion, shall most conduce to their own happiness, is the basis on which the whole American fabric has been erected. The exercise of this original right is a very great exertion; nor can it nor ought it to be frequently repeated. The principles, therefore, so established, are deemed fundamental. And as the authority from which they proceed is supreme, and can seldom act, they are designed to be permanent.

"This original and supreme will organizes the government, and assigns to different departments their respective powers. . . .

". . . The powers of the legislature are defined and limited; and that those limits may not be mistaken, or forgotten, the Constitution is written . . .

"Certainly all those who have framed written constitutions contemplate them as forming the fundamental and paramount law of the nation, and, consequently, the theory of every such government must be, that an act of the legislature, repugnant to the constitution, is void.

"This theory is essentially attached to a written constitution, and is consequently to be considered, by this Court, as one of the fundamental principles of our society . . . ."

I do not forget that the great Chief Justice, not being known to have been a student of political science, "serious", "keen" or at all, must have, according to Prof. Banerjee's reasoning,[3] "betrayed . . . . lamentable ignorance of elementary constitutional matters . . ." His aforesaid judgment has however been accepted ever since as *locus classicus* on the nature of a written constitution, and should, in any case, outweigh isolated views of any number of publicists, the more so when such views are cited without reference to their contexts.

In spite of Prof. Banerjee's eloquence, lucidity, and erudition I am constrained to say that he is definitely mistaken about the nature of political usages to be found in states having written constitutions. I explained in my article[4] why these usages can never aspire to be conventions of the English type. In England various legal rules anticipate and assume the existence of some of these conventions, so that non-observance of such conventions very often results in violation of legal rules themselves. In fact, whatever may be the motive for observing these conventions, and whether persons observing or breaking them realise or not, the conduct of the executive government in England, except in terms of such conventions, must result in contravention of substantive law.[5] There can be no such inevitable legal consequence in respect of breach of political usages in

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* *The Modern Review* for December, 1950, pp. 454-461.

1. *The Modern Review*, p. 203. The references are all to Vol. 88.
2. (1803) 1 *Cranch* (137) (177).
3. *The Modern Review*, p. 454.
4. *Ibid.*, pp. 202-203.
5. *Laws of England* (Hailsham Edition), Vol. 6, p. 592(m).

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states with written constitutions. In these latter cases the legality of these usages, however long standing or invariable they may be, remains patently and inherently precarious. The political usage regarding election of an U. S. President, so stressed by Prof. Banerjee,[6] is certainly no exception to the above proposition. The fate of the usage of a President not seeking re-election more than once, one of the oldest political usages in U.S., was cited by me as one of the illustrations. One such illustration is enough.

It was to show that some of the express provisions of our Constitution cannot be reconciled to a scheme of government of the English type that I referred to Art. 78(c).[7] The terms of such provision are as hereunder :

> "78. It shall be the duty of the Prime Minister—
> (*a*) . . . . . ;
> (*b*) . . . . . ;
> (*c*) if the President so requires, to submit for the consideration of the Council of Ministers any matter on which a decision has been taken by a Minister but which has not been considered by the Council."

It will be seen that the direct contact between individual ministers and the President as contemplated therein is not in any manner restricted or qualified. Such right of access to the King as individual ministers have in England is severely restricted, and is in practice limited to minor departmental matters.[8] There can not therefore be any real analogy between such English practice and the above provision in our Constitution. It should always be borne in mind that this provision is peculiar to our Constitution, and constitutes a conscious departure from other systems, including the English. Prof. Banerjee thinks[9] that the President will not "overstep elementary decencies of his constitutional position (*sic*) . . ." and the individual ministers will not be given to "mean" or "base conduct." That may be so. But the possibility of this provision working otherwise than in a manner desired by us should not be overlooked. In such a contingency Art. 75(3), which provides for collective responsibility of the ministry to the House of the People, is no safeguard at all. In fact, in spite of, or rather, because of this latter provision, if the President takes advantage of Art. 78(c) in the manner indicated, there must be a deadlock. It is not possible in any case to disregard Art. 78(c) even though the mischief apprehended therefrom as aforesaid may be a bare possibility. When we are examining the nature, extent, and limits of the powers of the President under the Constitution we have to test the same more by extreme than by commonplace examples, and relation more to abnormal than to normal situations.

II

I had myself drawn the attention of readers to the fact[10] that the invariability of "advice" hitherto been tendered to the President cannot possibly be insisted on in view of clause 2 of Art. 74 of our Constitution. As Prof. Banerjee had not dealt with this aspect of the matter in his first article no question of "admitting" anything could properly arise. The language of Art. 74(1) is as follows :

> "74.(1) There shall be a Council of Ministers with the Prime Minister at the head to aid and advise the President in the exercise of his functions."

It is on such express language that I reached the following conclusion:

> "*Aid* signifies collaboration, and necessarily includes *advice*. If, therefore, any function of the President under the Constitution has to be exercised at all, it must be done with such aid, unless the Constitution itself provides otherwise, either expressly, *e.g.*, in Article 53(2), or by necessary implication, *e.g.*, Article 75(1) and (4). Exercise by the President of any of his functions under the Constitution without such aid, except as aforesaid, clearly amounts to a violation of the Constitution for which he is liable to be impeached."

Opinions cited by Prof. Banerjee do not advert to the word "aid" at all, and thus miss the point. Excepting for giving the dictionary meaning of the word "aid," and asserting that it has to be taken along with the word "advise" Prof. Banerjee himself says nothing about the implication of the word. Taking it along with "advise" does not mean that no meaning is to be given to it, or that it should be treated as non-existent, redundant, or mere surplusage as Prof. Banerjee apparently treats it. Such a construction has been consistently discouraged even in case of ordinary statutes,[12] not to speak of an express provision in a Constitution. It is difficult to see how the eminent Professor can conclude[13] that "the text of the Article here is not explicit . . ." after he himself has failed to take into consideration the express language of the text.

Prof. Banerjee has posed the following question as underlying "the essential point":

> ". . . is . . . the President *legally bound* under Art. 74(1) of our Constitution to accept the advice of his Council of Ministers in all circumstances?"

I have discussed the position of "advice" in connection elsewhere.[15] But substitute the word "aid" for the word "advice" in the question and the answer

6. *The Modern Review*, p. 456.
7. *Ibid*, pp. 202-3.
8. *Laws of England* (Hailsham Edition), Vol. 6, p. 637.
9. *The Modern Review*, p. 457.
10. *Ibid*, p. 203.
11. *Ibid*, p. 458.
12. *Cowpre-Essex v. Acton* (1889), 14 A.C., 153(169).
13. *The Modern Review*, p. 459.
14. *Ibid*.
15. *Ibid*, p. 203. After the beginning of Part II hereof.

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must be in the affirmative. This has been my contention all through.

As will be seen from the extract of my previous article cited herein above, my main contention has always been that non-conformity with Art. 74(1) on the part of the President amounts to a violation of the Constitution for which he can be impeached. Art. 53(3)(b) was referred to in this connection as a provision which may be utilised by Parliament *inter alia* to make a recalcitrant President fall in line without recourse to the drastic remedy of impeachment. To say that my reference to the said provision is the basis of my main argument betrays therefore an entire misconception thereof. Whether such provision was referred to in the debates of the Constituent Assembly, and whether the provision lends itself to other uses as well, and whether a similar provision under the Government of India Act 1935 was not likewise utilised, are clearly irrelevant to the issue whether the actual language of the provision permits its being employed in the manner suggested. The provision reads:

> "53.(1) . . . .
> (2) . . . .
> (3) Nothing in this article shall
> (*a*) . . . . ; . . .
> (*b*) prevent Parliament from conferring by law functions on authorities other than the President."

It is curious that Prof. Banerjee should be so emphatic about the "object" of this particular provision when, according to his statement,[16] there was no reference to it in the debates in the Constituent Assembly.

The repeated references by Prof. Banerjee to opinions of individual members or officers of the Constituent Assembly for the purpose of construing the express language of the Constitution are misleading. These opinions appear to overwhelm Prof. Banerjee as evidenced by his fulsome comments, *e.g.*, "not intended by the authors of our Constitution. . ."[17] "We should not presume to know more about our Constitution than its authors,"[18] "Mr. . . . (an officer) is expected to know more about the true nature of our Constitution than many of us."[19] "As I have said before we should not presume to know more about our Constitution than its authors,"[20] "more authoritative views,"[21] etc. In the construction of a Constitution there is little scope for such superstitious veneration for individuals and their opinions, expressed within the Constituent Assembly or outside.[22] The Constitution is not the work of any individual, but that of the Constituent Assembly as a whole, and unless there is an ambiguity, the actual language used in the Constitution is the acid test, irrespective of considerations of policy,[23] expediency or political exigency,[24] the intention of some of the framers or the possibility of abuse of power[25] and the like. The Constitution speaks for itself, and in the absence of confusion, the words must be taken in their ordinary literal sense. A competent court interprets the provisions of a Constitution according to well-settled canons of interpretation including the one delineated above, and after such interpretation the provisions should be given that "received" meaning.[26] The cryptic observation of Hughes C.J., cited by me, and taken exception to by Prof. Banerjee,[27] was based on these well-known propositions. The judiciary has necessarily the last say in the matter of interpreting a Constitution. We have a recent illustration of the above when Section 14 of the Indian Security Act (Act IV of 1950) was declared[28] void by the Supreme Court of India. Parliament that passed the Act containing the said section, and the executive that was giving effect thereto until declared void as aforesaid, must have thought that the section was valid in law. But the Supreme Court having thought otherwise the said section has ceased to have any effect at all. A useful and reliable exposition of the entire law regarding the construction of a Constitution is to be found in the judgment[29] of P. B. Mukharji J. in the recent *habeas corpus* matters before a Full Bench of the Calcutta High Court. Interested persons, including students and teachers of political science, can profitably turn to the same for instruction and guidance.

16. *Ibid*, p. 459.
17. *Ibid*, p. 455.
18. *Ibid*, p. 457.
19. *Ibid*, p. 459.
20. *Ibid*.
21. *Ibid*, p. 460.
22. *South Australia vs. The Commonwealth* (1942), 65 Commw. L. R., 373(410).
23. *King Emperor vs. Benoarilal*, 72 I.A., 57(71).
24. *Amalgamated Society of Engineers vs. Adelaide S. S. Company* (1920), 28 Commw. L. R., 129(142).
25. *Bank of Toronto vs. Lambe* (1887), 12 A.C., 575(586).
26. *Barras vs. Aberdeen Steam Company*, 1933, A.C. 402.
27. *The Modern Review*, p. 461.
28. *A. K. Gopalan vs. The State of Madras* (1950), S.C.J. 174.
29. *Kshitindra vs. The Chief Secy., Government of West Bengal and anr.*, F.B. Ref. I of 1950 at pp. 34-35.

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IRRIGATION DEVELOPMENT IN INDIA

By S. V. S. RAO, M.A.

Water is good, water indeed is sustenance; so was it said in the ancient Vedas. The value and respect that were bestowed on water by the people then as now is easily understood in a country as ours, where agriculture constitutes the life source of vast numbers of people. For nothing could be more suicidal to the progress of a nation than to leave its land parched and in a state of neglect; yet this was perhaps, to a great degree, true of Indian agriculture, which had ever remained deficit, marked only by its annual variations in distress. The forces that influenced agricultural production were literally beyond the control of the simple peasant, leaving him with little incentive and a lot more of frustration. It is only in recent years, with the food crisis deepening its shadows and rising demographic curve, that there has been a nation-wide awakening to the need of planned utilisation of our water wealth to expand in great measure the produce from Land. We are apparently on the threshold of a new era in agricultural development.

Before attempting to assess the future possibilities in the field of irrigation, it is well to consider briefly the development to date. Irrigation was not unknown in India, for long before the advent of the British, major irrigation works were known to be in existence. According to the Report of the Indian Irrigation Commission, the "Grand Anicut" stretching across the width of the Cauvery river in Madras and known to be the greatest engineering work in the pre-British era was in existence at the close of the second century. Consisting of a solid mass of stones over 1000 ft. in length, 40-60 ft. in breadth and 16-18 ft. in depth, it was a master engineering achievement, which was in operation as late as 1830. The large number of wells and tanks, some of which are still irrigating a few thousand acres in South India as well as the old irrigation channels in the North speak well of the irrigation sense of our early rulers.

However, modern irrigation could be said to have started with the opening of the 'Grand Anicut' across the 'Coleroon' river in the Madras Presidency and West Ganges canal in the North by the two great pioneers in the field, Sir Arthur Cotton and Sir Proby Cautley, who could well be described as modern 'Bhagiraths' for the ordeal they did go through, to make these schemes possible and successful. With such beginnings, irrigation development made steady progress during the latter half of the last century. By the end of the century nearly 43 million acres or about 19.5 per cent of the average area then annually cultivated in British India, *i.e.*, about 222 million acres, were reaping the rich dividends of irrigation. In the same period, the total investment in state irrigation works was of the order of Rs. 40 crores, an investment of no small significance.

At the turn of the century it became necessary to review the development as well as to suggest a programme of long-term extension of irrigation. In this connection the meeting of the Irrigation Commission (1901-1903) was a landmark in the history of Indian irrigation. For their comprehensive study and valuable recommendations they have rarely, if ever, been surpassed. The major works that were launched in the period 1920-35 were largely the result of the Commission's recommendations. Yet it is surprising, however, that the pace of development particularly in the field of state irrigation, in the period following the Commission's Report should be far from inspiring. As for example, while State works enabled extension of irrigation to more than 8 million acres in the 25 years before 1900, they have been developed to serve only about 12 million acres over the succeeding 40 years. Among others, the major factors determining the slow pace were perhaps: (1) The general tendency to avoid major financial commitments particularly in view of the rigid financial principles laid down by the Commission and (2) the absence of forward planning subsequent to the Irrigation Commission. At present the Indian Union has about 49 million acres under irrigation or approximately one-fifth of the net area annually sown. Of this area nearly 26,800,000 acres receive water from State irrigation works. The figures are far from encouraging in the context of our requirements. This is largely due to the partition which might be said to have had disastrous effects on our irrigation development. According to the Planning Commission India has lost to Pakistan nearly half of the total water carried by its canals in undivided India which was approximately 400,000 cusecs. At the same time Pakistan has retained as her share more than half of the whole irrigated area of 33 million acres from Government works.

It is little comfort to learn that India leads the world in irrigation, when we realise that only 75 million acre ft. out of a total surface flow of 1353 m.a.ft. *i.e.*, approximately 5.6 per cent are being currently utilized for irrigation and power development. Contrast this with the river Nile, where it has been estimated that nearly 46 per cent of the total run-off have been diverted into irrigation channels. One can scarcely estimate at this stage the extent of increase in wealth that would be made possible by full utilisation of our vast potential that is at present running waste or periodically flooding the countryside involving great damage to life and property. However the following illustration might help in assessing, somewhat approximately, the contribution that irrigation has been making to the agricultural income of India. In the year 1938-39, the value of crops irrigated amounted to Rs. 109 crores. It has been estimated

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that at present prices the value would be approximately of the order of Rs. 500 crores,* which is about the same as the total capital at present invested (construction cost) in these works. On this assumption it is evident that utilisation of 1 per cent of the total run-off will generate income in crops alone, of the value of Rs. 100 crores, not to mention the wide-spread benefits to the community as increased trade, employment and business opportunities.

It is precisely this realisation of the usefulness of irrigation that is significantly evident in the many river valley and other irrigation schemes sponsored by various Governments in recent years. There are at present about 257 major and minor schemes under various stages of construction and investigation and estimated to cost well over Rs. 1,900 crores. Among these are 135 schemes costing between themselves Rs. 590 crores which are well under way to completion. These schemes are expected to irrigate about 13 million acres within the next ten years thus adding to the present stock of food by about 4.3 million tons. Besides nearly 2 million K.W. of electrical energy will be made available for industrial expansion and rural electrification schemes. Included in this category are the following 12 major projects which hold out great promise of increasing regional wealth in manifold directions. The following table shows estimated expenditure involved as well as corresponding irrigation and power benefits of these schemes.

		Benefits	
Project (State)	Total est. cost (Rs. lakhs)	Irrigation 1,000 acres	Power 1,000 K.W.
Damodar (Bengal & Bihar)	67,90	9,00	3,73
Kakarpara (Bombay)	12,16	66	24
Tungabhadra (Madras & Hyderabad)	60,79	9,91	1,22
Hirakud (Orissa)	47,81	19,95	3,25
Bhakra & Nangal (East Punjab)	132,91	30,00	4,00
Harike (East Punjab)	13,80	Not available	
Sarda Power House (U.P.)	11,21	Nil	41
Mor (West Bengal)	15,50	6,00	4
Chambal (Madhyabharat & Rajasthan)	28,00	7,00	1,50
Lakavalli (Mysore)	18,00	1,80	13
Electricity show (Madhya Pradesh)	12,63	Nil	Nil
Machkund (Madras & Orissa)	17,97	Nil	1,03
	438,68	84,32	15,55

In addition to the above, there are under active investigation schemes numbering about 122, and some of these may likely be put off in view of the present inadequate finances. Together these two categories of schemes will extend irrigation to an area of over 42,000,000 acres and so make possible additional food production of the order of 14 million tons.

Evidently the financial provisions of these schemes present a hard problem, involving careful planning and technique of execution. In view of this, the Planning Commission have recently formulated a 15-year plan for Irrigation, whereby the schemes are broken up into different categories on the basis of cost and present stage of investigation and overall expenditure is spread over a period of 15 years. The annual demand on the Public Exchequer thus would amount to Rs. 109 crores, after making due allowances for execution of the schemes by stages. It is not easy to reckon with this very sizeable outlay in view of our present limited internal finances but in this more than in any other sphere, the social dividends as well as returns in a more limited sense of the term, are expected to balance well over costs. Even on narrow financial considerations the past investments have earned attractive returns. For instance, in 1945-46 the net return after deducting necessary interest charges amounted to 4 per cent of the capital outlay, *i.e.*, more than the gross return of 2.4 per cent provided by the new railway convention. In the Provinces the return was higher varying from 3 per cent in Madras to 18 per cent in Bombay excluding Punjab which had always enjoyed exceptional returns. Besides, huge amounts are drained away every year by way of food imports and subsidies and any one of the major projects, when completed, will make a tremendous advance on our present position. There is no denying that the schemes present a just case both in the context of national economy as well as on more conservative considerations.

It has already been observed that a vital consideration underlying many of the major schemes is unified development of the basin, which is untenable without appropriate readjustments in policy and practice. It is irrelevant to suggest comparisons with past projects for the yardstick then has been different. Indeed such ventures as co-ordinated development of major rivers and river valleys have been practically unknown in the past, for want of agreement between various provinces and other administrations. A peep into the history of Tungabhadra Project in the south very well illustrates the endless and futile controversy between the Governments of Madras and Hyderabad, that had to be overcome before the project could be finally launched. A Central authority with statutory powers to prescribe lines of co-ordinated development of major projects appears necessary in the interests of balanced development. Indeed the drafters of our constitution have visualized such a possibility as is manifest in Article 262 which authorizes the Union Parliament to legislate on matters of inter-State rivers

* *Eastern Economist*, Vol. XV, No. 12, 1950.

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and river valleys—their regulation and development. It is needless to emphasize that the future pattern of development would be largely conditioned by measures arising out of this constitutional provision. As it is, a Bill to provide for centralized planning in the field of river valley schemes is on the way to the Parliament, where it is expected to be introduced early. The proposed Bill is an attempt to bring under Cen control the various inter-State aspects of the schemes enabling optimum development of natural resources. It is as yet premature to guess shape of things to come but in view of the pres trends we might as well hope for a bright future new life to our neglected lands.

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VILLAGE PANCHAYATS IN THE INDIAN CONSTITUTION·

By Principal S. N. AGARWAL

In December, 1947 when the new Constitution of India was being drafted, I had drawn the attention of Gandhiji to the fact that there was, till then, no mention of village panchayats in the future administrative set-up as visualised in the Draft Constitution. Commenting on this point in the *Harijan* (December 21, 1947) Gandhiji observed :

> "It is certainly an omission calling for immediate attention if our independence is to reflect the people's voice. The greater the power of the panchayats, the better for the people. Moreover, panchayats to be effective and efficient, the level of people's education has to be considerably raised. I do not conceive the increase in the power of the people in military, but in moral terms."

Several members of the Constituent Assembly took note of these observations of Mahatma Gandhi and pressed for the provision of village panchayats in the new Constitution. As a result of such discussion, the following directive was also included in Part IV of the Constitution of India :

> "The State shall take steps to organise village panchayats and endow them with such powers and authority as may be necessary to enable them to function as units of self-government."

This directive is surely to be welcomed. But much would naturally depend on the way it is implemented. If the directive is not to remain a pious wish and a paper-resolution, the Government of India should appoint a Commission at an early date to report on a systematic plan of panchayat organisation throughout the country. The Commission should carefully study the working of village panchayats as they exist today in different parts of the country and recommend a suitable scheme for adoption by the State governments. At present several State governments have passed Panchayat or Janapada Acts. But their working cannot be regarded as satisfactory. The Commission should make detailed recommendations with a view to achieving uniformity in basic principles of decentralised democracy and self-government.

One of the main reasons why the village panchayats under the existing conditions have not been able to achieve good results is that the ancient Gram panchayats were founded on the principle of "composite" democracy whereas the modern parliamentary government is based on democracy on party lines. The working of modern Western democracy presupposes the existence of well-knit political parties and a party which captures the majority of seats in Parliament rules the country. India has also copied the same type of democracy under the new Constitution. But this kind of party-democracy runs counter to the genius of village panchayats that existed and flourished in India for centuries. In our country, the panchayats were regarded as the very representatives of God because they represented all the different elements of society. It is true that in some parts of India, the panchayats gradually degenerated into cliques of particular castes or sects. But the fact remains that a majority of the Gram panchayats in ancient India represented the elders of various castes and sects inhabiting the villages. They were, thus, like the nature of coalition governments for the village communities. In the absence of such composite village cabinets, it is impossible to expect the modern panchayats to fulfil the important functions that they are supposed to perform. The organisation of political parties for the Union Parliament and the State Assemblies cuts at the very root of the panchayat system and results in a host of undesirable consequences. This important aspect should be carefully considered by the Commission which may be set up by the President or the Government of India in future.

Mahatma Gandhi was always of the definite view that there should be the widest decentralisation of economic and political power for the real welfare of mankind. Many Western political thinkers like Prof. Laski and Prof. Cole are of the same view. Modern democracy easily degenerates into "Mobocracy" and Totalitarianism. Decentralised democracy is, therefore, the hope of humanity. In India, the toiling millions will never be able to feel the glow of freedom if they have to look to New Delhi for everything. Village self-government along healthy lines would enable them into wonderful constructive activities without which our Swaraj would remain a vacant dream. I am, therefore, confident that the directive relating to village panchayats in the Indian Constitution would receive the most serious consideration of both the Government and the people.

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INDIAN POLITICAL SCIENCE CONFERENCE
Calcutta Session, 1950

By MANICK C. DAS

In a purely academic atmosphere in the Senate Hall of the University of Calcutta the Thirteenth Session of the Indian Political Science Conference was inaugurated by H.E. Dr. Kailash Nath Katju, Governor of West Bengal on the 26th of December, 1950 in the presence of Shri Ram Sharma of Sholapur College and distinguished delegates who had come from different parts of India representing different universities and also distinguished citizens of the city of Calcutta.

The Chairman of the Reception Committee Mr. Justice S. N. Banerjee, Vice-Chancellor, University of Calcutta offered a hearty and cordial welcome to the delegates and invitees and in course of his address he said, "Many complex questions have arisen following the attainment of freedom by India.....There is the vexed question, particularly in India here, namely, how far political democracy can succeed unless it is based on both social and economic democracy" and he hoped that the deliberations in the conference would help the citizens of India greatly. Further, he observed that "in order to solve these difficult problems a far-sighted policy is necessary and a thorough grasp of the philosophy of politics. But I would respectfully draw your attention that the amelioration of the condition of mankind and the increase of human happiness ought to be the leading objects of every political institution, and the aim of every individual according to the measure of his power, in the situation he occupies. I would also ask them to remember that when connected with morality and the character and interest of a country, politics is a subject second only to religion in importance. The deliberations will not be complete if the moral side of the question is lost sight of."

Then His Excellency Dr. Katju in inaugurating the session referred to India's great contribution to political thought of the world which had been a system of village republics and that ancient feature had been preserved in the present Constitution.

Shri Ram Sharma then took the chair and delivered his address on the Indian political scene and he observed that people could talk today of the Indian Constitution in 1950 instead of the Constitution of India. He after discussing the salient features of the Indian Constitution came to the Indian Cabinet's real working and said, "The Union Cabinet during the year remained an interesting political phenomenon. It began as a Congress body in principle but a coalition in personnel." He observed that the main difficulty with the advisory bodies was that they lacked in expert knoledge whose judgement the lay cabinet would be willing to follow and again our politicians further created trouble as they would pose to know all that was to be known about all subjects on earth. Referring to the dissatisfaction of the people he characteristically remarked that 'it is due to the fact that the lines of demarcation between the party, the government and the administrative services continue to be blurred' and he was afraid that 'when the success of democratic government depends very much upon the existence of an honest, impartial and fearless set of public servants they were placed at the disposal of party bosses.' And finally Shri Sharma said that "It is, I believe, the duty of those of us who are engaged in the task of teaching or studying political philosophy and political institutions to educate our masters, the people, politically." After a vote of thanks to the Chair the proceedings came to a successful end.

An important and rather interesting part of the conference started just at 8-30 on the morning of December 27, 1950. In the Senate Hall many distinguished teachers of Political Science read their learned papers on the various aspects of the Constitution of India and it was followed by a lively discussion by eminent teachers attending the conference. Dr. B. M. Sharma of Lucknow University read a paper on the powers of the President of the Republic of India. Mr. M. Banerjee of Sambalpur College dealt with the two schools of opinion—constitutional or realistic view and technical or juristic view—with regard to the same question. Mr. V. N. Srivastava of Kanpur College showed that the principles adopted in the Union Executive are both from the Parliamentary system of Government and Presidential form of Government. Mr. Parthasarathy of Madras University observed in his paper that French example has unconciously been incorporated in the structure of the Indian Titular executive.

Talks on Fundamental Rights were also quite impressive. Prof. D. N. Banerjee of the University of Calcutta tried to show how far criticisms like "In fact, what is given by one right hand seems to be taken away by three or four or five left hands; and therefore the Article (19) is nugatory" are really justifiable and he observed that the difference between the Constitution of India and the Constitution of the U.S. so far as fundamental rights are concerned is really 'one of form and not of substance.' Then Prof. J. P. Suda of Meerut College said that the inclusion of Fundamental Rights is a praiseworthy feature of our constitution. The President Shri Ram Sharma was unable to do justice to all the speakers on the papers read

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on the Fundamental Rights in the Constitution of India as they were many in number. Sri Atul Gupta, a renowned Advocate of the Calcutta High Court, remarked that the Indian Constitution was inferior to the Constitution of the U.S. so far as the chapter on Fundamental Rights was concerned and they were granted to the people of India only to take them away by saving clauses. Then impressive speeches were made by Prof. S. C. Das of Ravenshaw College and Mr. Renuka Ray and others. Other aspects of the Constitution were discussed by learned teachers in the second sitting where Dr. A. K. Ghosal and Prof. N. C. Bhattacharya stood prominently for their dignified speeches.

The deliberations of the 29th December included two important subjects : Twentieth Century Political Thought and Social Legislation in India. Prof. P. R. Pakrisankar of Madras University said in his paper that the absolute value of dignity of human personality, the unmolested and unfettered enjoyment of fundamental human rights as human happiness could be realised only when liberal was accepted as a political philosophy that embraced these things and therefore practised by all. The conference did not deny that a new social order was struggling grimly to be born.

Credit goes to the Reception Committee and to the student-volunteers with their Chief, Prof. Subin Mukherjee for the successful termination of the Conference. And for this the contribution of Prof. D. Banerjee is very large and quite significant. A great and sincere worker he harnessed, as the Local Secretary of the Conference, his unflagging enthusiasm and untiring efforts in attending to all the details of the programme and arrangement both at the conference table and also outside it in the matter of providing suitable accommodation and comforts to the distinguished delegates and invitees in the city.

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ASSAM EARTHQUAKE RELIEF

Extreme North-East Frontier

By DAHYABHAI NAIK

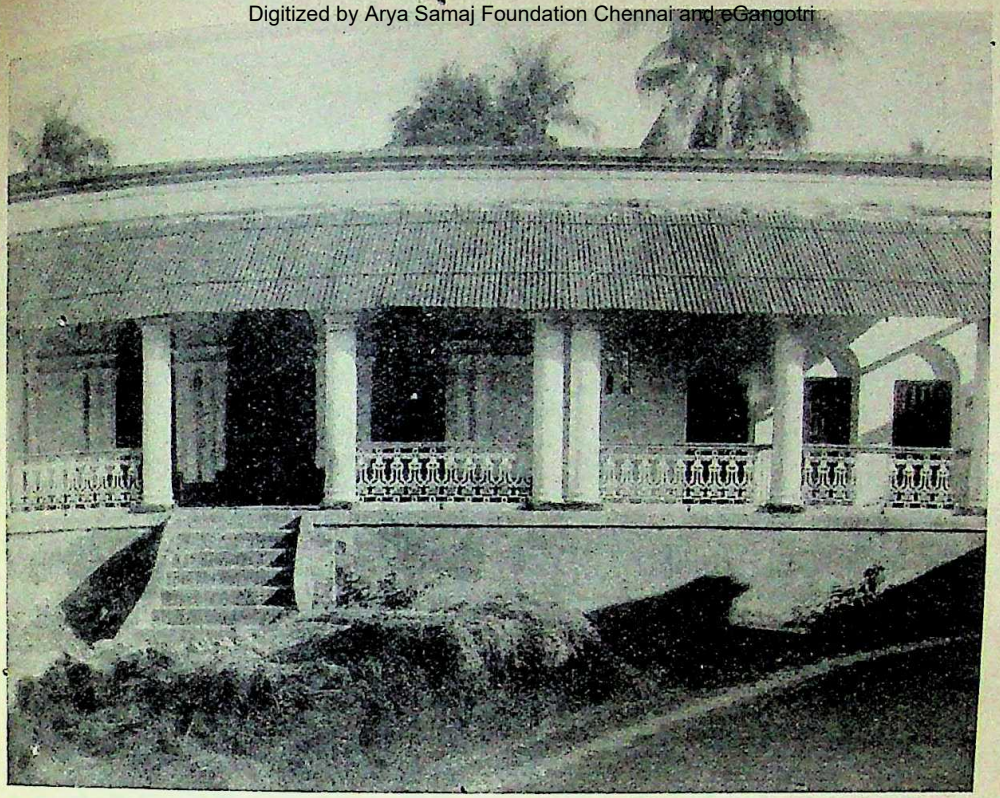
Having been deputed by the Servants of India Society, Poona, to be in charge of the Relief Work undertaken by H. E. the Governor of Assam's Fund, I came to Assam in the third week of September, 1950. Ever since then, I have been the Joint Secretary of the Fund and have been visiting off and on the earthquake-affected parts situated at the N.-E. end of the province of Assam.

On the 14th of December, 1950, I returned from my third extensive tour in the earthquake-affected areas of Sadiya plains and Abor Hills plain area and Pasighat districts. I intended to go to Pasighat during my first tour in the last week of September and first week of October, but as the Bonanza plane which was to carry me and one Mr. Hakenson of UNESCO did not arrive at Sadiya on the scheduled date I had to give up the idea and had to return to Shillong for the first meeting of H. E. The Governor's Earthquake Relief Fund Committee held on the 11th October.

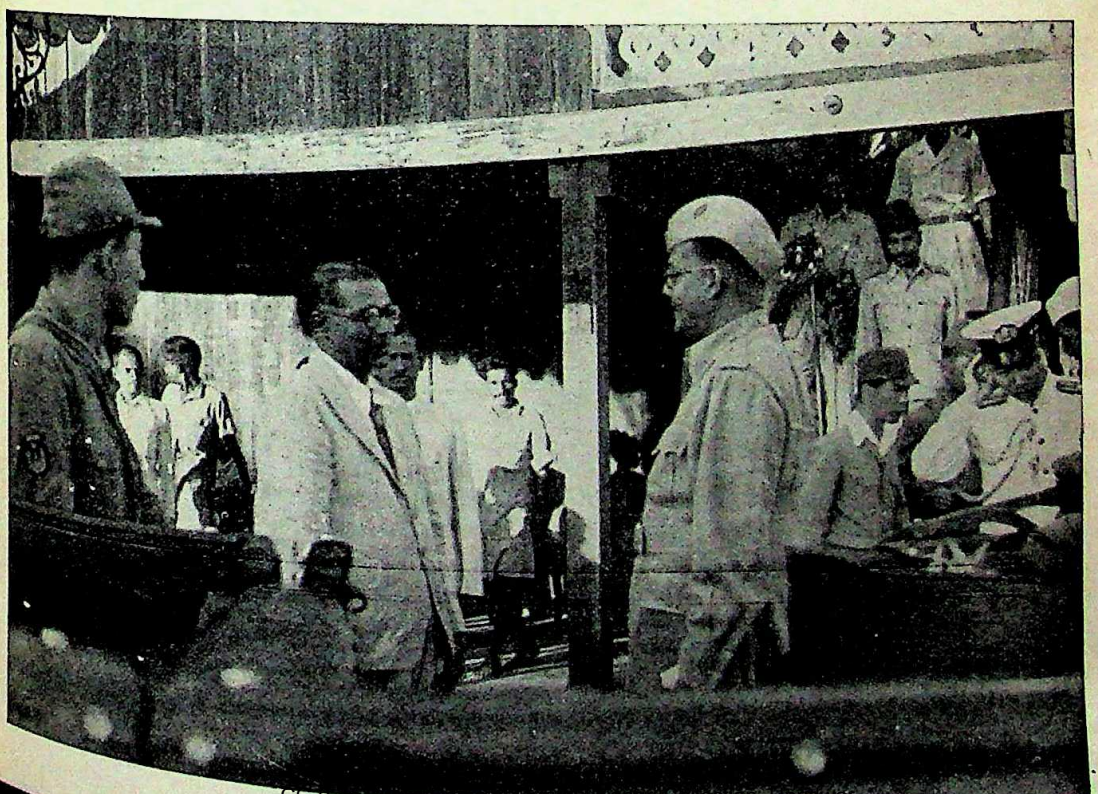
Pasighat is the headquarters town of the Abor Hills District which has an area of about 9000 sq. miles and a population of about three lacs mainly of the Abor tribe. Abors are found in the hills and Miris and others are in the plains. Pasighat is situated on the eastern bank of the river Dihang which is called the Sang-Po in Tibet and the Brahmaputra in India, which is really that part of the great river which stretches from Kobo where the rivers Luhit, Dihang and Lali meet it to its mouth. For going to Pasighat one has to cross the Brahmaputra at Rangdoi on the south bank and to go to Kobo on the other, i.e. north bank. I had expressed my desire to visit Pasighat during this tour to H. E. the Governor who had advised me not to take the risk of crossing the Brahmaputra and to contact the Political Officer by Wireless and to instruct him about distribution arrangements to be made in Abor Hills and about taking other ameliorative measures for the Abors. My enthusiasm was a bit damped by his advice. I and my companion Shri Rao wanted to take a chance and a little risk also. After visiting Dibrugarh, Sadiya, Teju and Denning we reached Saikhwa Ghat on the morning of 9th December and went to Rangdoi Ghat, a distance of about 12 miles. Major part of the road leading to Rangdoi Ghat has subsided on account of the earthquake by about 5 to 7 feet, and the road and the surrounding Forest Reserve remained under the flood-water of river Luhit up to the third week of November. The subsidence of the road and the surrounding area has made one wooden bridge hang over the road about 7 feet high. Big fissures in the land are visible even today. When the flood water receded the road was repaired by the Military and has been made motorable for the time being. A country boat with 22-horse-power engine fitted in it was able to cross the river for the first time on the 6th December between Rangdoi and Kobo and carry the first mail-bags after 16th August, 1950. After 6th December, 1950, it is regularly plying between Rangdoi and Kobo. Even then it is a little risky as the velocity of water is 10 to 12 miles

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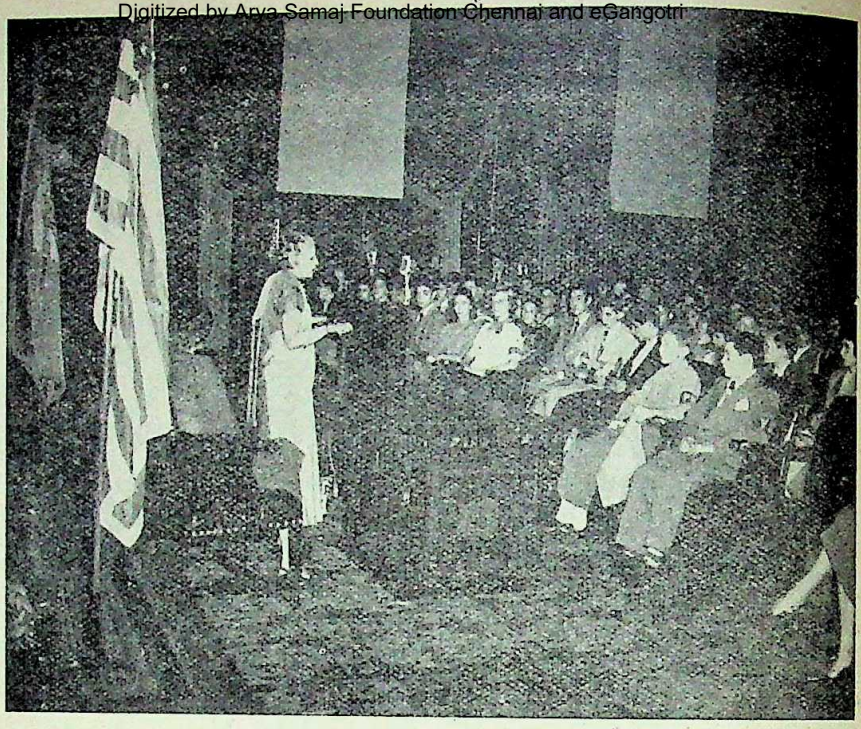
The paternal home of Netaji in the village of Kodalia



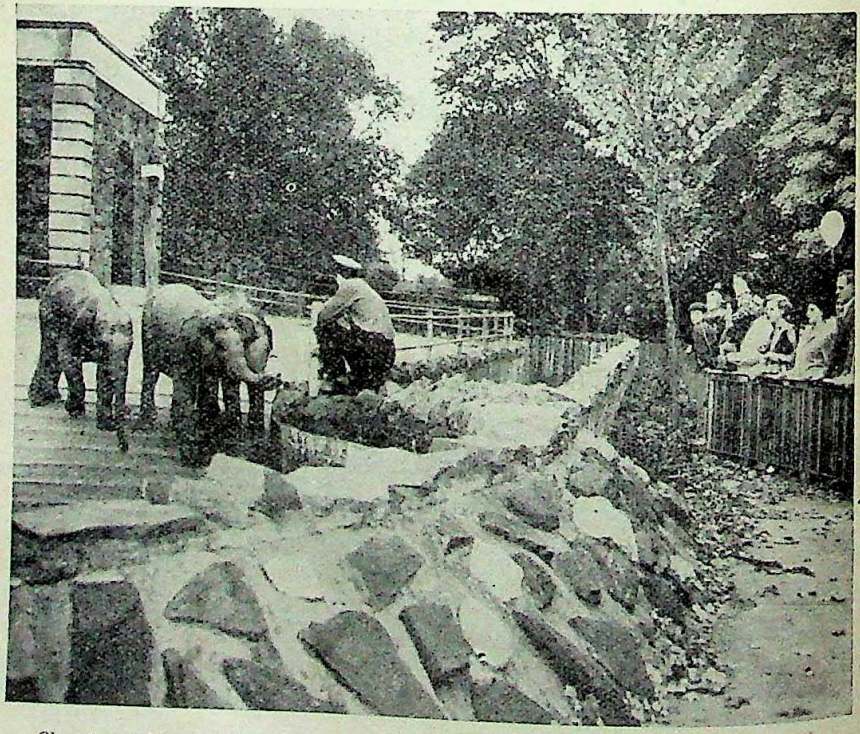
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Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose in the Andamans

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Mrs. Vijayalakshmi Pandit, Ambassador of India to the United States, addresses a meeting of the World Affairs Council of Philadelphia, during that city's observance of the fifth anniversary of the United Nations



Shanti (*right*) and Ashok, the two baby elephants presented last year by Prime Minister Nehru to the National Zoological Park in Washington as a gift to the children of America, with Jennie (*centre*), their Siamese sister

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an hour and the high waves and big eddies formed by continuously moving sand in the river-bed make rowing difficult. The people of Abor Hills District were completely cut off from the rest of the world from 15th August to 6th December, a period of 42 days. Wireless communication was the only contact with the outer world but it could not be used by anyone except the Government officers and that too for official work. Rice, salt and tea, the most essential articles of food were being supplied by being dropped from air but it was discontinued from the 10th November as the Dakota used for the purpose was withdrawn by the Central Government who administers this region with H. E. the Governor of Assam as Agent. The suffering and sorry plight of the people need not be described as they can be well-imagined from the fact that the people were wholly cut off from the world and there was absolutely no communication. The Political Officer of Pasighat received his first mail-bags on the 6th December, 1950, containing all the post despatched from 15th August. The huge landslides in the hills (one of them, it is said, was seven miles long) completely destroyed narrow bridle-paths in the mountains through which the Abors slowly trod their ways to Pasighat for purchase of salt, rice, yarn, etc., making the whole area inaccessible for about two months. Food was dropped at certain marked-out points, mainly outposts of Assam Rifles, from where it was distributed to the people. The Hill people slowly repaired the bridle-path and have established contact with Pasighat. To walk even on this repaired track is dangerous; even the skilled Abors have to go on all fours where the track is very narrow and steep.

Articles of relief are being dumped at Dibrugarh and Saikhwa Ghat from where they are being carried to Pasighat from the 6th December. An amount of Rs. 11 lakhs has been provided for relief to the Abors and Mishmis of the Abor Hills District and Sadiya Frontier District. It should be seen that adequate relief is given to these people whom not only man has forsaken but towards whom nature also has been unkind. Huge and terrible landslides have buried for ever many Abor and Mishmi villages leaving no signs of their former existence. The toll of human lives which earthquake took in these hills must be very heavy. It is presumed that it may be between two to three thousands. True figures will never be available as it is impossible to collect them. The official record of the toll of human lives is near about one thousand and that is not complete so far. Pasighat is on the bank of the river Dihang where it debouches forcefully on the plains. The floods due to burst of temporary dams caused by landslides have washed away a fairly large portion of Pasighat region. But even then it has maintained its beauty. It is a very beautiful place in the valley at the foothills of the Himalayas. The beauty has left a lasting impression on my mind.

When I reached Pasighat crossing I felt very happy and felt that a burden has been lifted from my mind. I was able to know the situation first-hand and to study it on the spot. I contacted some of the Abors who had come to Pasighat for purchase of some articles of food and yarn. The Political Officer, Shri Bhuyan and his wife who is a graduate were extremely kind to us and treated us very hospitably.

The Abors are a nice people. No doubt, some of them are addicted to opium, but it is a legacy of the former rule. But they are much less addicted to it than the Mishmis. They seemed to me more intelligent and wide-awake than the Mishmis. I saw among them a desire for education. There are about 25 primary schools in the hills run by the Education Department, some of these have a number of students more than 100 each. These schools have also suffered much, their huts have been demolished by earthquake. Many of them have been temporarily closed down.

The Abor woman never sits idle. Even sitting in the bazar of Pasighat with some roots and oranges for sale or treading her way to her village which may be at a distance of three to seven days track, *i.e.*, thirty to seventy miles, she will be spinning cotton on a bamboo-*takli* and in her home weaving articles having very beautiful designs. When we see an Abor woman weaving articles of variegated colours selected most artistically who can dare say that she is uncivilised?

I have submitted the following three schemes of permanent nature to be financed in the beginning from the Relief Fund for the sanction of Shri Jairamdasji:

(1) Orphanage for 25 orphans of Mishmis at Sadiya to be under the control of Mrs. Miri, Education Inspector for N.-E. F. Agency.

(2) Orphanage for 25 orphans of Abors at Pasighat to be under the control of P.O.

(3) Widows' and Orphans' home at Pathalipam in North Lakhimpur Sub-division for Miris. The original scheme was submitted by Shrimati Amalprabha Das but it has been revised by me in the light of my experience.

I hope these schemes will be sanctioned at least for one year. The future will take care of itself.

I was invited by leading Abors of one village near Sadiya and near a fire-side in a house of their *Gaonbura* (Head Man) each of them related to me their miseries and grievances. I was much impressed with their free expression which I think is due to the training they receive in their tribal councils which settle disputes amongst themselves wherein everybody should express his opinion. I remembered my Bhils of Gujarat, how shy they are! When will they be vocal? I remembered many such nights which I passed near the fire-side in the huts of Bhils. I told them that now that the attention of the Government and veteran social workers like Thakkar Bapa and others is concentrated on tribes residing in the N.-E. F. Agency, their future is bright. They felt very pleased. They gave me a

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present of a beautiful bag of variegated colours woven by their women-folk. This will be a treasure to me.

The Miris of the plains are being assimilated into the social life of the people. Some of the young Miri boys are in Government service and some are receiving college education. Education is spreading among them and they will come in line with others within a decade or so. But Herculean efforts will have to be made to educate the Abors, Mishmis and Nagas. No doubt some of the Nagas are found in Assam Rifles enjoying high position but the general level of the whole tribe needs to be lifted.

Yesterday, the 15th December was a very sad I passed the whole day in sorrow and in a depr mood. But we have to face such calamities and pare ourselves to bear them with fortitude and cou as Sardar has taught us. That is the homage we give to the departed great soul who made India unified country. We can repay the debt which we to him by emulating his example and carrying on duties with redoubled vigour and courage. May rest in peace!

Shillong, 16.12.50.

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AN INDIAN HISTORY OF INDIA

By Dr. U. N. GHOSHAL, M.A., Ph.D.

It is a welcome sign of the times indicating the stirrings of a new national consciousness that the long and varied history of our motherland is attracting more and more the attention of the best of her sons since the historical date of attainment of her independence. Considering the striking differences of language, religion and cultural standards separating large masses of our countrymen, it is but natural that this history should be studied from somewhat different angles by different authors. What is however essential for the Indian historian, to whatever shade of religious or other beliefs he may belong, is to present his narrative with full knowledge of his subject and in a spirit of proper understanding and strict impartiality. Where these essential qualifications are not present in a sufficient measure, the result is bound to be disappointing in spite of the author's shrewdness of judgment of men and events. It may prove even to be a source of positive mischief when the author admittedly aims at enlightening a foreign audience on his subject.

Thoughts like the above are suggested by a perusal of the undermentioned work* written by a veteran educationist and administrator of South India belonging to the Catholic Church, who is adorning at present the high office of Vice-Chancellor of the Annamalai University. Defining the aim of his work in his Foreword, he says that instead of attempting a chronological history he has sought to emphasise the prevailing tendencies of its successive periods so as "to arouse general interest outside India" in the fortunes of the Indian people. But the argument justifying this treatment, *viz.*, that a chronological history is not possible till modern times, unconsciously repeats the century-old verdict of the historian Elphinstone it altogether ignores the vast strides which have taken in the way of reconstruction of India's dyn and royal annals since that time. Writing in this text, the author sums up India's history as that of people whose experience has been unlike that of other" and who have "suffered as no other pe from burdens imposed on her (*sic*) by her children as well as by strangers." And he con with an appeal for "admiration and sympathy o more fortunate fellows among the nations of world" for her efforts to shake off these burdens it must be remembered that among these fortunate" nations of Europe are those who the last 500 years of their history have suffered unspeakable horrors imposed by their own childr well as by strangers as the Elizabethan and wellian wars of conquest and extermination follow the long night of alien misrule under legal forms Peasants' Revolts and the civil wars between the ists and the Lancastrians and between the Cav and the Roundheads, the Hundred Years' War Jacquerie and the Reign of Terror, the 30 Years and its aftermath, the misrule of the Duke of and his lieutenants, the Czarist misrule, the roms and the civil wars between the Bolsh and their opponents, not to speak of the centu serfdom, of feudal anarchy and tyranny, of eccle cal exactions, of practices like witch-burning and savage persecutions by the Inquisition and its o parts in Protestant lands. To these have to be the evils of conquest by powerful Asiatic pe the Turks and the Mongols who kept large sec south-eastern and eastern Europe under their ho centuries. It would thus appear that "the selecti and sympathy" rightly felt for peoples strug

* *India from the Dawn* (New aspects of an old story): By Mariadas Rathnaswamy. Science and Culture Series. The Bruce Publishing Company, Milwaukee. 1949. Pp. 205. Price 3 dollars.

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shake off their burdens need not, and must not, be a one-sided affair. To put it in another way, the Indian historian has no need to go round the world with a begging-bowl asking for the world's dole of sympathy for the unequalled sufferings of his countrymen and of admiration for their efforts to overcome the same. On the contrary, he can rightfully claim the world's sympathetic understanding of the lights and shades of his picture on a basis of absolute equality.

The work consists of three Parts bearing the titles: "Hindu Beginnings", "The Moslem Interlude," and "Europe Enters into India." The title of the first part strikes one as singularly inappropriate since it deals on the author's own showing with a period of more than 4,000 years, of which the dim beginnings go back to times which, by no stretch of the imagination, can be called Hindu. Apart from its unfortunate title, the first part suffers from a lamentable want of proportion as it covers nearly the same space as each of the two succeeding parts. It is above all in its contents, as we shall show presently, that it is subject to serious shortcomings.

On pp. 4-6 the author, while describing the prehistoric civilisation of the Indus Valley, points out a number of its links with "Dravidian India." While the case for this resemblance is admittedly weak, the author would have done well to notice the more definite grounds of similarity that have been traced, for example, between the pictographs of the Indus Valley seals and the symbols of the punch-marked coins. In any case, the author's contention that the Indus people "are only an episode in Indian history" cannot be accepted by any serious student of history. In his account of the civilisation of the Aryans (p. 9 *f*), the author declares that "their political and social organisations belong to the pastoral stage" and in short "was patriarchal," while their religion consisted in "worship of the forces of nature." These facile generalisations are not true even of the Aryans of the Rig-vedic period, and they are wholly inapplicable to the more advanced culture of the *Yajus-samhitas* and the *Brahmanas*. Of Buddhism the author says (p. 13) that it challenged the popular polytheism and the hereditary priesthood of the Brahmanas. What Buddhism actually did was to declare the gods equally with mortals to be subject to the law of *karma* and to proclaim the comparative worthlessness of Vedic ritualism. The author's account of political conditions in the Lower Ganges basin (pp. 14-15) is wholly inadequate and in part inaccurate. Facts of history do not warrant the verdict that the Aryans "left the land to the tyranny of its flora and fauna," and that "only one arm of the Ganges, the Bhagirati (*sic*), was held to be holy." While the author is strangely silent about the powerful dynasties of the Palas and the Senas in Bengal and the Varmans in Assam, he makes the astounding statement that what it was admirably suited to be," he overlooks the "only one kingdom and one city, that of Gaur, is memorable in the history of Aryan Bengal."

Describing "the Tamil and Pandya" (*sic*) kingdoms the author (p. 16 *f*) commits himself to a number of rash generalisations. Thus he says that "the Tamils were superior in civilisation to the contemporary Aryans" and again that "from the earliest times they had traded with Arabia, Egypt and Rome (*sic*) in the West, and with Malay and China (*sic*) on the East." It is difficult to understand why he fixes the greatest period of the Cholas in the time of the mythical Karikala, while no mention is made of the overseas campaigns of Rajendra Chola who is passed over in complete silence. His view that "the Pandavas of the Mahabharata were the Dravidian founders of the Pandya kingdom" can only be regarded as a historical curiosity. In his review of the peoples of the west coast (p. 19 *f*) the author is on good ground when he refers to the mixed Aryan and Dravidian origins of the people of Maharashtra. But he falls into a historical solecism when he speaks of "the Sanskrit language" of the "Marhattas" and mentions the Kanarese as an Aryan people of Sanskrit speech. The same inaccuracy characterises his inclusion of the Hoysalas and the Kadambas among the ruling dynasties of Maharashtra. The author's claim that "India came into commercial and political contact with the world outside Asia" through Malabar (p. 23) ignores the tremendous importance of the *role* played by the Indus basin in the times of Alexander and the Bactrian and Indo-Greek kings.

While describing the *role* of the Deccan and South India in India's ancient history (p. 23 *f*) the author makes some unfortunate statements. "Aryan influence," he says, "penetrated as far as the valleys of the Mahanadi, the Godavari and the Krishna on the East and the Narmada, the Tapti and the Bhima on the West," beyond which lay "the darkness of *mlechchha*-land." But apart from the strange reference to the Mahanadi as a river of the Deccan and South India, it is an undoubted fact that the valleys of the Kaveri and the Vaigai likewise felt the impact of Aryan influence, while the distinctively aboriginal belt was confined to a narrow, inland area. In the result the author's strange verdict that "a long night descended upon the Dravidians of the Dakshinaprastha (*sic*) till light shown [*read* shone] upon them again from the West in modern times" (p. 24) reads more like a certain type of Christian missionary propaganda than sober history. The contention that the South "gives India a place in the history of the world" altogether ignores the importance of the great land-routes connecting the north with western lands from early times. The author's account of the essential geographical unity of the country (pp. 25-26) is a sound statement of facts. But when he proceeds to lament that "this country, destined by nature to be one, has throughout refused to become

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essential unity in diversity of its peoples and cultures which has not escaped the notice even of observant foreign historians.

On p. 27 *f*, the author, after a cheap gibe at "the patriotic Indian historian" attempting to rebuild the political history of his country after the fashion of other lands, boldly states that not only India's historical documents but also the facts of her history were also few. Now it will be news to the author to learn that long before "the patriotic Indian historian," to quote his amazing words, "snatched from his British predecessor the right to narrate the history of his country," this last was reconstructed in essential outlines by the labours of generations of European scholars beginning with the illustrious Sir William Jones, the discoverer of the identity of Sandrocottos with Chandragupta Maurya. It is not under the urge of a sham patriotism but strictly on scientific lines that the best of modern Indian historians have been seeking with the advance of knowledge to put the coping-stone upon the magnificent work of their "British" and other European "predecessors." And no one has accused them, till the author appeared on the scene, of experimenting in a spirit of childish vanity "to make bricks without straw." While on this subject the author commits himself to a strange inconsistency: for after proving to his own satisfaction that the historical documents were "very few," he admits the existence of "the large corpus of inscriptions on rocks and temple-walls" (Why not also on copper-plates?), not to speak of "the chronicles, the Puranas and other documents." If the author had cared to look into these sources, he would have found in them not "a monotonous succession of kings, their births or their deaths or their era, their long and legendary history," etc., but a mine of authentic and valuable data bearing on contemporary religion, social life, economic conditions and administration. He would have likewise found that these kings instead of "strutting on the stage of history and then disappearing leaving not a rack" left behind institutions and practices which continued to operate even under succeeding dynasties, witness the general type of bureaucratic administration almost with the same nomenclature prevailing in Northern India at least from the time of the Imperial Guptas onwards. To compare Indian attempts at Imperial expansion with "the waves of the surf that beat on the Indian coast, one or two occasionally rising higher than the rest," but always being thrown back upon themselves (p. 35), is to indulge in a misreading of Indian history. The fact is that the Imperial idea instead of being represented by examples "few and far between," as the author thinks, was ever present in the minds of ambitious rulers, though it did not always assume the violent form of uprooting existing dynasties and paving the way for "a country-wide sovereignty." How often the idea was realised in practice is proved by the author's own list of Indian empires which is far from being exhaustive, as it does not include, for instance, the dominion of the Gurjara-Pratiharas of Kanauj. The author himself [illegible] proof of the excellent organisation of one of [illegible] empires, *viz.*, that of the Mauryas, in the fact that [illegible] central [*read* local] government was organised [illegible] administrative boards" and that "Kautilya's *Arthas*[illegible] shows a detailed system of administration bey[illegible] great activity on the part of Government," though [illegible] lamentable inconsistency, he declares elsewhere (p. [illegible] that "the statements of Kautilya in regard to [illegible] organised administration are denied by the facts [illegible] history."

After deducing from his own interpretation of [illegible] history of Indian empires, the corollary of "a perp[illegible] political frustration" in ancient India, the author (p. [illegible] *f*) proceeds to discover the causes of this phenome[illegible] The first of these causes, according to him, was [illegible] that the idea of the State did not fill any large [illegible] in ancient Indian thought and life, the vacuum [illegible] filled by society. Proof of this astonishing statemen[illegible] sought to be found in the fact that "the epics, [illegible] dramas and the fables refer only to the most elemen[illegible] political matters," that the chronicles and the numer[illegible] inscriptions narrate nothing but "the waging of wars, [illegible] the making of conquests, the founding of temples, [illegible] endowments of Brahmins, purely administrative [illegible] etc., that Kautilya's *Arthasastra* which admittedly [illegible] with a well-organised system of administration is "[illegible] like a didactic manual of administration" that [illegible] actual description of the same. Now when [illegible] is remembered that India in pre-partition days was [illegible] in size to all Europe without Russia, it would [illegible] by the author's line of reasoning, that the succes[illegible] failures of Charles V, Louis XIV, Napoleon and W[illegible] II to build "a lasting edifice of countrywide sovereig[illegible] was convincing evidence of "a perpetual political [illegible] tration" arising from a very imperfect developme[illegible] the idea of the State in Europe. This idea must [illegible] been altogether absent for centuries in the case of [illegible] and Germany, which, though meant by Nature to [illegible] one, attained political unity only after the middle [illegible] the 19th century. When the author confidently de[illegible] the absence of the State idea even in ancient In[illegible] thought, he forgets that kingship is again and again [illegible] clared in our literature to be the essential institu[illegible] not only for promoting the whole life of the pe[illegible] but even for ensuring their bare existence. Again, [illegible] blissfully ignorant of the various classifications of [illegible] State-systems and types of diplomacy and foreign [illegible] known to Indian literature onwards from the time [illegible] the *Arthasastra*. As to the epics and the fables, lessons [illegible] "the organisation of government, the relations bet[illegible] the centre and circumference, the impact of Govern[illegible] upon peoples" and the like, instead of being practic[illegible] unknown to the Mahabharata, are widely scatte[illegible] through the same, while they form the theme of [illegible] Pañcatantra and at least of a few of the *Jatakas*. A[illegible]

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discourses on statecraft form a regular feature of the Sanskrit Kavya literature from the time of Asvaghosha to that of Magha. As to the chronicles and inscriptions, the author's strange verdict is belied, *e.g.*, by the valuable side-lights on almost every aspect of life and culture in ancient Kashmir that is found in Kalhana's *Raja-tarangini* and the precious data about the working of self-governing village-assemblies that can be gleaned from the inscriptions of the Imperial Cholas. Where the chronicles and inscriptions deal with administrative acts and matters of routine administration, it is the task of the true historian to draw from them, as far as possible, a complete and consistent picture of the whole.

While insisting upon the all-embracing influence of caste (p. 32 *f*). the author is oblivious of the fact that heterodox sects with powerful monastic organisations have flourished since the times of the Buddha and Mahavira, that the *Jatakas* and other works as well as the inscriptions have preserved for us pictures of caste-conditions not completely agreeing with that of the Smritis, that caste-rules in the Smritis themselves are sufficiently flexible to take note of the existing social conditions. The author's view of the origin of caste (pp. 38-39) that "the Aryans, adopting the Dravidian belief in transmigration as a philosophy of life, metamorphosed class into caste," is a too simple solution of a very complex problem. The author's estimate (p. 40 *f*) of the effects of the caste-system, on the whole, does credit to his sobriety and balance of judgment. But his statements (pp. 43-46) that there could be no great expansion of ancient Indian States with the armies and populations supplied by caste, that "the ancient Hindu State was a State of villages," and that "there was always a hiatus between the village and the Central Governments" are belied by the facts of history. On the contrary, the large size of the Indian armies and the numerous Indian cities have been noticed by foreign observers from the time of Alexander's historians down to those of the Arab and mediaeval European writers, while inscriptions and other sources enable us to trace a chain of provincial and district officers linking the central with the village administration from the Maurya period onwards. The author's summing up that "caste did for India what Christianity did for Europe—it kept society distinct from the State" (p. 46) is admirable. His final judgment on Hinduism that "with its doctrines of an absolute god, of *karma* and *maya*, it is the least objectionable adventure in the purely pagan religious quest of man, as apart from divine Revelation" (p. 53), is as fine an appreciation as can be expected from a devout Catholic of his stamp.

On the effects of Buddhism and Jainism the author makes some sound remarks. "Buddhism," he sums up (p. 56), "was not so much a reform of Hinduism as an improvement of it" (*sic*) : "its influence was in the direction of gentleness, humanity and peace: it has not been in the direction of social organisation or political progress: its influence was more personal than institutional: it has done more for man than for society or the State." "Jainism," he continues, "has been a much more human and a much more social religion than Buddhism." But in the same breath he observes (pp. 54-55) that Buddhism was "a reform movement against Hinduism, but it was no revolutionary attack on it" [which is indeed perfectly correct and that it gave "a new impulse" to the State, since "it strengthened the spirit and institutions of self-government" and it provided a motive for extension of empire [which give an altogether erroneous idea of the tendencies and characteristics of Asoka's dominion].

Turning to the general influences of religion, the author says (p. 58), "While caste represented the most important institutional influence among the Hindus, their religion was for them the greatest influence in the world of ideas." Again, after defining Dharma as the whole duty of man, he proceeds to illustrate by concrete examples how the dominating influence of religion has tended to retard social reform, to promote "the autocracy of native Indian rule," and in short "has become the Nessus shirt of Hindu law and society." Not only the literature, but also the art of the Hindus, continues the author, has been dominated by religion. Now apart from the fact [recognised by the author himself in the same context] that caste itself has a religious origin and sanction, his mistake lies in attributing to the Smriti rules a degree of rigidity unknown to them in their best days. This is shown by their explicit recognition of custom and approved usage among the sources of Dharma and their frequent relaxations of rules and even their very contradictions. Instances like admission of the widow's right to inherit the husband's property in the absence of sons show that they were not incapable of improvement upon the older law. Incidentally, it may be observed that the author is wholly wrong in saying (p. 59) that under the Hindu law "only sons could inherit" and "*stridhana* was the only form of property a woman could keep" and that "the early marriage of boys is due to the rule of the Hindu religion." The author quotes Manu's dictum of kings being formed from particles of the gods, but he forgets to refer to other passages tending to impress upon the king his duty of protection and, what is more, to derive the same as a corollary from his collection of taxes. He also completely ignores the equally authoritative texts of the Mahabharata inculcating the King's responsibility for just exercise of his rule to the point that subjects should abandon an incapable ruler as a useless burden and they are justified even in slaying a tyrant "like a mad dog afflicted with the rabies." In making the reckless statement (p. 61) that "very little secular literature hails from ancient India," the author overlooks the whole mass of Sanskrit technical literature represented by grammar, lexicography, medicine, astronomy, astrology and mathematics, *Kamasastra*, *Arthasastra* and

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Silpasastra. It is a gross exaggeration to state that modern scholars have had "to dig in mines of religious literature" for their "theses on political and social sciences of the ancient Hindus."

The author's summing up of the tendencies of the Hindu period (p. 64 *f*) is chargeable with a number of rash generalisations. Premising that "religion and culture fill much the larger part of ancient Indian history," he says that "the political history of the Hindu period may be written out in a page or two," that there is no history of civilisation, for "civilisation is produced in cities, and in ancient India cities were scarce" and that "the religious emphasis in the Hindu's life imbued him with a Manichaean contempt for creature comforts." Of these statements, the first three are too sweeping to be taken seriously and the fourth is directly contradicted by the evidence of literary documents from the time of the Pali canon downwards. On the subject of foreign influences the author stands on firm ground, when he remarks (p. 70) that they "did little to revolutionise Hindu thought or life." The result of the long period of Greek sovereignty in the Punjab, according to the author (p. 71), is shown by the combination of Indian and Greek ideas on the coins, a general moderation in architectural styles (especially in Kashmir), and the dominating personality of the Buddha in Gandhara sculpture. But in the same context he laments that Greek influence, which was "a temporary flash from the West," had no time to "affect Indian art in the direction of simplicity and restraint, of nature, truth and personality." Apart from the inconsistency involved in these two statements, it may be justly charged against the author that he overlooks the radical dissimilarity between the Indian and the Greek genius which is testified to by such a high authority as Sir John Marshall, while his complete silence about Gupta art with its admittedly "classical quality" is an inexcusable slip. His reference to the combination of Indian and Greek ideas on the coins, (which strangely enough makes no mention of their bilingual character), marks not the spread of Greek influence, but the beginning of that process of Indianisation which was to culminate in the adoption of Brahmanical and Buddhist faiths by the Greek settlers.

Before leaving our notice of Part I of this work, it is our painful duty to draw the reader's attention to the heavy list of errors that disfigures it almost from beginning to end. Of errors in the translation of Sanskrit names, we have examples in "*Dasyu* or black" (p. 9), and "*Varnasrama-dharma*, the law of the society of colours" (p. 32), and of inaccurate transliterations in *Chattri* (pp. 24, 28), *Asvameda* (pp. 24, 29), *Viswa Devas* (p. 44), *Matrubhumi* (p. 47). *Grihaspati* (p. 48), and *Brahmin* (for the Upanashidic Brahman) (p. 61). On p. 44, "the Adityas, the Viswa Devas (*sic*), and the Devas" of the Atharva-veda are wrongly referred to as historical tribes of the Punjab. The references to "the laws of Manu, Yajnavalkya and of the Aryans" (p. 58) and to "the dancing Nataraja of Lakshmi" (p. 62) are meaningless. The description of "the Kali cult of Calcutta" as an example of "primitivism" is a grotesque perversion of a faith which numbers its votaries by millions and has produced a Ramaprasada and a Ramakrishna Paramahamsa. Of chronological slips we have examples in the dating of the Maurya period "about 500 B.C." (p. 16), of the Kadambas, "A.D. 1200-1400" (p. 21), of the Graeco-Bactrian rule in North-West India "300-180 B.C." and of Yavana (*sic*) rule "200-53 B.C." (p. 70). Violence is done to geography by the description of the Hindu Kush as "the northern range of the Himalayas" (p. 7) and the location of Rajagriha on the banks of a tributary of the Ganges (p. 13) as well as the identification of Saurashtra with modern Gujarat (p. 20) and that of Indo-China with ancient Champa (p. 67). It is not known on what authority "the Panjakni" and "Prabhasi" are said to be ancient names of the modern Tapti river and the modern Konkam (*sic*) (p. 20), and "Pale in the East" is stated to be a Jaina temple-city (p. 57). The misspelling of proper names unfortunately is too frequent, witness the examples Rama and Keonghar (p. 2), Tritus (p. 10), Goghen, Paramasa, Goudwana (p. 12), Sunderband (p. 14), Dakshinaprastha (pp. 15, 19, 24, etc.), Mauraram and Kshtriya (p. 21), Selucid (pp. 28, 70), Sylvan Levi (pp. 51, 64), Gapuon (p. 67), Milanda (p. 70), Marland (p. 71). To illustrate the large number of historical inaccuracies, it will be sufficient to mention the statements that Taxila was a centre of the pre-historic Indus Civilisation (p. 4), that Samudragupta "violently uprooted the kings of the South as far as Malabar" (p. 13), that Chandragupta Maurya "destroyed Selucid (*sic*) rule in the Punjab" (p. 28), that Harshavardhana conquered the modern Punjab (p. 29), that "the Sanghas, the Parishads and Mahaparishads" were assemblies limiting the power of the king (p. 45), that "no Hindu state was founded in ancient Burma" (p. 65), that "India was first brought into contact with foreign influences by Alexander's invasion," that "the empire of the Selucids (*sic*) included off and on most of North-Western India," that the Saka invasion "broke the Greeks in the Punjab into petty kingdoms which lasted from 160 B.C. to 50 B.C." (p. 70).

Our review of this work has grown so much in length that we have not space enough in the present paper to deal with its Parts II and III. Suffice it to say, these Parts likewise contain many shrewd and sensible observations couched in the author's crisp vigorous style. They are, however, not free from the irregular spelling of proper names and the historical inaccuracies which abound in Part I. The author's

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tion (pp. 145-46) does not carry conviction, while his dictum (p. 147) that the Portuguese "practised the doctrine of equality between races and between the rulers and the ruled" is sufficient to raise a smile of incredulity in most readers. The author's estimate of "the assembling and working of the administrative machinery under a unifying political system" as constituting "the great service rendered by British rule to India" (p. 181) is just and proper. But his excuse for the failure of that rule to promote "the material prosperity, civilisation and culture" of the people in any appreciable measure betrays a lamentable blindness to such features as the systematic economic exploitation of the country onwards from the days of the Company's rule. While describing the benefits conferred by Christianity on India, the author claims that Ram Mohun Ray "took his inspiration from the Bible" and he suggests that the Bhakti cult of the South was influenced by Christianity. Both the claim and the suggestion are contradicted by the facts of history. The author's obsession with the exclusive importance of Western influence is illustrated on the one hand by his shallow reference to "higher education through the English language" as being responsible for "a Ramanujam, a Ramun (*sic*), a Jagadish Chandra Bose, a Rabindranath Tagore and a Ghandi" (*sic*) (p. 176) and to the break-up of "the mediaeval isolation of India" through British rule (p. 182) and on the other hand by his complete and inexcusable silence about the movements for religious revival led by Dayananda and Ramakrishna and for revival of art begun by Abanindra Nath Tagore. Of a piece with the above is his very imperfect and one-sided account of the Indian nationalist movement (pp. 195-8) culminating in the wholly unfounded charge that "the absolute nationalism of the Congress as well as the Hindu character of the political philosophy and methods of Gandhism have provoked the Muslims" into claiming to be a separate nation. Finally, it is impossible to endorse the author's wholly one-sided verdict (p. 201) that the present division of India is an indication that "the native forces of caste, the dead hand, national or tribal religion" have won the day over the world-forces of unity and progress. Measured by the same yardstick the continuance of the old division of Spain and Portugal, of Holland and Belgium, of Norway and Sweden, not to speak of the separation in our own times of Eire and Northern Ireland as well as of East and West Germany would be an indisputable evidence of the native forces of reaction triumphing over the world-ideas of progress.

We cannot conclude this paper without noticing, if only for the sake of its venomous onslaught against India and her people, the slight Preface to this work written by Joseph Husslein, S.J., Ph.D., the General Editor of the series. Beginning with the characteristically impudent remark that "India has become a center of international anxiety," he summarises the whole history of the country in words indicating at once his colossal ignorance and his malignant hatred of its past. "For millenniums of years," he says, "it was a large-scale application of the old immemorial law of the jungle. . . . To this was added the lust for battle and the urge of a nomad's life." After this no one is surprised to read his verdict on India's future which is couched in language recalling the worst features of the Christian attitude towards other faiths. For after referring to "the notion (*sic*) of caste" and the doctrines of *karma* and *maya* prevalent among the people, he says, "The one thing that now is most needed for their freedom, liberty and progress is the full light of that Christian Faith which the Church can bring them." We make bold to reply that the one thing that is certain to alienate for all time to come all self-respecting Indians from the Catholic Church and its brand of Christianity is the propagation of vile slanders of the type above quoted. Indeed it would appear that while the British government for the best of reasons has thought it fit to give up its imperialistic grip over India, fanatics are not wanting who dream of imposing a deadlier imperialism, that of the spirit, upon its people. Only on this supposition can we understand the critic's deliberate falsification of the history of a people whose outstanding contributions to the cause of civilisation have been testified to by thinkers the latchet of whose shoes he is unfit to unloose. In vain has India won her independence, if she cannot hinder such stuff from passing current in lands which claim to be in the vanguard of civilisation. Will the Government of India, the proper custodian of our national honour, move in the matter? Needless to say, its worth will be judged by our countrymen by the extent of its success in countering pernicious propaganda of the type above indicated, and not by the number and scale of its embassies abroad.

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EDITOR, *The Modern Review*.

ENGLISH

REVOLUTION BY CONSENT : *By Dr. Dhirendra Nath Sen. Published by Saraswaty Library, Calcutta. Pp. 345. Price Rs. 10.*

The theme of the book under review is the Indian revolution both in its external and internal aspect which the author describes as a 'revolution by consent' as opposed to revolution by violent upheaval. Up to the time when the book is written it manifested itself mainly in its external aspect, that is, for liquidating foreign rule, but in the author's opinion the revolutionary forces cannot stop here; it will end in a social revolution by bringing about a change in the existing productive relations and a new equilibrium based on a socialistic order which he describes as the internal aspect of the revolution. The first three chapters of the book are mainly analytical and descriptive. Here he attempts to explain the external aspect of the revolution by tracing the process of march towards complete transfer of power through changes in the attitude of British Government under the stress of political forces at work in India and world events since the historic pronouncement of August 1917, right up to the Constitution of the Constituent assembly under the Cabinet Mission plan and the British Government's announcement of February 20, 1947. In this connection the course of Indian politics during the eventful years of Indian history, 1942-47, is subjected to searching analysis and critical examination by an erudite scholar on constitutional law and one thoroughly conversant with political developments and trends in the country by his long journalistic experience. Of course as the book is written in quite a different setting from the present the issues discussed here have considerably changed their complexion by subsequent developments. There is an illuminating discussion in Chapter VI of the problem of nationalities in its general aspect as well as in the peculiar context of the Indian situation. In the author's opinion the Russian way of solution of the problem is particularly instructive and may prove helpful to its solution in this country. In the concluding chapter (Chapter VII) the author sets out his own suggestions in the light of his survey in the previous chapters about the form of the Indian state of the future and an outline of the constitutional framework and the procedure to be adopted for framing and enforcing the Constitution. In brief his recommendations are as follows. An Act of Succession is to be passed by the British Parliament for divesting the Crown of its powers in relation to India and nullifying all Parliamentary statutes applying to this country. The Act is to be followed up by a Treaty between a Committee of the Constituent Assembly or a Provisional Government to be ratified by each of the contracting parties. The Constituent Assembly is then to decide upon the form of the State and its constitutional framework and the Interim Government is to be empowered by an Act of Parliament to enforce the decisions of the Constituent Assembly. The author's preference is definitely for a socialist democracy as in his opinion the only alternative to it is in the existing socio-economic set-up, a Fascist order. There is to be a reconstruction of the administrative units on linguistic and cultural basis to be knit together in a socialist republican federation. Before the constitution of the Federation no bar is to be placed on the right to non-accession or secession by such territorial units but the decision to exercise the right should only be taken by a democratic process. After the institution of the Federation, however, there is to be adequate centralisation of powers. Democratic centralism on the Russian model instead of a loose federation is his ideal. The appendices at the end of the book are very useful throwing lurid light on the course of political events in the most eventful and pregnant period of Indian history.

The author's treatment of the subject is characterised by clear thinking and lucid exposition and a courage of convictions. He has not accepted blindly the solution of the Indian problem envisaged by the Indian political leaders. He has laid much greater emphasis on the social content and the factor of productive relations in the Indian problem rather than purely formal and liberal democratic approach for its scientific solution.

On such controversial questions as those discussed in the book there is bound to be difference of opinion both as regards interpretation of facts as also conclusions. For instance, many would question the author's appraisement of the causes of communal dissensions in India. He holds "India's mediaeval social patterns and Hindu revivalism" more responsible for this than the sinister machinations of the third party. "There has been much too mechanical, sometimes unimportant, insistence that British imperialism as the third party has fomented and fostered divisions by using the Muslim League leadership as a brake on Indian progress, etc.", (p. 187) he observes. As a matter of fact, however, the problem is almost entirely the product of the policy of "divide and rule" purposefully initiated by British imperialism as a last ditch to fight resurgent Indian nationalism which is amply borne out by the history of the growth of communal representation since the beginning of the century although it has to be admitted that there were weaknesses in the social and economic structure of Indian polity which the British rulers took the fullest advantage of. It is also true as he says on page 172 that the Congress leaders have not offered sufficient resistance to separate electorates and on several occasions have even compromised with reactionary communalism but that is

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not because the Congress leadership was not sufficiently nationalistic in their outlook but as they found themselves constrained by the situation created by British rulers to make concessions to forces of communalism as a necessary evil and as a temporary expedient for mobilising support of all elements of population and thus presenting a united front to British imperialism. The author himself remarks: "The Congress as an organization has striven hard and long to bring the different communities in India on a common platform with a view to liberating the country from foreign rule and setting up what it has conceived to be an independent, democratic Indian State with guarantees in respect of the protection of the minorities" (p. 186). Of course, the wisdom and efficacy of that policy of appeasement of Muslim communalists is open to question. Subsequent developments have demonstrated the utter futility of that policy.

The author seems to apportion equal blame to the leaders of both Congress and the Muslim League for being "hustled into policies which lead nowhere." But it is common knowledge that the Congress went to the utmost length even in the face of adverse criticism in the country, for coming to a settlement with the League even at the cost of compromising its creed of nationalism, but it was the intransigence of the League and its leader Mr. Jinnah encouraged by Britishers that prevented any such settlement. The solution of the problem offered by the author,—setting up a federation of autonomous linguistic and cultural units—was never ruled out by the Congress. In fact, it was an important plank in its programme, but that had hardly any appeal for the Muslim League. Attention may be drawn in this connection to the following extract from the Objectives Resolution passed by the Constituent Assembly on January 22, 1947: "And wherein the said territories, whether with their present boundaries or with such others as may be determined by the Constituent Assembly thereafter according to the law of the Constitution, shall possess and retain the status of autonomous units, together with residuary powers and exercise all powers and functions as are vested in or assigned to the Union, or as are inherent or implied in the Union, etc." On many such questions there is scope for difference of opinion but that does not in any way detract from the value of the work. It is difficult for an Indian to approach many of the questions discussed in the book objectively and dispassionately and so it may be said to the credit of the writer that he has succeeded considerably in bringing to bear on them an academic frame of mind. The book may be commended to all serious students of Indian Constitutional development. The get-up and printing of the book is quite satisfactory but there are certain serious printing mistakes which, we hope, would be corrected in the next edition. We draw particular attention to two such mistakes. On page 157, line 13, the term "Government" is perhaps to be substituted by "Covenant." On page 160, (para 3) some words have been apparently dropped after the second line.

A. K. GHOSAL

EMINENT INDIANS: *By D. O. Dhanapala. Nalanda Publications. 1947. Pp. 180. Price Rs. 7-4.*
PROFILES: *By G. Venkatachalam. Nalanda Publications. 1949. Pp. 309. Price Rs. 8-4.*

The living character sketches of our contemporaries have an interest of their own: not gossip, nor hero-worship, but comparing notes, and a creative imagination takes quick impress of men and women whom one cannot help discussing threadbare. Such a work is bound to please, and it is also educative in a sense. Mr. S. A. Gardiner's sketches naturally prompt us to search for similar work among our own countrymen.

The two books mentioned above cover pretty much the same ground, and invite a comparison. Both are collections of writings already published, "personal impressions of people who have interested the authors." What is more intriguing, there is mutual assessment: Venkatachalam presents a pen-portrait of Dhanapala in his estimate of Lanka's cultural leaders, while Dhanapala devotes one whole chapter to Venkatachalam. Evidently, Venkatachalam's work is more inclusive; it is divided into three parts—the first dealing with individual men, the second with individual women, and the third deals in a wholesale fashion with leaders of Ceylon, Chinese Marxists, and Europeans whom the author had met and who had impressed him with their vivid personality. Venkatachalam thus covers a much wider ground with his book containing brilliant profiles and integral studies, while the literary vignettes in Dhanapala's book are in a chatty style, set off by 12 full-page illustrations. Venkatachalam is an art-critic who knows how to present profiles by brush and pen. Gandhi, Nehru, Sarojini Naidu, J. Krishnamurti, R. K. Shanmukhan Chetty, C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar furnish common ground.

Both the books are delightful reading. One of the best pieces in Dhanapala's book is that on Amaranath Jha. There is a mannered way, however, in that book. Thus, C. R. has a choice assortment of qualities associated with Richelieu, Socrates and Shankaracharyya; C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar is now Faustus and then Machiavelli and Kautilya; Dr. Coomaraswamy is a combination of Marco Polo, Ibn Batuta and Fa Hien. It is time also that our old impression that "India leaves her great men to be discovered by foreigners" should be corrected.

P. R. SEN

THE PROBLEMS OF PHILOSOPHY: *By Dr. Satish Chandra Chatterjee, M.A., Ph.D., Calcutta University. Das Gupta and Co. Ltd. Pp. xvi+345. Price Rs. 6-8.*

Philosophy, once a favourite pastime of the Indian mind, seemed to have withdrawn for some time into a narrowing circle of academic specialists. But the conflict of the world forces has recently been expressing itself also in the form of problems, ideas and ideologies. Consequently philosophical discussions on idealism, realism, empiricism and dialectical materialism have begun to be heard once again not only in all kinds of journals and periodicals, but also among socially conscious young men in the street. There are definite signs of the revival of interest in Philosophy in India and abroad, but there are very few books which can be read by the general reader for a clear grasp of the fundamental problems of Philosophy.

Dr. S. C. Chatterjee has done a distinct service to the academic scholar and the lay reader by writing this lucid, brief and yet dependable book which raises all basic problems of Philosophy, presents the difficult kinds of solutions offered by the famous thinkers of the West as well as of our country and helps the reader with suggestive conclusions. A reputed teacher and a thoughtful writer of note, Dr. Chatterjee brings to his task a mature, but unostentatious, scholarship that silently works its way into the reader's mind to leave some abiding impressions.

One only wishes that the book contained dis-

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cussions on other important problems of socio-philosophical interest, as for example, values. It is hoped that he will write on cognate subjects in future. When society is being distracted by the harangues of half-enlightened enthusiasts, the dispassionate wisdom of mature and trained thinkers like Dr. Chatterjee can alone act as an enlightened guide. We heartily commend this book to our thoughtful readers.

D. M. DATTA

POST-WAR GUJARAT: *By A. B. Trivedi, Khalsa College, Bombay. To be had of Shree Ichchasankar Dave, 122, Ummarkhadi Road, Bombay 9. Pp. 282, with Appendix and Bibliography. Price not mentioned.*

This book is a painstaking attempt to collate the facts of Gujarat's economic life and regional possibilities that should be an example to others. The author has made a special study of Gujarat and Kathiawar's material problems, the solution of which waits for the future.

The preface to the book written in February, 1949, about 18 months after India's partition, should have told us of its economic consequences, their good and evil, of the effect of the settlement of Sindhi merchants and entrepreneurs in Gujarat and Kathiawar. The book, however, is a vast mine of data of this region.

THE RAMAKIRTI (RAMAKIEN) OR THE THAI VERSION OF THE RAMAYANA : *By Swami Satyananda Puri and Charoen Sarahiran. Published by Thai-Bharat Cultural Lodge, 849 Silom Road, Bangkok, Siam. Pp. 126.*

Shree Raghunath Sharma, Director of the Thai-Bharat Cultural Lodge, has sent us this book which forms part of the Birla Oriental Series whose aims are "to popularize the contributions of the Orient to the cause of culture and humanity."

The Preface was written by Swami Satyananda Puri, a Bengali Sannyasi, professor of a Thai College, who was also a fellow-worker of Rash Behari Bose, the Indian revolutionary patriot. A melancholy interest attaches to this Preface, as the writer was the victim of an air-crash on his way to Japan in 1943.

The history of Bahart's contact with Thailand has yet to be written. The Preface tells us that "the first introduction of Ramayanic influence into Thailand can be traced to the 13th century only." But Java, Sumatra, Bali, Malaya, and Thailand even have had a longer connection with our country. But that is forgotten today; "the word Ramayana is unknown" to Thai literature. This book, we hope, will renew the old relation.

S. C. DEB

MANUAL OF MEETINGS : *By D. V. Nadkarni. Local Self-Government Institute, 11 Elphinstone Circle, Fort, Bombay 1. Pp. 116. Price Rs. 3.*

Law of Meetings is assuming great importance in our country with the growth and development of self-governing institutions. There are several books on the law and procedure of meetings which are more or less exhaustive and deal with meetings under the various Municipal Acts, and Local Self-Government Acts, and Company Law, etc., giving authoritative decisions and valuable comments. Some of them are not easily available; some again are voluminous, though very good as reference books. Most of them deal with English law exclusively—and it is difficult even for a lawyer to apply them to Indian conditions. Except ing Davar's *Law and Procedure of Meetings*, I am aware of any Indian book dealing with this particular branch of law. A small Manual dealing with the and procedure of meetings of various classes of easily understood by intelligent laymen was a sity. The book under review has removed the We commend it to the public, especially to Mu commissioners, members of boards, etc.

J. M. D

BURMA—OUR NEIGHBOUR : *Issued by Publication Division, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Old Secretariat, Delhi. Price Re. 1-8.*

The brochure, a timely publication, deals Burma, our neighbour across the Bay of Ben Within its rather limited compass of less than 50 pa it gives a broad picture of modern Burma against background of geography and political evolution. twelve short, and on the whole well-written cha deal, among others, with the geography, races, poli evolution, economic wealth, art and culture, langua and literature and the socio-religious life of the of peacocks and pagodas. Some of the chapters written by eminent scholars, such as, the late B Madhab Barua, Dr. B. C. Law, Dr. Nihar Ranjan Ra Dr. Kalidas Nag and the like. A work of the type the brochure under review is bound to be superfici Some of the chapters, however, those on politi evolution and on Burmese women, for example, coul have been more informative and better written ev within its narrow scope. Most of the chapters however well-written and amply serve their purpos Liberal illustrations add to the value of the pu lication.

SUDHANSU BIMAL MUKHER

TUKARAM : *By J. R. Ajgaonkar. With a Foreword by the Hon'ble Shri B. G. Kher, Premier Bombay. Published by V. Prabha and Co., Girgaon Bombay. Pp. 161. Price Rs. 2-8.*

Shri Ajgaonkar is a recognised authority on the lives of the saints of Maharashtra. For about half century he has devoted himself to writing and pu lishing the lives of Marathi saints. Since then he h brought out eleven volumes containing 110 lives a covering about 3200 printed pages in Marathi. His of Tukaram, the premier saint of Maharashtra, c out in 1935. The book under review is an Engl rendering of his Marathi work made by Shri R. Maikari and adapted to suit the English reade Tukaram is the most renowned and popular poet-sa of Maharashtra. The Hon'ble Shri B. G. Kher rightly observes in his Foreword to this book that those w do not know Tukaram do not understand the histo of Maharashtra and Marathi language. Hence a English life of the saint was a long-felt want. Th handy volume fulfils this extensive want very creditably. In many respects it is exhaustive and authoritative presenting the subject to the reader in a very simple, substantial and systematic way. Principally it is based on the Marathi work of Mahipati Buwa. Taharabad, the well-known biographer of saints. The book not only contains a connected biography of Tukaram but also authentic accounts of his family disciples and contemporaries, as well as other relevant matters. Many miracles of Tukaram recorded by Mahipati and handed down from generation to generation in Maharashtra are also incorporated in it. Inspired sayings of Tukaram called Abhangs are widely known and recited by the Marathi people.

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hundred selected Abhangs of the poet-saint are given in the last chapter of the book. The book deserves rendering into provincial languages of the Indian Republic and perusal by all students of Indian literature.

SWAMI JAGADISWARANANDA

SANSKRIT

TARKABHASA of Moksakaragupta: *Edited with a Sanskrit commentary by Embar Krishnacharya. Oriental Institute, Baroda. G.O.S., Vol. XCIV. Price Rs. 2.*

This is a preliminary work on Buddhist logic closely following and occasionally quoting and explaining the *sutras* of the Nyayabindu of Dharmakirti. The editor deserves thanks of the students of Indian logic for the success he has attained in preparing a readable text on the basis of very imperfect MS. material.

An improved text however will be found in the edition of Sri H. R. Rangaswami Iyengar (Mysore) which contains the fruits of his consultation of more MSS. as well as the Tibetan version of the work.

It, however, reflects credit on the learned editor of the volume under review that many of his emendations have been corroborated by the materials brought into use by Sri Iyengar. The honour of first bringing to light a little known but none the less very important work also goes to him. And the edition has its additional value in the learned and lucid commentary added by him which will be very useful to scholars.

ANANTALAL THAKUR

BENGALI

VATSAYNER KAMASUTRA: *Translated and edited by Nalini Kumar Bhadra. Baijayanti Publishers, 22, Sibnarayan Das Lane, Calcutta-6. Pp. i-viii +1-228. Price Rs. 4.*

Vatsayana has been called a Rishi. A Rishi is one who sees truth. Science deals with truth—with truth based on facts. Sexology is a science. It was only the other day that sexology was recognised as such. It is the twentieth century that brought, so to say, this new science into being. The labour and devotion of Havelock Ellis, Krafft Ebing, Hirschfeld and a few others have done more than anything else to establish sexology as a science. For long centuries people were accustomed to keep silent on sex. They were ashamed to discuss, scientifically or otherwise, matters relating to sex. Modern psychologists and sexologists have tried hard to do away with this erroneous idea of sex. They have tried to teach people that there is nothing to be ashamed of sex. Nearly two thousand years ago there flourished in Ancient India a Rishi who brought in light where there was darkness. Vatsayana is one of the earliest geniuses to impart knowledge in place of ignorance. It was he who laid stress on the fact that sex-education is a matter of vital importance. Those who are ignorant of the *Kamasutra* will necessarily fail to appreciate its value as science. They are apt to confuse sex-psychology with pornography. As regards systematised knowledge the question of morality does not arise. Science is neither moral nor immoral. Modern science differs from older science in this that while the ancients are content to note down only the conclusions from data derived from observations, modern scientists will not rest satisfied till they can present the facts, data and statistics so that any one so inclined may check for himself the conclusions therefrom.

Nalini Kumar Bhadra has done well to introduce Vatsayana to the Bengali-reading public. In rendering the *Kamasutra* in Bengali he has never taken undue liberty. His style is chaste and elegant. We have had other translations of this great treatise. The translators have either slurred over difficult portions or left them as they are. But Bhadra has tackled the difficulties and tried creditably to explain the obscurities. The translation is prefixed with a long and valuable introduction. In it the author points out the scientific outlook of Vatsayana and tries to ascertain the time and place of his birth and the value of his contribution to science; he marks how there were other sexologists of renown before Vatsayana, in Ancient India; he also reconstructs the social life of the time as is to be gathered from the *Kamasutra* and deals with other matters. The introduction is interesting as well as instructive. Those who like to go through Vatsayana in the original can never dispense with Yasodhar's *Jayamangala Tika*. In rendering the original Sanskrit in Bengali Bhadra, to his credit, has taken the fullest advantage of this very valuable commentary. His acquaintance with modern sexology has stood him in good stead in his attempt to present an ancient work on sex in today's language.

SAILENDRAKRISHNA L[illegible]

HINDI

HAMARA SAMAJ: *By Sant Ram. Nalanda Publications, Post Box No. 1353, Bombay. Pp. [illegible] Price Rs. 6.*

For centuries the Hindu society has been burdened with the "curse of Cain"—namely, untouchability—a curse which, thanks to the Herculean endeavours of Gandhiji in rousing public conscience to the inhumanity as well as inhumanity of the crime of brother being "unapproachable" by brother, has at long last begun to be lifted. And yet neither in the scriptures nor in the highest ethics of social life there is any sanction of any kind for imposing such a ban on a member of the human race. The learned author, who has for over twenty-five years been attacking the crusader the citadel of orthodoxy which gives shelter to the "criminals" charged with degrading their fellow creatures, has dealt with the "prickly" problem from every possible point of view and pricked the bubble of *savarna* superiority. And he appeals to one and all to lay the axe to the poisonous tree of untouchability or exclusiveness so that our society may be saved of a healthy growth and be spared any further sorrow of vivisection of which the present unjust and unethical partition of India has been the fruit and the fruit. The get-up of the book, though high standard so far as Hindi publications go, does not, however, have been permitted to stiffen its

G

GUJARATI

ATMA GUNJAN: *By Kismat Kureishi [illegible] nagar. 1948. Paper cover. Pp. 25. Price eight annas.*

Umar Chandbhai Kureishi, whose nom-de-plume is "Kismat," is a young man of 27 years. He is a Muslim and still writes not only graceful Gujarati but elegant Gujarati poetry. This collection of *gazals* and *gits* (songs) is a very promising one. It embodies thoughts and conceits of a high order

K. M.

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Everybody in this country is aware of the fact that India's unrivalled and greatest palmist, Tantric, Yogi vastly learned in the Astrology and Astronomy of the East and the West, gifted with super-natural power of predictions, permanent President of the Internationally famed Baranashi Pandit Mahasabha of Benares and All-India Astrological and Astronomical Society of Calcutta.



RAJ-JYOTISHI

Jyotishsamrat Pandit Sri Ramesh Chandra Bhattacharyya, Jyotisharnab, Samudrikratna, Jyotish-shiromani, Raj Jyotishi, M.R.A.S. (Lond.), has won unique fame not only in India but throughout the world (*e.g.*, in England, America, Africa, China, Japan, Malaya, Singapore etc.) and many notable persons from every nook and corner of the world have sent unsolicited testimonials acknowledging his mighty and supernatural powers.

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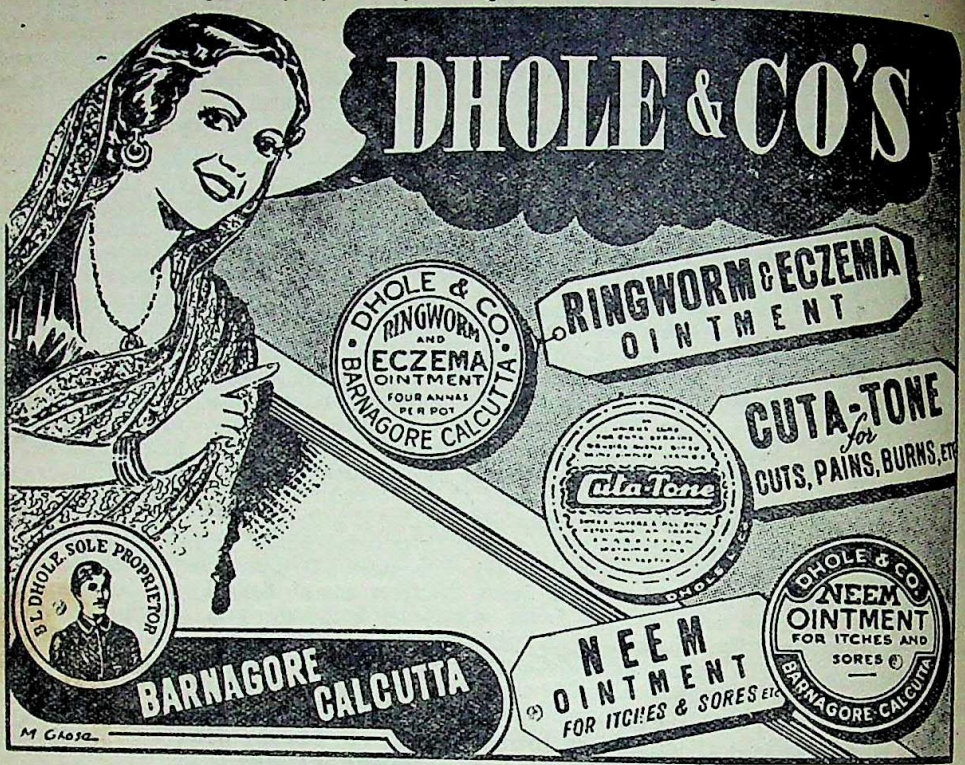
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INDIAN PERIODICALS

Is There a Future for Mysticism?

In an article in *The Aryan Path* Katherine Merrill examines the evidences for a return to nobler concepts of Mysticism in our day. She confidently hopes for an ultimate revival of pure Mysticism in its higher aspect of union with the Divine Source, as well as the practical application of spiritual laws to ordinary life, as taught in the ancient Mystery Schools:

With the earliest ancients education sprang from the hearts and minds of Great Teachers, who divided their work into three parts corresponding to the spiritual, mental and physical aspects of man's nature.

The object of this education was the development of the *whole* man, not one-sided in materialism or in religiosity. But the highest object was the merging of man's consciousness into union with the Deific Source of All. This union they called Mysticism, and the teaching of it was protected from ignorance or ill-will by sworn secrecy.

"Mysticism" derives from a Greek word meaning "close-mouthed," secret and silent; and secrecy was practised because the most characteristic and important qualities, powers and laws were too sacred, and through their strength, too dangerous to be known except by those capable of turning them to general human betterment. But mysticism today commonly refers to something not generally understood, something mysterious, possibly fantastic or almost meaningless.

True Mysticism is the highest, the deepest, philosophy; it is philosophy's quintessence, the stimulus and the reward.

True Mysticism recognizes and includes all relations and connections, yet always seeks to rise above them into identity.

That effort is the very nature and particular function of Mysticism; and some perception of identity, of oneness with the Whole, is expressed again and again in the higher thought of today. The writers who send out this thinking belong to all Humanity. Wherever they may live, their importance is not limited to any one country. In them all, Mysticism, as such, is unformed, hinting at what may not be fully understood. Yet the philosophic thought of MacTaggart, the science of Schrodinger, the humanistic reaches of Taylor in *Richer by Asia*, and the not wholly fortunate blending of religion and science in Stromberg's *Soul of the Universe*,—all these, whatever else they contain of much or little value, show their authors to be moved by a common impulse toward the mystical.

This kind of recent thinking represents what in ancient Mysticism was the scientific aspect. At that time this line was kept distinct from the religious and the ethical—distinct, as springing from other powers in man, but not separate or opposed. If the Platonized science of Max Planck draws near the science in old Mysticism as taught in the Greek Mystery Schools, what is the harm in calling it mystical? If Einstein's high physics approaches ideas and facts such as were recognized by ancient Mysticism, the dignity of his work is not lessened by being so classified. A perception that such modes of thought possess mystical qualities permits the word "mysticism" to regain in itself, and to mean for the pubilc, a more universal or synthetic quality than any other word. Pantheism emphasizes the *theos* idea; Pan-humanism, the human aspect. Mysticism combines both. Such thinking, seeming to foreshadow a modern mysticism, thereby clears off some of the dross that has begrimed a noble name.

It must be remembered that genuine Mysticism not only teaches the soul that rises to high mystical states, or even the mind that passes into descriptive analysis of these, but goes out at once into broader service.

Another indication of such thinking is the book called *The Life of Science*, by George Sarton, Professor of the History of Science at Harvard University. To perceive and express that "Life" as Professor Sarton does, is to have joined (however unaware) the host of those who from immemorial time have undertaken the upward climb which makes the mystic.

A third line of similar thought is carried on by a group of philosophic investigators headed by O. L. Reiser, Professor of Philosophy at Pittsburgh University. He is the author of several noteworthy articles and books, one of the latest being *World Philosophy: A Search for Synthesis*. Scientific humanism is the name adopted by the group for the method and goal of their work. The following are some of their ideas:

"Scientific humanism is an attempt at synthesis, an endeavour to collect the knowledge and vision of all ages. The perceptions by past seers of the nature and meaning of life are focused and re-expressed for present understanding; their validity is tested by scientific principles, and an effort is made to extract from the results a pattern for better human existence. Besides, back of such a collectivity of vision purely human, Synthesis points to cosmic or archetypal influences, which provide the unifying force for human evolution. Thus, scientific humanism is rooted in an assurance that we are living in a unified, dynamic and evolving universe, and that there is some hope of an ultimate synthesis of knowledge."

This kind of humanism is as impersonal as any scientific hypothesis and the care taken to shun theological personalizing is proved by a definition of divinity, in a Reiser article, as the power to create, to originate, to grow morally into a larger life of freedom—the dynamic process of growth is the human essence, and the essence of divinity as well.

The author proves himself, in the few lines quoted, a philanthropist and a moralist. He sees philosophy and altruism as identical, and he has recently expanded his idea of the close relation between humanism and morality into a pamphlet, *Scientific Humanism as*

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Creative Morality. A crying need of our time is that for moral perception and action from a sound philosophical basis, such as strong, questioning men can accept.

If those ideas of the unity and harmony of all life with its Source had been continued, science would not now be blundering materialism; and ordinary religion, psychism.

Indian Science Congress

Science and Culture observes :

Thirtyseven years ago, the first session of the Indian Science Congress was inaugurated in Calcutta on the 15th of January 1914, when Sir Ashutosh Mukherjee, the great Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University presided over its deliberations. The Congress was sponsored by the Asiatic Society of Bengal and was held in the latter's rooms. Sir Ashutosh recalled that it was in the fitness of things that the Science Congress should start on the 130th Anniversary of the foundation of the Asiatic Society by Sir William Jones, whose objective was 'the study of Man and Nature, whatever is performed by the one or produced by the other.' According to Sir Ashutosh :

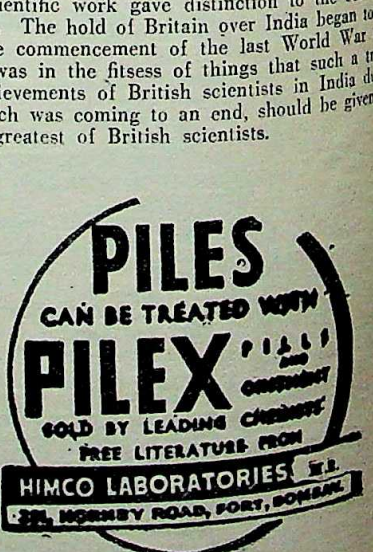
"The Asiatic Society thus founded has been throughout its long career the principal source of inspiration in the organization and advancement of scientific research of every description in this country, and it is eminently befitting that the first meeting of the Indian Science Congress should be held in the rooms of the Society and directly under its auspices. It is further fortunate that we should be able to hold the Congress simultaneously with the celebration of the centenary of the foundation of the Indian Museum, which had its origin in the activities of the members of the Asiatic Society, and which by the invaluable work of its scientific officers in various departments has justly attained worldwide reputation. The times are manifestly favourable to the establishment of an Indian Science Congress whose object and scope would be similar to those of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, namely, to give a stronger impulse and a more systematic direction to scientific enquiry, to promote the intercourse of Societies and individual interested in Science in different parts of the country, to obtain a more general attention to the objects of Pure and Applied Science and the removal of any disadvantages of a public kind which may impede its progress."

After surveying the facilities for pure and applied research available in 1914 in the Universities with its affiliated colleges, the museums and observatories established by the Government and the different scientific surveys and services maintained by the Government, Sir Ashutosh continued :

"In a domain so vast in extent and diverse in character, it is obviously essential, if the fullest measure of efficiency and success is to be achieved, that the men of Science engaged in study, in instruction, whether individually or in small groups, should be brought into close association with each other; they really constitute an army of workers whose services to the State are materially impaired in strength if they are allowed always to remain scattered and isolated. The advantages of personal intercourse between scientific workers, engaged in the same field of activity or in the pursuit of allied lines of research, are too obvious to require much elaboration. The most beneficent results may be achieved by an instructive interchange of ideas between scientific men; they may, however, not only mutually communicate their ideas, they may also state the advance made in their own respective spheres of action, and indicate to their fellow the special departments which may be most profitably cultivated, the outstanding problems which may be attacked with greatest utility. But personal association amongst scientific men may be pregnant with important consequences, merely by a fruitful exchange of ideas; cultivating Science, by periodical meetings and discussions, may bring their aims and views prominently into public notice, may also, whenever necessary, press them upon the attention of the Government.—a contingency by no means remote, for, as experience has shown, even the most enlightened Governments occasionally require to be reminded of the full extent of the paramount claims of Science upon the Public Funds."

The Science Congress from its modest beginnings continued to grow in its importance till in 1938, on the occasion of the celebration of its Silver Jubilee in Calcutta, the British Association sent a very representative group of British scientists to take part in the celebrations.

The delegation was to have been headed by Lord Rutherford, who, as President elect of the jubilee session had prepared his presidential address. Due to his tragic death, he could not personally deliver his address; Sir James Jeans who was elected President in his place, read this address before the Calcutta meeting. In a portion of his address Lord Rutherford referred to the activities of some brilliant Indian students in Cambridge, viz. Ramanujan, Chandrasekhar and Bhabha. Regarding the last mentioned one he said, 'for the first time a[n] Indian student in Cambridge Dr. H. J. Bhabha, was awarded in open competition one of our senior [1851] Studentship in recognition of the importance of [his] researches in Theoretical Physics.' It would have pleased Lord Rutherford had he lived till now, to know that the recipient of the 1851 Senior Studentship in 1938 would, in 1951, be invited to preside over a meeting of the Science Congress. Prof. Bhabha is probably the youngest of the distinguished group of Indian scientists whose achievements in different branches of science have been recognized by their election to the Science Congress presidential chair. In the course of his address Lord Rutherford reviewed some of the important scientific achievements of this country during the past century; it was in the main a review of the achievements of the scientific services and of the men of British nationality who by their scientific work gave distinction to the services manned. The hold of Britain over India began to weaken with the commencement of the last World War in 1914, and it was in the fitsess of things that such a tribute to the achievements of British scientists in India during the age which was coming to an end, should be given by one of the greatest of British scientists.



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Another thing which would have interested Lord Rutherford to note *viz.* the great progress which had been made in this country, by the expansion of government scientific services, the establishment of the Department of Scientific and Industrial Research with its associated nine national Research Laboratories. He had in his 1938 address, stressed on the importance in the national interest of a planned scheme of research in applied science. "If India is determined to do real she can to raise the standards of the life and health of her peoples and to hold her own in the markets of the world, more and more use must be made of the help that science can give. Science can help her to make the best use of her material resources of all kinds, and to ensure that her industries are run on the most efficient lines. National research requires national planning. If research is to be directed in the most useful direction, it is just as important for a nation as for a private firm to decide what it wishes to make and sell. It is clear also that any system of organized research must have regard to the economic structure of the country." He then proceeded to give an account of the way the British Government had aided the agricultural and industrial research in Britain during the period following the World War I. Evidently this portion of his address fell into very receptive ears in India.

Thirteen years has elapsed since the Jubilee Session of the Science Congress and the time is ripe for another review of the activities of this central organization vis-a-vis the specialist societies which have been established since 1914. A committee appointed to draw up draft rules for the Science Congress, has presented its report for consideration by the general body or ordinary members at the 1951 session. This session will also be of special significance due to the decision to convene a Pan-Indian Ocean Science Congress, to be held in 1951 along with the Indian Science Congress. In 1951 one of the most important of the scientific surveys of India, the Geological Survey, which owes its inception to the initiative taken by the Asiatic Society of Bengal, will celebrate the centenary of its establishment in January.

It was a happy thought on the part of the University of Calcutta to have invited the Indian Science Congress to hold its 38th session in Calcutta, which was accepted at the Poona session of the Science Congress. Calcutta with its historic Indian Museum containing unique collections of Anthropological, Geological, and Zoological exhibits, as the head-quarters of several Government scientific surveys, the home of many teaching and research institutes, would have been eminently suited for the holding of a Pan-Indian Ocean Science Congress. Again Calcutta, the capital of West Bengal State, in which about 50 per cent of the ordinary members of the Science Congress Association are domiciled, could provide the best venue where proposals for the revision of the rules could be discussed by a very representative body of ordinary members.

It has been therefore a matter of great disappointment to a large body of ordinary members of the Science Congress Association, as well as to the large number of local sessional members, that at a very late date, in October, the Executive Council of the Association, for reasons not divulged to the public, decided to shift the venue of the Congress from Calcutta to Bangalore. The holding of a session of the Science Congress with its thirteen sections, with its plan for co-ordination of its own scientific activities with those of the proposed Pan-Indian Ocean Science Congress, required a great deal of planning and organizational work. Much of the preliminary work done during the first nine months of the year by the local committee here had to be scrapped, and had to be started *denovo* by their opposite numbers in Bangalore. With the progressive increase in the number of ordinary and sessional members attending the meetings of the Science Congress, the problem of providing accommodation and transport facilities is becoming one of increasing complexity, specially when the session is held in one of the smaller towns. If under such conditions the work of the Science Congress proceeds smoothly and efficiently at Bangalore, it will redound greatly to the credit of the local committee in Bangalore and to their voluntary associates. Should any hitch occur, the responsibility for it would be with the Executive Council, for making their last minute decision.

Social Service Work by Students

The question of engaging students in actual social service work by compulsion involves educational, economical and financial issues. Prof. T. A. Kulkarni writes in *The Social Service Quarterly :*

In India we have very little experience of any kind of conscription much less for social service work. There are some countries in Europe where there is conscription for military training and service for citizens of certain age. It is not known whether the system of conscription for social service exists anywhere. In India we have no experience of conscription even for military training. It may, therefore, be suggested that before we begin our inquiry in detail, Government should be requested to depute a competent person to visit those countries where a system of conscription prevails especially for social service work and make a report on the various issues involved. The report after it is received should be circulated among the public organisations concerned. This will enable them to judge the different questions in the light of the experience of experiments made elsewhere. This procedure may involve some delay but will ensure avoidance of mistakes which is very important. Firstly, any addition of work to a substantial extent imposed upon students is bound to affect the work of ordinary school or college education courses. Secondly, if the compulsory social service work is to be imposed after the student completes his school or college course, the economic



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question will require consideration. Some students have to begin to shoulder the burden of maintaining themselves or share the burden of maintaining the family. Thirdly, if the conscription is to be imposed to secure necessary personnel for social service work, the finance necessary for training a large number of students for social service work is first to be considered. Secondly, if the students are to be paid for the work they do, the payment also will involve a financial question. The question to be considered will be whether work obtained by way of conscription will be cheaper than work obtained by the employment of fully paid social workers who take social work as a profession.

If the problem is to be taken up for practical enforcement, a preliminary investigation seems to be necessary for the success of the experiment.

Students over the age of 15 may be persuaded to take interest in some kinds of social work and help adult workers in their work or do some kind of social work under the guidance of adult and trained social workers. As students in schools are under the age of 15, only college students may be used for this purpose.

For some kind of social work training will be necessary before the students are given actual work.

Defining social work as any kind of work which the community needs and which is done in the spirit of being useful to the community and not for a selfish purpose, for removing the poverty of the poor, for giving education to the masses or for providing better facilities for public health and care of the sick, field for social work is vast. The actual work to be undertaken will depend upon circumstances—whether the work is to be done while the colleges are in session or during holidays or after the college career is over—and circumstances of the locality where the colleges are located or the students spend their holidays or where the students are to be taken for social work during the periods of the holidays. Collection of information regarding social conditions may be mentioned as being very suitable among the activities to be undertaken by students. There will also be some kind of elementary work in every other field of social work which the students can do under the guidance of trained workers.

If manual work is to be paid for and if persons belonging to the ordinary working class are available to take up the work, employment of students for manual work will cause unemployment among the labourers and this should be avoided. If paid labour is not available, students may be used even for manual work.

Students spend a sufficiently long time in their colleges and they may prefer to be in a different atmosphere for their spare time work which is to take the place of their recreation. But on voluntary basis some college authorities may undertake some kind of social activities for those students who prefer to do social work under the guidance of their professors.

Only work done during holidays or work to be done after the student takes his degree and finishes his career as a student, can be whole time for a continuously long period. Students will not like to take up social work after their college career is over, unless they take up social work as a permanent profession.

As social service work for being done successfully and usefully ought to be done in a disinterested spirit and not for a selfish motive, it should be done on a voluntary basis and not on a compulsory basis.

The scope for such work is very great. The actual programme for such work should be planned by school authorities and social service organisations in consultation with each other. The programme will differ according to the inclination of the students and their physical, mental and moral equipment and also according to the activities of the social service organisations with which they will be working. Very few private social service organisations will be in a position to pay for the voluntary social work which the students may do. Government or Municipal Bodies undertake welfare activities, they will be in a position to pay the students who co-operate with them in their welfare activities.

Compulsory social work is a difficult problem. Social work done under compulsion will be done mechanically and therefore also badly and not in the proper spirit. Social work does not lend itself to being done under compulsion unless it is of a mechanical kind.

Whether payment for work done should be made or not will depend upon the financial circumstances of the parents. Some students have to help their parents in domestic work, some may have to work to add to the family income by taking up some paid work after college hours. Some students may have to take up family responsibilities immediately after their college course is finished. Compulsory social work should be paid for in the case of those students the income of whose parents is less than a certain sum. Compulsory social work after the college course is over will have to be ruled out, even if the work is paid. Young men would like to tape up work for a permanent career as soon as possible.

In Soviet Russia senior medical students and young graduates were expected to do medical work especially in rural areas when the need for fully trained doctors was very great. But after the period of compulsory work was over, these students followed the medical profession. Conscription for military training service is on a different footing, the justification being that in an emergency of war, a large army cannot be otherwise trained and made ready for service immediately. Compulsion in other fields of work will be a very unpopular measure and should not be adopted except in a grave emergency such as widespread epidemic disease or famine.

We do not recommend compulsory social work. Compulsory work for a short period, say for two years, can only be of a very mechanical nature. If students are given work in fields like teaching, most of the period will be required for training. The use of students immediately after they pass their Matriculation for work as teachers is not practicable and will not produce good results. If compulsion is at all to be used, it should be used only for college students either during the college course or after the college career is over.

Compulsion will involve economic difficulties to students and their parents and if the work is paid for, it may not be found to be ultimately cheaper.

To secure co-operation from the local people where work is to be done, advisory committees may be formed.

Only an organisation established by Government can undertake the work for carrying out a scheme for compulsory social work. Government will have to have detailed plans ready to provide work for different batches of students. No private agency can cope with this work and no agency which is not responsible to the legislature should be entrusted with this work. As compulsory social work will have to be paid for in the case of poor students, the responsibility for payment will rest on that of Government. Generally private agencies will not even accept conscripted work if it is paid fully and where there is great scarcity of labourers or of other persons. Handing over the work to private agencies will not be desirable and not practicable.

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FOREIGN PERIODICALS

China and Korea

Dr. Chen Yao-Sheng delivered the following lecture at the Chinese Institute, London, as published in *The Asiatic Review*, October 1950 :

II

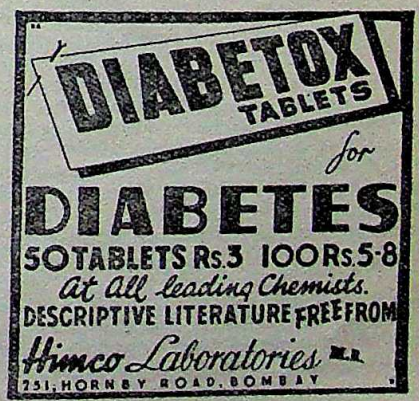
Prior to 1858, Japan was a federal kingdom. In that year, however, the House of Togugawa collapsed and a new regime commonly known as the Restoration was established. After she had concluded Treaty relations with the West she desired similar relations with China and in 1870 her approach was accepted by the latter resulting in the Treaty of Tientsin 1871, a feature of which was the reciprocal granting of extra-territorial jurisdiction. The following year the question of jurisdiction over the Liu-Chiu islands arose and as a result of ignorance on the part of government officials, China lost her jurisdiction of these islands. Japan made the King of Liu-Chiu "Lord of the Japanese Empire," transferred Liu-Chiu affairs to her Ministry of the Interior and prohibited Liu-Chiu from sending her bi-yearly tribute mission to China. This action caused great alarm in China and realizing Japan's ambition, began to defend her vassal states from further encroachment.

As early as 1868 Japan had begun her activities in Korea when she sent a mission to review relationship. This was refused by the Korean Government, but later in 1875 Japan asked China to grant credentials for a mission to Korea. The Chinese Government, considering it improper to order Korea to receive the mission therefore declined to grant credentials. On the suggestion of Li Hung-Chang, Viceroy of Chi-li, however, the Japanese request was communicated to Korea, resulting in the Mission being received and a Treaty concluded in 1876. By this Treaty Japan was given the right to establish a permanent Legation in Seoul; to trade in two ports in addition to Fushan; to station consuls in these ports and to enjoy extra-territorial rights. Foreseeing Japan's ambition as regards Korea, China took precautionary measures and advised Korea to reconstruct her army in readiness for an emergency. China also advised Korea to enter into Treaty relations with other foreign powers in order to weaken Japan's hold on her, and in response to this advice Korea sent a special commissioner to Li Hung-chang to consult with him in person a plan for the reconstruction of the Korean army. Through the good offices of Li, Korea signed Treaties with the United States in 1882, Great Britain in 1883, Italy and Russia in 1884 and Austria in 1892.

Although China wished to make Korea strong enough to withstand any infringement of her rights from Foreign Countries, internal strife in the latter's domestic affairs weakened her position considerably. The King, who had succeeded his uncle at the age of 12, was of weak character. After his marriage he became influenced by his consort and permitted his father Ta Yuan-Chun (the Regent) to be ousted from power. Ta Yuan-Chun naturally could not accept such a personal injury and sought his revenge by taking advantage of dissatisfaction which existed in the Army and incited a palace revolution. At that time, anti-Japanese feeling was high among the patriotic Koreans and they seized the revolution as an occasion to manifest their feelings. They burned down Japanese Legation, the Minister fled to the coast and the Japanese Government despatched large military forces to Korea and entered the Capital. When the news of the Korean disturbances reached China, troops were sent, but by the time they arrived the revolution was over. In the ordinary way, China would not have intervened in Korean internal disturbances, but with Japan involved there were little else she could do. In order to prevent Japan from having any pretext to begin hostilities against Korea, China quelled the disturbance, arrested the instigator Ta Yuan-Chun and sent him to China where he was detained at Paoting. China's swift action in settling the Korean problem left Japan with no excuse to make further complaints so she had to content herself with whatever indemnity she might exact. On August 30, 1882, she obtained from the Korean Government an indemnity and the right to maintain a Legation guard with quarters provided by the Korean Government. A Supplementary Treaty Clause to the 1872 Treaty with Korea was also obtained.

In 1884, China was involved in a military conflict with France over Indo-China, and in consequence was unable to pay much attention to Korea. Some of the Korean demagogues, with the assistance of the Japanese Charge d'Affaires, became active. They staged a coup d'etat on December 4, 1884, on the occasion of a dinner given to the Diplomatic Corps to celebrate the opening of a Korean Postal system. The conspirators murdered six government ministers and seized the King and Queen. Yuan Shih-kai, a member of Li Hung-Chang's staff and Commander of the Korean Army, at once rescued the King and Queen and suppressed the conspirators. Seeing their cause lost, the Japanese Charge d'Affaires burned down the Legation and retreated to the sea coast. Again Japan sent a large military force to Seoul to exact anything they could from the Korean Government, and as a result obtained an indemnity together with a convention by which Korea was to apologize to Japan and to rebuild the garrison barracks.

As China was involved, Japan sent Count Ito Hirobumi to China alleging that China had started hostilities and taken part in the interception of the retreating Japanese guards. He demanded the recall of Chinese troops



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and the punishment of officers connected with the incident. Li Hung-Chang, who negotiated with Count Ito, accepted the request provided Japan would do the same and recall her Legation guards. The other requests he peremptorily rejected. After several meetings a Convention was signed with three articles—the most important one being Article III providing :

"In case any disturbances of a grave nature occur in Korea which necessitates the respective countries, or either of them to send troops to Korea; it is hereby understood that they shall give, each to the other, previous notices in writing of their intention to do so, and that when the matter is settled they shall withdraw their troops and not further station them there."

In the hope of checking the weak King, China sent Ta Yuan-Chun back to Korea in 1885. In addition Li Hung-Chang appointed Yuan Shih-kai as "Trade Commissioner" to Korea with the power to advise the King on behalf of China. For nine years peace reigned in Korea until the Spring of 1894 when an anti-foreign movement known as the Tung-Hsueh Rebellion broke out in South Korea. Failing to quell the rebellion the Korean Government appealed to China for troops. 1,500 soldiers were sent and the Japanese Government duly notified in accordance with the Li-Ito Convention. In reply, however, Japan declared that she had never recognized Korea as a tributary state of China and that she intended despatching military forces to Korea on the grounds that the disturbances were of a grave nature and necessitated Japanese troops there. The Chinese Government pointed out that the presence of Chinese troops was in accordance with practice hitherto pursued by China in protecting her tributary states and that there was no necessity for Japan to send troops. Ignoring China's claim, Japan proceeded to send detachment after detachment of troops and in answer to Korean protests, claimed her right to do so under the convention of 1882 by which Korea consented to Japan stationing guards at her Legation. Until July 18, there were 18,000 Japanese troops around the Korean capital. Meanwhile, the rebels in Korea had dispersed on learning of the arrival of Chinese troops and China accordingly requested Japan to withdraw her troops simultaneously with the Chinese troops as provided in the Li-Ito Convention. In reply to this Japan proposed that both countries should first jointly suppress the rebellion and then appoint a joint commission charged with the duty of reforming the Korean Government administration. The Chinese Government regarded this proposal as completely absurd and insisted on the withdrawal of troops by both countries. Japan's mind was made up, however, and on the very day she received China's note, declared that the interests of Japan in Korea, arising from propinquity as well as commerce, were too important and far reaching to allow her to view with indifference the deplorable condition of affairs in that kingdom and that therefore the withdrawal of her troops should be consequent upon the establishment of some understanding that will serve to guarantee the future peace, order and good government of Korea.

Upon receipt of this Note, Li Hung Chang sounded both the British and Russian Ministers to China as to whether their respective governments might advise Japan to stop sending troops to Korea. The Ministers referred the question to their governments but only Russia was willing to move in the matter. This prospect disturbed Japan and she assured Russia that she had no special motive and would withdraw her troops. She asked both Britain and Russia, however, if they would be willing to act as mediators in the Korean question but both governments replied that they had no such intention. With these assurances Japan felt she could [illegible] in dealing with China, and on July 14 sent a Note to China in the form of an ultimatum, ending as follows:

"The only conclusion deducible from the circumstances is that the Chinese Government is disposed to precipitate complications, and at this juncture the Imperial Japanese Government find themselves relieved of all responsibility for any eventuality that may, in future, arise out of the situation."

Immediately upon receipt of this China took precautionary measures in anticipation of military action by Japan. Great Britain and Russia, by this time, had changed their policy and their Ministers in Peking and Tokyo were instructed to co-operate with the representatives of Germany, France and Italy to effect a mediation on the basis of simultaneous withdrawal of troops from Korea. None of these powers were, however, prepared to offer mediation, for they evidently believed that Japan would abide by her declaration and would not resort to extensive measures. This was latterly also the belief of Great Britain and Russia. But on the contrary, Japan declared war on China on July 23, 1894. She seized the Korean Palace, compelled the aged Ta Yuan-Chun to appear as Regent and attacked Chinese war vessels at Yasham.

During the course of the war China persuaded foreign powers to mediate but from the very beginning Japan was determined to negotiate directly with China. As a result no mediation was affected and China was compelled to sign a Treaty with Japan at Shi-monoseki on April 17, 1895. Apart from many other concessions given to Japan, China recognized the full independence of Korea, ceded the cession of Formosa and Liaotung peninsula in South Manchuria, including Port Arthur and Darien.

The cession of Liaotung peninsula to Japan came as a great shock to Russia as it was always her desire to possess a warm-water seaport, her only other possession Vladivostock, being navigable for only half the year. It had long been her wish to gain control of Port Arthur and Darien and extend her influence in Manchuria. In an effort to prevent Japan gaining control of the two ports and southern Manchuria she induced Germany and France to intervene on April 17, the day when the Treaty was signed but not yet ratified. As a result of this intervention, Japan was compelled to return Liaotung peninsula to China.

It is interesting to note that Great Britain did not join the other powers in the intervention. After examining the Japanese peace terms, the matter was discussed at a British cabinet meeting presided over by the Prime Minister, Lord Rosebery, on April 8. According to records of discussion, Britain was greatly disappointed to discover that China was not such a formidable "ally" against Russia as she had for years fancied.

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the other hand, she was pleased to observe, that, without any effort on her part, she was to enjoy, through the most-favoured nation clause in her Treaties with China "many additional commercial privileges." But apart from these considerations, she saw nothing menacing her interests in the Far East by the change contemplated by the peace terms, in fact she appeared to see enormous advantages in them. When Lord Kimberley, the British Foreign Minister, was approached by Count Hutzfeldt, the German Ambassador in London, the former was reported to have believed that the danger to China in the cession of the Liaotung peninsula might be lessened by moving the Chinese capital to Nanking, or in other words, by virtually abandoning North China, including Manchuria.

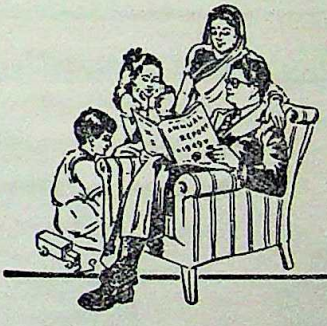
I would like to point out here that Korea was not actually annexed by Japan until after the Russo-Japanese war of 1904. In order to make the history complete I should include an outline of events leading up to this conflict which was caused directly by the Korean problem.

Japan soon realized that Russia was the country she had to contend with especially when, after she had begun to reform Korea, she found that the King had fled to the Russian Legation for protection. Under these circumstances, Japan had to accept whatever terms Russia chose to dictate, and by one agreement dated May 14, 1896, between the two representatives at Seoul, Japan undertake to restrain her political bravos in exchange for the early return of the King and to limit with Russia the number of guards to be maintained in Korea. By another agreement she agreed to come to a common accord on the question of rendering financial assistance to Korea and to abstain with her from meddling with the Korean Army and police forces. In 1898, a Convention, was signed between Japan and Russia providing for mutual abstention from interference in the internal affairs of Korea and from nominating military instructors and financial advisers without having previously arrived at mutual accord on the subject.

By virtue of the Sino-Russian secret Treaty of 1896, Russia acquired special privileges in Manchuria and latterly the lease of Port Arthur and Dairen from China, thus extending her control all over Manchuria. Russia's new position in the Far East naturally caused alarm to Japan and the conflict of the two spheres of interest became inevitable. Both Russia and Japan began preparations for war but before resorting to extreme measures, Japan started a diplomatic manœuvre on July 28, 1903 by inviting Russia to enter upon "an examination of the condition of affairs in the extreme Far East where their interests meet, with a view to a definition of their respective interests in these regions." This request Russia was obliged to accept.

Russia agreed to Japan's original proposal that Japan should recognize Russia's special rights in Manchuria; that both parties should respect the independence and territorial integrity of Korea and to maintain the principles of equal opportunity for the commerce and industry of all nations therein. Russia put forward further proposals (*a*) that Japan should abstain from using any part of the territory of Korea for strategical purposes and from undertaking on the coast of Korea any military works capable of menacing the freedom of navigation in the strait, and (*b*) to consider that part of the territory

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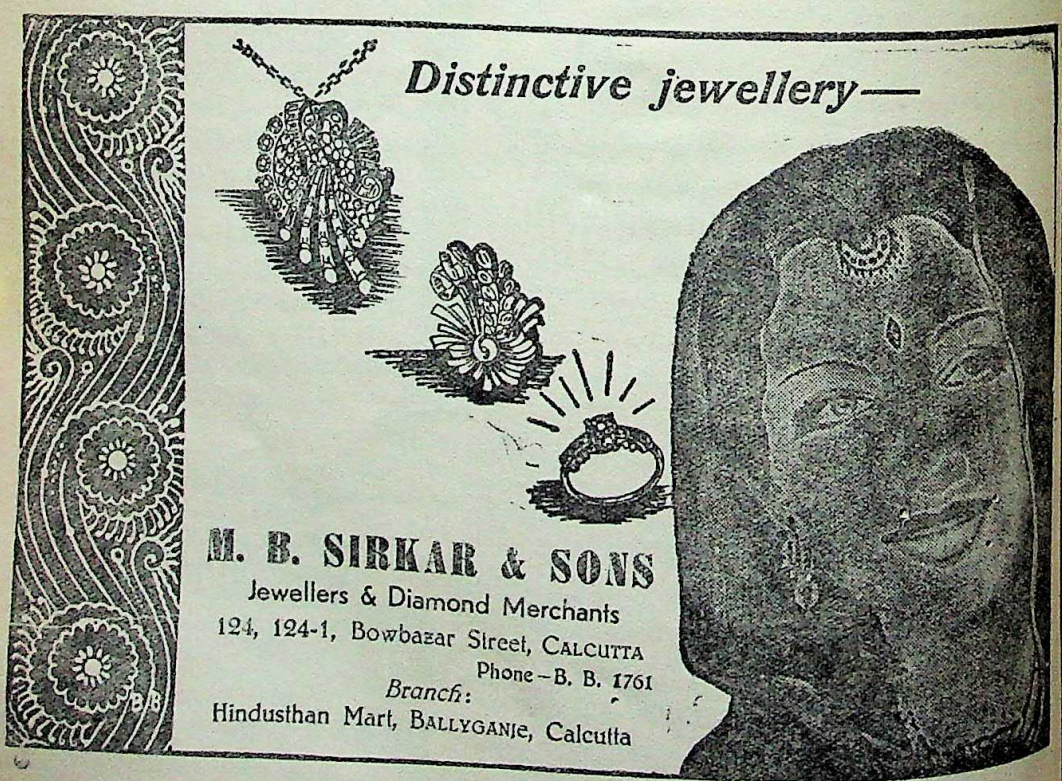
of Korea lying to the north of the 39th Parallel as neutral zone into which neither of the contracting parties should introduce troops.

Japan accepted the half of Russia's first proposal (*a*) referring to the freedom of navigation in the strait of Korea and rejected the other half for strategical purposes and substituted for (*b*) one of hers, constituting a neutral zone extending fifty kilometres on each side of the Korean Manchuria frontier. Russia, however, insisted on her own proposal so Japan further suggested the suppression of proposal (*b*) concerning a neutral zone, also the elimination in (*a*) of the clause "not to use any part of the territory of Korea for strategical purposes" as she had insisted upon before. Russia refused to agree to these suggestions and on February 5, 1904, Japan informed Russia of her decision to terminate negotiations and intended "to take such independent action as she may deem necessary to defend her menaced position and to protect her rights and interests." On February 10, the Japanese Emperor declared war on Russia and at the same time declared that "the integrity of Korea was a matter of concern to his Empire, not only because of Japan's traditional relations with that country, but because the separate existence of Korea was essential to the safety of his realm, and that the absorption of Manchuria by Russia would render it impossible to maintain the integrity of Korea and preserve peace in the Far East." On February 23, Japan drew up a protocol with Korea, by which Korea agreed to place full confidence in Japan and adopt her advice with regard to improvement in administration while Japan agreed to insure the safety and repose of the Imperial House of Korea and to definitely guarantee the independence and territorial integrity of the Korean Empire. On August 19, Japan signed another agreement with Korea by which Korea undertook to employ a Japanese subject as financial adviser and a westerner as diplomatic adviser, both to be recommended by Japan. On May 30, 1905, yet a further agreement was signed by which Korea undertook to transfer and assign the control of and administration of the post, telegraph and telephone services in Korea to Japan.

In her war with Japan, Russia met the same fate as China, and on September 5, 1905, she signed a peace treaty with Japan at Portsmouth, New Hampshire. By this Treaty, Russia "recognized that Japan had predominant political, military and commercial interests in Korea, agreed not to interfere or place obstacles in the way of any measure of direction, protection and supervision which the Japanese Government may deem necessary to take in Korea."

This treaty, together with the acquiescence of Great Britain by the renewal of the Anglo-Japanese alliance in 1905, gave Japan a free hand in Korea. In the next few years, she assumed control of Korea's foreign relations, established a President-General in Seoul in 1905, forced the abdication of the recalcitrant Korean King in favour of his feeble-minded son in 1907, and in 1910 formally annexed Korea.

(*To be continued*)



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The Birth of a Masterpiece

The 'Last Judgement' of Michelangelo

On a beautiful day in spring, a very great Architect, who had already made his life famous with his works, left his beloved Florence to go to Rome in order to construct the Cupola of St. Peters. It is said that on reaching the gates of his city, just where the houses give way to the countryside, Michelangelo turned around, and half confessing his inability, he bid good-bye to the Cupola of Santa Maria del Fiore, which in all its grandeur is the expression of the genius of another immortal artist, saying: "I am going to Rome to build your sister, bigger than you surely, but not more beautiful than you." However when he reached the Eternal City, Michelangelo gave life to that wonderful work, which together with Bernini's Columnade, makes of St. Peters Square, the most marvellous symphony of architecture that can be admired in the world.

But yet another work was still awaiting the prodigious hand of this sovereign artist—the Sistine Chapel. Who but he would have been able to worthily crown those walls which had already been honoured by the brushes of Perugino, Signorelli, Botticelli and Ghirlandaio? And behold, having dismissed the painters he had called to help him in the rendering of this gigantic epic work, because they would never have been able to satisfy him, he who was unsatisfied even with himself, set to work alone.

One remains enrapt while gazing at the figures on these walls—up there there are the Sibyls and Prophets! Here there are predecessors of Christ and the Bronze Serpent! Here again above the door-way one sees David and Goliath, Judith and others! Muscular figures, strange poses, members strained to the extreme—all to express both the spiritual and temporal life.

But a baneful destiny did not allow the Artist to complete his work so soon. Rome was besieged by the Imperial troops; Florence itself was encircled by the militia of Charles V, and the Artist felt it his duty to join Ferrucci in the defence of the walls of his city.

After years, calm reigned again, and another Pope, Paul III, wished to see the work begun in the Sistine Chapel terminated. It was the year 1537, Buonarroti, although at that time well over sixty years of age, was at work again; he worked with such zest and vigour that he seemed to have the energy of a boy of twenty. The most powerful scene of the wonderful alfresco, the climax of this glorious symphony, the summit of the highest peak in art, a 'Divina Commedia' in painting was being born —he was painting the 'Last Judgement'!

With what bewildering admiration did the greatest authorities of those days go every evening to gaze at this marvellous work being carried out! Among these persons there were Cardinal Sadoleto and Cardinal Bembo; there were the most learned of foreigners, even the famous poetess Vittoria Colonna was one of the daily visitors. They came in numbers just to get one glimpse, even through the scaffolding, of that magical scene.

Even the malignant Biagio da Cesena came along one fine day, and horror-stricken because the artist had filled his paintings with nudes, he began to criticise him incessantly. Michelangelo, whose pride had been touched by the criticism, revenged himself by painting the figure of his critic as Minos, and naturally he placed him in hell. In vain did the punished man run to the Holy Father to protest saying, "Your Holiness, Michelangelo in his 'Last Judgement'." "I know all, my son, I know all," said His Holiness, "but I also know that nothing can be done to remove you from the uncomfortable place to which Buonarroti has condemned you, if he had at least put you in Purgatory, we could have managed by dint of prayer to remove you from there; but you know as well as I do that once one is in hell, he must remain there forever, without remission....." And so this wonderful work went on—'No other artist, even if he had the genius of a hundred Buonarroti—says Giovanni Papini—will ever be able to put into lines or colours such a supernatural event.'

At the bottom one sees corrupt and false humanity. From the dark mouth of a cave comes the ferocious pitecantrop of the earliest ages, this is the first landmark of human history, which began with the creation. On the same plane, and at a side, there are heaps of tombs and corpses to show the end of the parabola of terrestrial life—the alpha and the omega of our mortal state. Immediately above the rotting carnage in the middle of the scene, there is the first impressive sign of the life that really counts, the life that shall not pass away. One sees the group of Angels descending to the chosen valley to blow their trumpets, and at those sounds the whole picture changes aspect in a very incomparable way. At the first look one sees only a large mass of members, parts of human bodies in an obsessant movement. A confusion of bodies, outstretched hands and legs, muscles contracted to the extreme, necks and faces swollen with exasperation, open hands or closed fists in desperate movements, people cursing, fighting—a great confusion, a motley crowd, a kaleidoscope, a phantasmagoric scene, a parade of maddened humanity.

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dav depicted, of which a look at the sky is enough to strike fear of that fatal day, on one side one sees the elect going towards their merited prize, on the other the reprobates—crying in vain for a belated mercy—being cast into the lowest abyss, where even Caron the devil, who ferrys the damned in his frightful boat across the lethal river, is pushing and beating them down with his oars towards their eternal punishment. High above this plane, on either side of this twofold scene there are the angels who are throwing down the pillar to which the Divine Martyr was tied and scourged, and raising up the Sublime Cross on which the redeeming Outcast became the Redeemer. In the middle there is the group of the most faithful of the faithful, those who for the love of Him did not fear to face martyrdom, or those who followed Him exactly to the word He taught. At the highest point, on the side of His Worthy Mother, there is the dominating figure of God the Creator, Saviour and Supreme Judge—the God of Justice and Mercy, Who is the reward and the Judgement, the God of Anger, from Whose judgement none can escape.

All the most frightful sentiments and thoughts alternate and cover one another in this way, in this apocalyptical exhibition; all the most tragic and condemning tones sound together in this endless and eerie chorus of colours and shades. There is nothing soft, gentle or serene, everything yells, cries, begs, or orders or shouts. A devilish and delirious wind blows over and upsets those creatures whom the Creator created for their own good, and whom another creator has set down here in the most true and realistic expression, which is the most doleful of expressions—his own personal sentiments as [illegible] and man.

Michelangelo has even painted his own portrait [illegible] one of the embossments on the sheath of St. Bartholomew the martyr who was skinned alive, and who in this fearful picture, together with the other martyr St. Lawrence stands below the Redeemer to give testimony of how [illegible] and what kind of pains he had to suffer as [illegible] happens to the generous and pure innocent souls.

The whole court of Rome, with the Pope at the [illegible] was there to see this superhuman scene on the last [illegible] When Michelangelo had given his last touch to the [illegible] cle, and had come down for the last time from [illegible] scaffolding, which he ordered the workmen to remove, a shout of surprise and bewilderment, of admiration and terror went up from those who were present. All [illegible] together bowed and knelt down before the masterpiece.

'In these past ages, four men have excelled in [illegible] and letters above the whole human race—Dante, Shakespeare, Beethoven and Michelangelo—exclaimed Taine. Maeterlinck enjoined—"The painting of Michelangelo—the meeting of giants—is a part of the heavens where the most masculine scenes, all the most powerful [illegible] all the most burning of passions are reflected," and Fa[illegible] rightly said: "Well could have Michelangelo exclaimed 'My art will create a set of ignorants,' as only he could give life to such masterpieces that surpass all [illegible] masterpieces"—while Sallet somewhat exaggerates saying: 'Michelangelo is like God.'—*Adapted from Sistina by Arnolfo Santelli.*



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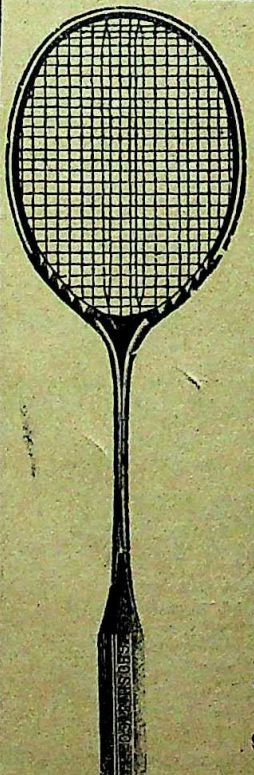
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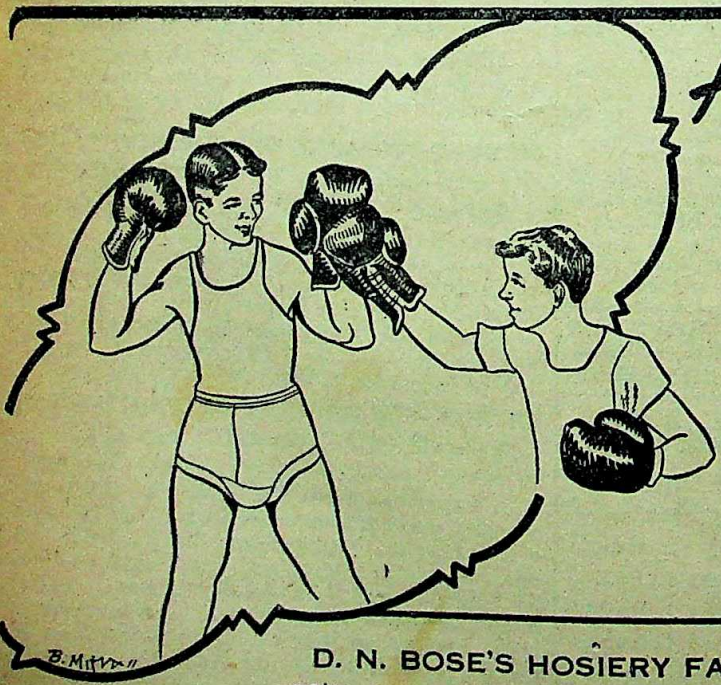
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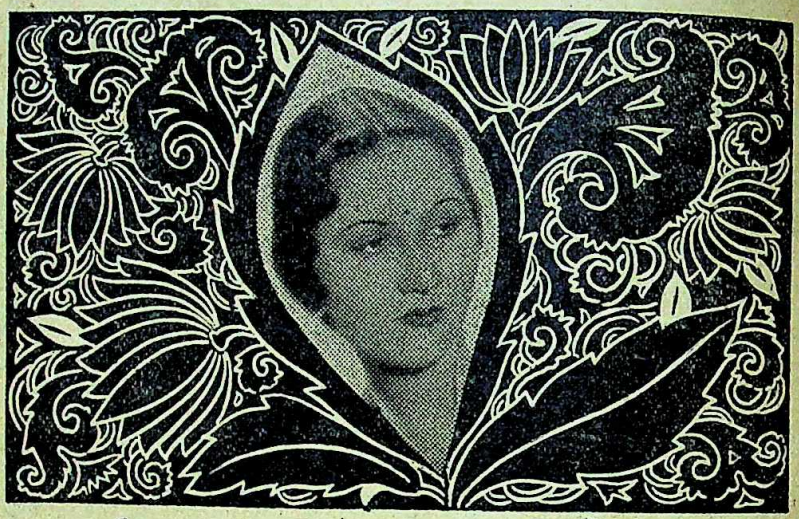
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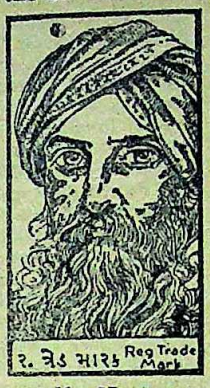
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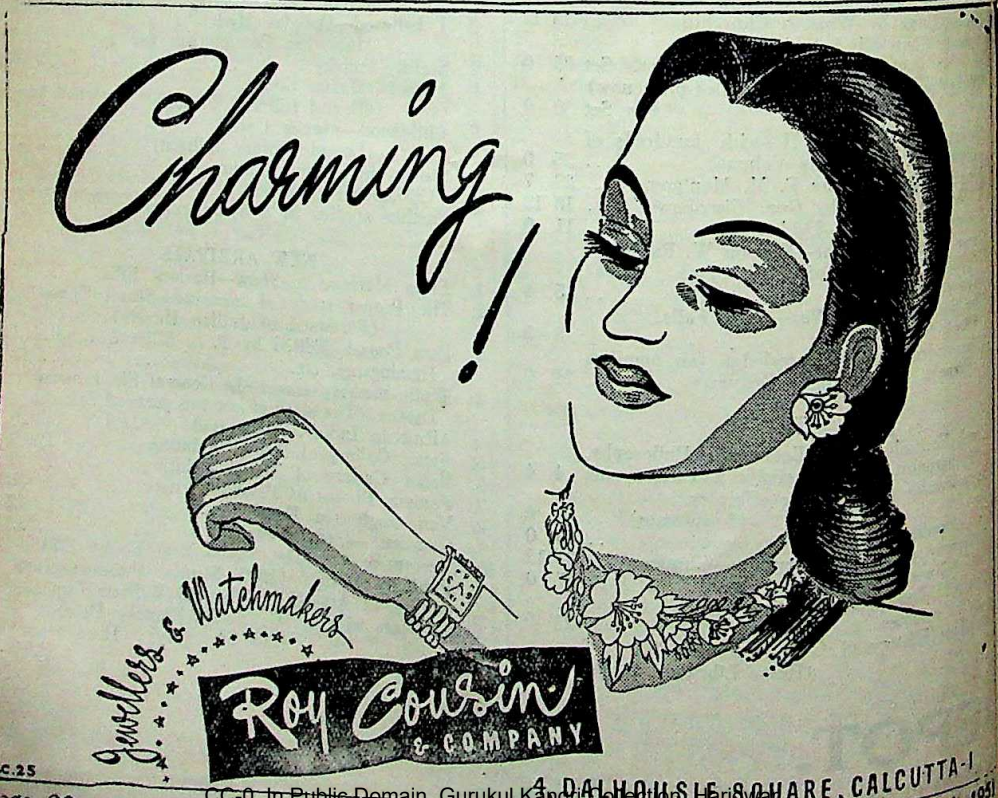
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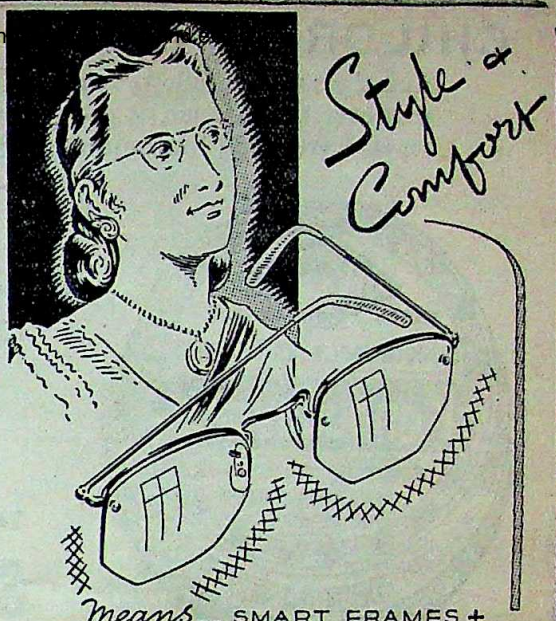
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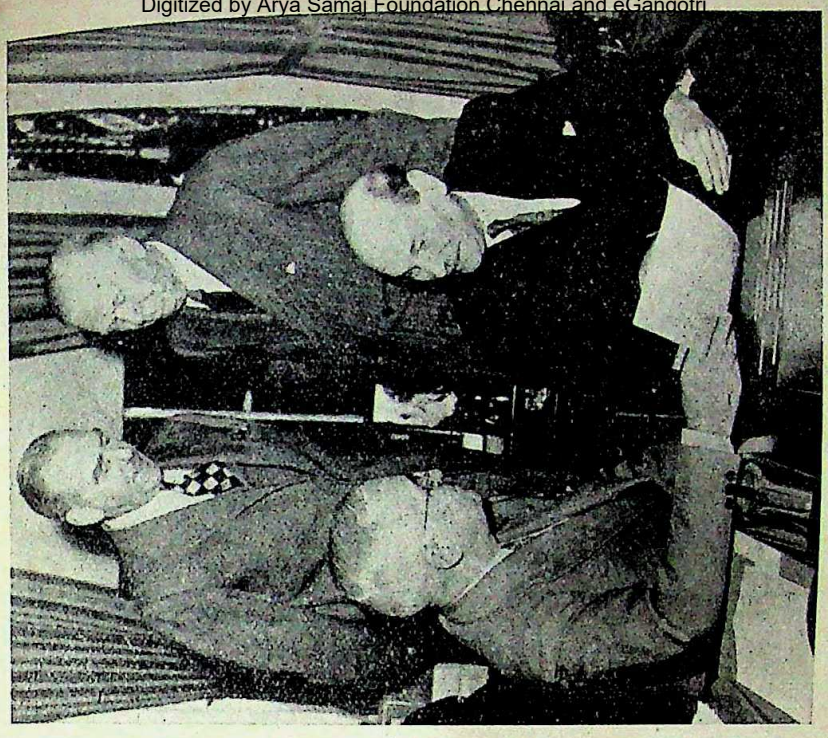
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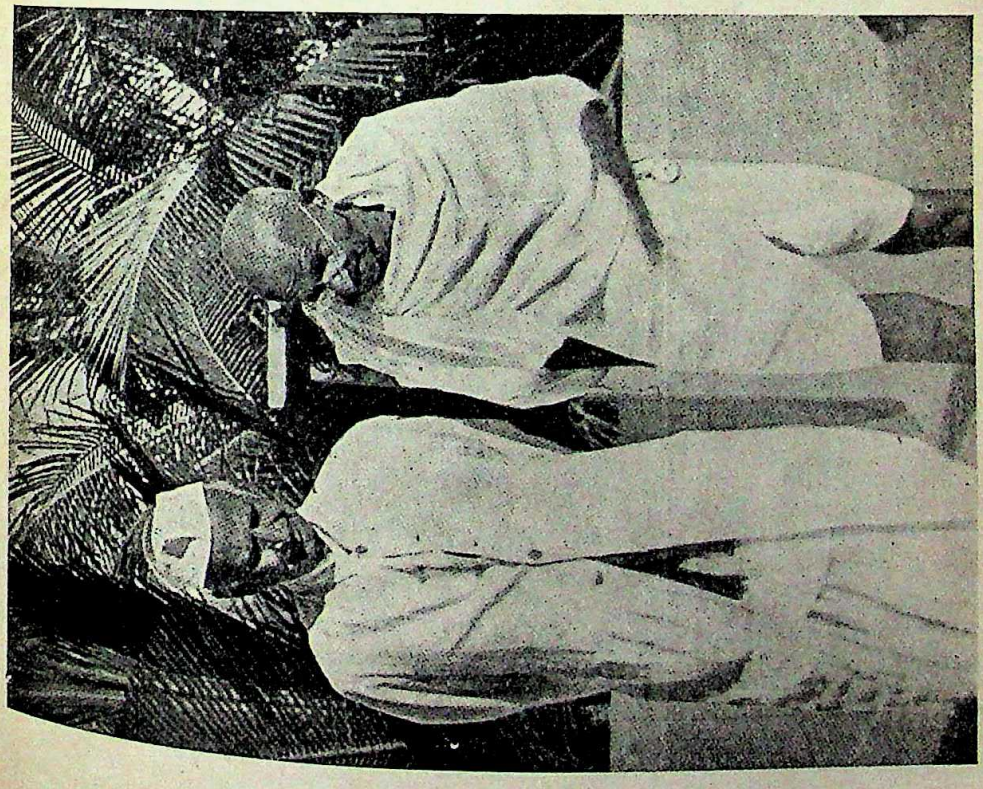
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American President Truman in conference with British Prime Minister Attlee. (*Standing*) Dean Acheson, U. S. Secretary of State, and George C. Marshall, U. S. Secretary of Defence



Thakkar Bapa and Mahatma Gandhi

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MOTHER
By Ramendra Nath Chakravorty

Prabasi Press, Calcutta

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THE MODERN REVIEW

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NOTES

Indo-Pakistan Trade Pact

The Indo-Pakistan Trade Pact has been signed. India has surrendered to Pakistan in accepting the par value of the Pakistan rupee which she had hitherto persistently refused to recognise. India had stoutly opposed the par value of the Pakistan rupee at the International Monetary Fund and she will now have no face to oppose it there. Her position will be ridiculous at the next meeting of that body. This surrender has caused much resentment in this country as it is bound to do, specially after last February's incidents which were direct results of India's refusal to recognise the Pak rupee.

This bitter humiliation is rendered all the more poignant when we consider what might have happened if the Union had men at the helm who could keep disloyal officials and rapacious Big Business tycoons in control. Last year, when Pakistan was facing a seemingly impassable crisis, the entire nation's cause was betrayed by those who controlled the I.J.M.A., in collusion with a high official whose loyalty to the State was anything but conspicuous in the jute deal, which we consider was little short of an act of treachery to the nation.

We believe we shall not be far wrong if we assume that Pakistan relied in this devaluation trial of strength as much on the tenacity of her ministers and the loyalty and integrity of her high-officials as on the lack of those qualities in their opposite numbers in India, plus the rapacity and treachery of those Indian elements who, through speculation, inhuman profiteering and tax-evasion, have successfully intruded into Big Business. But recriminations are futile, let us consider the humble pie set before us.

The total value of trade that passes between the two countries is of the order of some Rs. 300 crores. Pakistan is an agricultural country. Her disinclination to devaluate her currency and therefore raise her cost of living is a normal sentiment and ought to have been foreseen by our Finance Ministry. India's trade with Pakistan is as important, if not more important, than her trade with the other Commonwealth countries. Rushing towards devaluation without waiting for the decision of Pakistan had been an act of rashness for which the people of India have had to pay very dearly in blood and money. Our former Finance Minister and the present incumbent were the two persons responsible for taking the decision of devaluation without taking Pakistan into account. One has retired and the other succeeding him in office, has completed our humiliation. We consider even revaluation of Indian Rupee to an intermediate level would have kept up the prestige of the Government before the people. Export of commodities which are already in short supply might cause still further hardship to the common people. Revaluation of the Rupee would have been better for the masses, the present arrangement will be profitable only for the capitalist classes. Pakistan is a primary producer of goods of a perishable nature. One year's excess stock in her hands due to non-purchase by India would have pricked the Pakistani bubble and brought her to the position of a distressed seller. Much is made of Pakistan's opportunity to sell jute to countries abroad, specially to England, Germany, France and Spain. The position of jute industry in these countries has been given by Prof. C. N. Vakil in his latest voluminous publication *Economic Consequences of Divided India* (November, 1950). He says, "In the pre-war period, 57 per cent of the total jute looms of the world were

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being worked in India. During and since the war, the importance of India in the production of jute manufactures in the world increased as a result of the dislocation of manufacturing establishments in Germany, France, Italy and other European countries, except in the U.K." We apprehend that this position, together with India's jute-growing capacity and the limitation of the Chittagong port have not been taken into serious consideration. Dependence of an organised industry on foreign raw material is nothing new in the modern world. If such a dependence were not feasible, Britain and Japan's Textile industry and Dundee's jute mills would have been disbanded long ago. The strange, helpless stand taken by one of the strongest units of organised industry in the world, *viz.*, the Indian Jute Mills, has been a lamentable spectacle. The Government of India have equally vaccillated in their policies in tune with these mills.

The following is a summary of the Agreement :

Being desirous of promoting trade between the two countries the Government of Pakistan and Government of India have entered into the following agreement :

Article. (1) The period of this agreement shall be from the 26th February, 1951 to 30th June, 1952.

(2) The two Governments agree to permit the exportation to and the importation from the other country of the commodities and goods specified in Schedule I which is attached to this Agreement.

(3) In respect of such commodities and goods as are, or may be subject to export or import licence, the two Governments agree to grant upon application duly made, export or import licences up to the quantitative or monetary limits specified in Schedule I, in accordance with the laws and regulations and administrative practices of the Government granting the licences.

(4) In respect of those commodities in which the export trade is the monopoly of the Government in either country, the terms of the agreement will be deemed to have been fulfilled if the supplies have been made at agreed points within or without the country and such quantity of the commodities mentioned in column two of Schedule I as cannot be supplied before the 30th June, 1951, shall be carried forward to the period 30th June, 1952.

(5) In respect of foodgrains the quantities, period and terms of supply will be as in Schedule III to this Agreement.

(6) In respect of raw cotton, the Government of Pakistan have at present no destination quotas, and India is, therefore, free to buy any quantity. If, however, destinational quotas are introduced during the period of the agreement, the Government of Pakistan agree to give India a quota of 400,000 bales in the cotton season 1951-52.

Article II : The two Governments agree that there shall be no import and/or export trade control restrictions on the movement between the two countries in respect of the commodities mentioned in Schedule II.

Article III: In respect of the commodities mentioned in Schedule I to this Agreement the two Governments agree that except where prices are separately negotiated, neither Government will impose any discriminatory supplement or surcharge or any other addition to the export prices of those commodities.

Article IV : The commodities and goods described in Schedules I and II refer only to those that are produced, processed or manufactured in India or Pakistan as the case may be.

Article V: The Government of India and the Government of Pakistan agree not to permit the re-export of any of the commodities imported under Schedule I.

Article VI: Notwithstanding anything contained in Articles I and II, the two Governments agree that export and import facilities granted by each country to the other shall be no less favourable than those applied to any other country in the sterling/soft currency area.

Article VII: In order to facilitate the implementation of this Agreement, the two governments agree to hold periodical consultations with each other in respect of any matter arising from, or in connection with, the supply of commodities or goods between the two countries during the currency of, and in accordance with, this Agreement, and if necessary, by mutual Agreement alter, extend or supplement the Schedules to this Agreement.

Article VIII: This Agreement shall come into force on the 26th February, 1951.

SCHEDULE I

From India to Pakistan

	Up to end of June, 1951	From 1st July, 1951 to 30th June, 1952
	Tons	Tons
Coal	600,000	1,500,000
Hard coke	10,000	up to Dec., 1951 and nothing afterwards
Soft coke	5,000	20,000
Pig Iron	5,400	20,000
Ferro silicon	nil	100
Ferro Manganese	nil	100
Galvanised sheets	nil	12,000
Black sheets	nil	8,000
Iron and Steel products—		
Rails	nil	5,000
Wheels, tyres and axles	nil	5,000
Structural Steel	7,000	25,000
Electrical steel sheets	nil	1,000
M. G. Crossings	120	nil
Mills loose jaws for M. G. Steel sleepers in silico Manganese steel	20,000 numbers by October, 1951	nil
Keys for M. G. steel Sleepers	50,000 numbers by July, 1951	nil

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	Tons	Tons
Alluminium circles and sheets	nil	100
High alumina fire bricks	150	500
Soft wood (jungle wood) from Malabar, Assam, etc.	5,000	(including 5,000 tons deodar sleepers)
Hard timber (other than teak)	2,500	10,000 (including 5,000 S. L. logs and sleepers)
	25,000	75,000
Cement		
Stone and Ballast as much as transport can stand.		
Paper	1,000	5,000
Linseed oil	750	2,500
Mustard oil	5,000	15,000
Chlorine	50	nil
Rubber tyres and tubes (other than cycle tyres and tubes and giant and non-standard tyres and tubes)	Rs. 500,000	Rs. 2 000,000
Handloom cotton cloth (loongis, towels and furnishing fabrics, etc.)		15,000 bales (including 10,000 bales of loongis)
Milmade cotton cloth:		
Coarse	nil	40,000 bales
Medium	nil	20,000 bales
Fine	nil	15,000 bales
Cotton yarn:		
1½ to 9's	nil	2,000 bales
10 to 14's	nil	2,000 bales
16 to 20's	nil	11,000 bales
Hard cotton waste	200 tons	500 tons
Jute manufactures	12,500 tons	50,000 tons
Shellac	Quantity to be settled later	

FROM PAKISTAN TO INDIA

Raw Jute	10 lakh bales	25 lakh bales
Raw Cotton	any quantity	any quantity
Hides and skins :		
Cow hides	250,000 pieces	1,000,000 pieces
Sheep skins	200,000 pieces	600,000 pieces

Rice, Wheat, Gram and Gur—as in Schedule III
Mustard oil cake—such quantities as may be agreed upon from time to time.

SCHEDULE II

To and From India and Pakistan : Fish, fresh and dried; Vegetables including potatoes, potato seeds, onions, garlic and green and dry ginger; Fruits, fresh and dried; Eggs, Betel leaf (*pan*), Herbs—crude drugs and medicines, Indigenous drugs and medicines, Printed books, journals, magazines and periodicals; Spices including chillies, lime and lime stone; Poultry, Milk and milk products (excluding butter, ghee and cream), vegetable and flower seeds, bamboos and cane and manufactures thereof; Tallow, castor oil, cake and seed; Coir, coir yarn and manufactures; Cigar, biris and biri leaves and pickles, achars and chatnies.

To and From India and East Pakistan only : Washing soaps, Umbrellas, umbrella parts, Exposed cinema films. Paints and varnishes and agricultural implements.

From Pakistan to India : Cotton seed and cotton seed oilcakes, Gowara, Paper Glass, Jute and silk, Kapok, Betel nuts, Chanicha seed, Saltpetre, Gypsum, Asafoetida (hing), Soda ash and Cigar wrapper lead.

From East Pakistan only : Fire wood 20,000 tons. Handloom cloth.

From India to Pakistan : Myrobalans, Electric table fans, Sewing machines, Matches, Bauxite, Silica sand, Khari salt and Ready-made garments.

From India to East Pakistan only : Handloom cloth of the following varieties: Sasons kailies, Visakuthu, Burma lungies, Kasturia, Kakariee, Pattanies, Ginagams, Ammavarikuppums, Bambans, Jublees, Saronges, Charcoal.

SCHEDULE III

1. The Government of Pakistan and the Government of India agree to the supply of the following quantities of foodgrains from Pakistan to India subject to 10 per cent more or less at Government of Pakistan's opinion :

(A) *Foodgrains from East Pakistan* :

Crop	Quantity	Period of delivery
	Tons	
(*i*) Rice	24,000	up to 30-6-51
(*ii*) Wheat	16,000	do
Total	40,000	

(B) *Rice from West Pakistan* :

(*i*) Baluchistan— Rice (1949-50)	6,600	do
(*ii*) Punjab— Rice „	600	do
Total	7,200	

(C) *Rice from West Pakistan* :

(*i*) Kangni, 1949-50	20,500	
(*ii*) Joshi „	35,000	
(*iii*) Red polished, 1949-50	2,300	do
(*iv*) Red unpolished, 1949-50	5,000	
(*v*) Nara, 1949-50	1,000	
(*vi*) Kangni— 1950-51	65,000	
1951-52	55,000	up to 30-6-51
(vii) 1951-52	74,000	(and balance by 31-12-51)
(*viii*) Red polished 1951-52	10,000	
(*ix*) Nara and red unpolished, 1951-52	5,000	
Total	217,800	

Note : Joshi and Kangni varieties are interchangeable.

(D) *Foodgrains from West Pakistan* :

(*i*) Rice Sugdasi 1949-50	700	up to 30-6-51
1950-51	21,300	up to 31-12-51
(*ii*) Rice brokens 1949-50	7,700	up to 30-6-51
(Kangni and Sugdasi) 1950-51	21,300	up to 31-12-51
(*iii*) Wheat's flour 1950-51	9,000	immediately
Total	60,000	

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(E) *Foodgrains from West Pakistan* :			
(*i*) Rice 1951-52	150,000	up to October, 1952	
(*ii*) Wheat 1951-52	275,000		
Total	425,000	--	
(F) *Gram from West Pakistan* :			
1951-52	20,000	up to April, 1952	
Total	20,000		
Grand total	771,000		

2. Foodgrains shown in Clause 1(a) and (B) will be supplied on "as is where is" ex-godown basis as regards quality and packing, but the Government of India will have the right to reject these quantities if they find the quality to be unacceptable to them.

3. Rice shown in Clause 1(C) will be F.A.Q. of the crop specified therein—clean, dry, in merchantable condition, free from bad odour, infection, infestation, damage and deleterious matter, and shall not be inferior to the specifications for each variety as given in the annexure to this schedule. Any deviations from the specifications will be subject to the scale of allowances laid down in the said annexure.

4. Prices of foodgrains will be as has been separately agreed between the two Governments.

5. Foodgrains mentioned in Clause 1(E) will be supplied, crop permitting.

Prices and other conditions of supply of these foodgrains will be negotiated between the two Governments in due course.

6. As regards gram mentioned in Clause 1(F), the Government of India will not purchase it on their account, or guarantee its offtake by the trade. The Government of India, however, permit the import of the agreed quantity through the traders, it will be for the Government of Pakistan to decide the manner of procurement and export.

7. The prices of foodgrains mentioned in Clause 1(D) are unacceptable to the Government of India, and will be negotiated separately as agreed upon.

8. *Packing*: Rice of 1950-51 crop in new single jute bags.

9. *Shipping Arrangement*: (*a*) For quantities to be delivered F.O.B. Karachi, the Government of India shall be responsible for arranging necessary tonnage. They will give at least ten days' notice to the Government of Pakistan of the date when shipping space will be available for loading at the port of Karachi and the quantity to be loaded.

(*b*) The Government of Pakistan will be responsible for any demurrage or dead freight actually incurred by the Government of India, should the former fail to load in accordance with Sub-clause (*a*) above.

(*c*) Should the vessel fail to be ready to load as intimated in Clause (*a*), the Government of India will be responsible for paying the cost of storing the grain and any demurrage and other costs actually incurred.

(*d*) In case, the Government of India employ foreign shipping for carriage of these grains, they will give first preference to Pakistan ships and will make a request to the Pakistan Government for such ships provided the terms and conditions on which Pakistan ships are offered are not less favourable.

10. *Inspection and Sampling*: (*a*) Check weighment normally 10 per cent but more in exceptional cases at the discretion of the Government of India. The inspection of quality of grain and packing shall be carried out at the godowns where goods are lying in Karachi by an agency acceptable to both Governments, to be appointed by the Government of India at their own expense.

(*b*) Representative samples will be drawn by the inspecting agency daily before loading the bags into wagons for being carried to the ship-side.

(*c*) The Government of Pakistan will provide, at the request of the inspecting agency, facilities for supervision (including the sealing of the wagons).

11. *Period of Delivery*: The periods of delivery shall be as indicated in column 4 of Clause 1. In regard to rice, both Governments agree to endeavour to the utmost to ship up to the end of June 1951 at the rate of 50,000 tons a month.

12. *Payment*: (*a*) For foodgrains to be supplied from West Pakistan, the Government of India will open an irrevocable revolving letter of credit sufficient to cover the cost of four cargo-loads of foodgrains in the Imperial Bank of India, Karachi, in favour of the Government of Pakistan, who will receive payment from the said Bank on present of—(1) Invoices showing the quantity placed F. O. B. and the total amount due in respect of the quantity after allowing rebate for allowances if any, (2) Certificates of quality and weight signed by the inspection agency referred to in Clause 10; and (3) Bill of lading made out in favour of the Director-General of Food, Government of India, New Delhi or certified from an authorised officer of the Government of India.

(*b*) For foodgrains supplied from East Pakistan, payment will be made by the agents of the Indian Government appointed to lift the stocks at the time of taking delivery.

13. *Disputes* : In the event of a dispute in regard to the right or obligations under this Schedule, it shall be settled by reference to the arbitration of the Secretaries of the Food Ministries of the two Governments. The arbitration award shall be final and binding upon both the parties. The cost of arbitration shall be borne by the parties as indicated in the arbitration award.

Sri C. D. Deshmukh, Finance Minister, made the following statement at the Parliament :

As stated by my colleague the Hon'ble Minister for Commerce and Industry in this House on the 19th February 1951, an official delegation, headed by Sri S. [illegible] Pillai, went to Karachi to negotiate a trade agreement

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between the two countries. As a result of the talks held by them, an agreement between India and Pakistan was signed yesterday, copies of which have been placed on the table of the House.

While the Agreement is for the period ending June 1952, in respect of the main commodities, special provision has been made for ensuring speedy delivery of urgently needed supplies in both countries. The main commodities that would be supplied by Pakistan would be raw jute, raw cotton and foodgrains, while in return India will supply coal, steel, textiles and cement.

In respect of raw jute, Pakistan will grant an export allocation to India of ten lakhs of bales before the end of June 1951 and a further quantity of 25 lakhs of bales for the year July 1951 to June 1952. To ensure the supplies stipulated for the next four months, the Pakistan Government have agreed to sell to us at an agreed price the entire stock of about 3½ lakhs of bales of raw jute held by the Pakistan Jute Board and to place an overall quantitative limit on the export quotas granted to other countries. In respect of raw cotton our mills will be free to buy whatever quantities they can as there are at present no destinational quotas for exports from Pakistan. It is not expected, however, that more than 100,000 bales would be available during the current season and it is doubtful if even this quantity could be obtained. For the next year also the agreement provides that there will be no restrictions on our purchase of raw cotton in Pakistan. It further provides that if the Pakistan Government introduce destinational quotas for the export of raw cotton, they will allocate a quota of not less than 400,000 bales of raw cotton to India from the next year's crop. In regard to foodgrains, we are likely to obtain approximately 250,000 tons consisting mainly of rice and a small quantity of wheat during the current calendar year. For the next year, Pakistan have agreed to supply, crop permitting, 150,000 tons of rice and 275,000 tons of wheat. From India, 600,000 tons of coal will be supplied to Pakistan before the end of June 1951 and another 1½ million tons between July 1951 and June 1952.

The Government regard these broad features of the agreement enabling the resumption of trade between the two countries as satisfactory and in the best interests of both countries.

With the conclusion of a trade Agreement, it was necessary to find a mode of payment to facilitate the exchange of commodities and flow of trade between the two countries. As the House is aware, the question of the par value of the Pakistan Rupee has been under the consideration of the International Monetary Fund for a long time but no decision has been taken. Meanwhile, the economic situation in the world has undergone a radical change in favour of primary producing countries like Pakistan. The demand for raw materials has been greatly stimulated by the hostilities in Korea and this has pushed up the prices of all commodities very high and persons connected with trade have been catapulted into level. The Government of India have, therefore, in the altered circumstance, agrees that exchange transactions between India and Pakistan should be permitted on the basis of the par value of the Pakistan Rupee as declared by the Pakistan Government.

Damodar Valley Corporation

The Damodar Valley Corporation was planned on the basis of the Tennessee Valley Administration. We can say on the highest authority that in the latter the main consideration was the resusciation and rehabilitation of the poor people of the valley and the only dividends that the Federal Government of the U.S.A. looked for in this vast project was in the form of revival of hope and self-respect in a population of 8 or 9 millions, who were collectively going down-hill, having accepted defeat in the struggle against nature. Of the three main objectives, Flood Control, Navigation and Power, the Centre assumed responsibility for the first two, without charging the Tennessee Valley area either for capital charges or for returns through taxation for the Sinking Fund and interest on capital. Power and power alone was planned and supplied on a commercial basis , as the sole source of revenue, and the *via media* for the recovery of Sinking Fund and Interest charges. The Federal Government of the U.S.A. agreed rightly that the dividends measured in Humane values alone would amply repay the nation in the long run even if financially the scheme proved uneconomical. Flood Control and Navigation, it was argued, would benefit the entire nation and as such it should be charged. It is a known fact today, that the T.V.A. has justified all expectations, in that the people of that area are on their feet. Today the Tennessee Valley people are voluntarily relieving the Federal Government of financial burdens that they were not called upon to shoulder, and Income Tax payments are soaring up in areas which gave little or no return. Power Sales have also given returns beyond estimates.

The D.V.C. has all these characteristics, with the added advantage of irrigation in an area that can solve the problem of jute shortage by 80 per cent plus large quantities of cotton and rice. The gain in terms of food and textile raw-materials alone would be enormous. The D.V.C. Flood Control and Navigation schemes are the greatest safeguards for the most congested and biggest traffic area of the E.I.R. and the greatest help in the matter of transport to the biggest industrial area of India. The Power Scheme would re-establish industry on a large scale throughout that area once famed the world over for the skill and production capacity of its artisans.

All these seem to have been lost sight of by our Tin-gods at the Centre. Small men with primitive parochial instincts and an excessive craving for power

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high positions—for which they have little equipment in the way of farsighted vision, broad grasp of major problems and a capacity to surmount racial or provincial considerations in such matters—through the immense shake-up that followed independence. Hence we find today that the entire scheme is being jeopardized.

The D. V. C. came in for trenchant criticism in the Indian Parliament. The main points of criticism may be boiled down to the following five :

(1) The estimate has been increased.

(2) Main purpose of the scheme, *viz.*, irrigation and flood control, has been neglected and too much attention has been given to generation of power.

(3) Financial control has been inadequate as revealed in the Audit Report.

(4) Participating governments have not been informed.

(5) Wastages and overhead costs have been very high. The overhead cost coming as 61 per cent.

We have tried our best to make a proper assessment of the above allegations. The facts that we have been able to gather suggests that there must be something more behind the criticism than that apparently meets the eye. Let us take them up point by point.

(1) Why the cost of estimate has increased ?

At the request of the Government of India, Mr. Voorduin, a planning engineer of the TVA while Mr. D. Lilienthal was its Chairman, was lent to India to prepare a Multi-purpose project for the Damodar River Valley. His estimate of Rs. 55 crores, his allocation of cost between Power, Flood Control and Irrigation were placed before a specially constituted Board of Engineers in 1945 for examination. The Board consisted of Mr. Khosla, Chairman of the CWINC, Mr. Narasimhaya, Chief Engineer, Mysore, Mr. Reigal and Mr. Schlemmer, experts, respectively, in design and construction of the TVA. The Board approved the project. The Government of India created the DVC to implement the project in July 1948.

Mr. Voorduin's estimate was preliminary, based on the data he collected and his engineering judgment. After preliminary estimates came project estimates. Preliminary estimates were based on preliminary designs. In the meanwhile further engineering data have been collected and the process continues. Project designs have taken shape, and detailed estimates are in course of preparation. It is the modern practice to start construction on project designs, detailed designs keeping ahead of construction.

As designs are taking shape these are being placed before a Board of Consultants appointed by the DVC with the Government of India's approval. This Board consists of two of the most eminent engineers of the USA; one has been Chief Engineer of the Bureau of Reclamation. The third member is the Chief Irrigation Engineer of the State of Madras with direct experience of dam design and construction. The cost estimates of the various parts of the project are based on sound engineering designs.

The rise in cost is due to rise in prices, devaluation and extension of irrigation, a higher capacity of the thermal power station and longer transmission. The scope of irrigation has been enlarged to one million acres. Expansion in the electrical field is based on studies of power requirement in this pre-eminently industrial area and has received the scrutiny and approval of the World Bank which has made a 18½ million dollar loan for [illegible] part of the project, including the Konar dam which is the source of cooling water for the power station. The area the DVC's electrical system will serve, covers all the coalfields of Bengal and Bihar, the Iron and Steel Works of the two States, the mica mines, copper and aluminium industries and the new locomotive factory, among the existing industries.

In view of the rise in prices of materials and labour specially the rise in the cost of machinery and equipment due to devaluation, there seems nothing unusual about the increase in the estimates.

(2) The main purpose has not been diverted. Work on the Bokaro steam station, Konar Dam No. 1, the transmission system and the Tilaiya Project had been taken in hand and it did not suffer for want of funds. The total expenditure in 1949-50 has been Rs. 578 lakhs of which equipment and construction plant cover Rs. 56 lakhs and works Rs. 122 lakhs, the balance of Rs. [illegible] lakhs includes such items as establishment, interest on capital, meteorological and soil investigation, workshop, planning, design, audit, etc. The work on Maithon, Panchet Hill, Durgapur Barrage and the Irrigation Canals had been slowed down for want of funds. Main works on these projects cannot begin unless funds are allocated. The Bokaro Power Station Project had been taken over by the D. V. C. when its preliminaries had already been completed by the Central Electrical Commission. The Project had long been under active consideration and the D. V. C. had taken it over at an advanced stage of preparation. It is therefore only natural that progress on it will be more marked than on the others. Completion of the Bokaro Power House ahead of others is desirable because it will begin earning revenue as soon as it is completed. We are glad to know that D. V. C. expects a revenue of Rs. 14 lakhs from it in very near future. The supervision of erection of the power plant has been entrusted to the Kuljan Corporation, that no "plums with money" had taken place with this Project which came in for the bitterest criticism is testified by the Audit Report itself which states : "The purchase functions include designs, drawings invitation and analysis of bids, inspection, etc. for which a fee of 2½ per cent allowed to the Kuljan Corporation inclusive of all their cost not considered unreasonable." It is therefore quite clear that the main purpose has not been diverted, work is progressing at a reasonable speed and cost. There has been greater progress in respect of the Power Plant, as it had been started at an advanced stage.

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(3) Financial control of the Government of India over the D. V. C. has been quite adequate.

The D. V. C. Act provides in Part II Section 6(1) that the Financial Adviser of the Corporation shall be appointed by the Central Government. The Section 7(a) lays down that the pay and other conditions of service as respects the Financial Adviser be such as may be prescribed. Section 8 lays down that the functions and duties of the Financial Adviser shall be such as may be prescribed.

In exercise of the rule-making power conferred by the D. V. C. Act the Central Government laid down that the services of the Financial Adviser may be terminated at any time without giving any reason therefore by giving 3 months' notice. As to the functions and duties of the Financial Adviser, they were defined as follows :

(1) The Financial Adviser shall advise the Corporation on *all matters relating to revenue and expenditure.*

(2) The Financial Adviser shall have the right to attend every meeting of the Corporation, but shall not have the right to vote. He shall also have the right to refer to the Corporation any matter which in his opinion ought to be brought to its notice.

(3) The Financial Adviser shall be responsible for the preparation of the Budget of the Corporation, the compilation of the annual and other financial statements and for supervision of the manner in which the accounts of the Corporation are maintained and made available for audit.

The inter-State meeting held at New Delhi on May 9, 1948 decided to adopt the following special financial conventions :

(1) The Corporation will send to the Government of India before conclusion all contracts or agreements other than those arising as a result of public call for tender or quotations or of which the value is definitely ascertainable at the time of assessment of the contract or signing of agreement.

(2) The Corporation will keep the Finance Ministry of the Government of India in close touch with negotiations involving Government in the provision of foreign exchange.

In view of these conventions and of the establishment of the Advisory Committee the meeting felt it was not necessary to give the Financial Adviser further powers. The Corporation has honoured these conventions and there has never been a serious case of disagreement between the Financial Adviser and the Corporation. Under the D. V. C. Act no expenditure can be incurred without the Financial Adviser's concurrence and when he takes one view and the Corporation another the issue is discussed at great length between him and the Corporation, and either he is convinced that the Corporation's arguments are correct or he convinces the Corporation that he is right. It is therefore wrong to say that the Corporation over-rules him.

(4) Supply of the agenda and proceedings of the D. V. C. meetings to the participating governments had been decided in the same inter-State meeting held on May 9, 1949. The meeting endorsed D.V.C.'s view and resolved to set up an Advisory Committee which would function as a clearing house of all informations and maintain proper contact between the Governments and the Corporation. The D. V. C. had pointed out that mere forwarding of the agenda and proceedings would convey little meaning without masses of files. A simpler procedure mentioned above had therefore been evolved. This decision of the inter-State meeting has been honoured by the D. V. C. The Advisory Committee has received full information on every aspect of the Corporation's activities. It is unjust for any participating State to complain of any lack of information about the D.V.C's work.

(5) Finally we come to the question of overhead cost, wastage and other irregularities. It is only natural that one would jump at the statement, made in the Audit Report, that the overhead cost will be 61 per cent on works. But this requires an explanation which the Auditor himself has accepted. Under the Statute the DVC has been asked to maintain accounts under four heads only, *viz.*, Power, Irrigation, Flood control and Overhead and General charges. The items under overhead bear no relationship whatsoever in its usual sense, such as (*i*) Stores Depots, (*ii*) Timber Workshop for manufacture of doors, windows, furniture, etc., (*iii*) Central and mobile workshops for servicing and repairs, (*iv*) Resettlement Directorate, (*v*) Geological studies, (*vi*) Hydrological, meteorological and soil studies, (*vii*) Afforestation and soil erosion control, (*viii*) Interest charges on capital, (*ix*) Audit expenses, etc. The Audit Report itself states :

"The Overheads and General charges for 1949-50 under the Rules stand at 61 per cent. If the soil conservation and other charges are treated as Works Expenditure, the Overhead will be 31 per cent. And if the advances to the International General Electric Co., Ltd., are also treated as Works Expenditure, the percentage will be 17. If interest, audit charges, ordinary tools and plant charges, etc., are also excluded, the figure comes down to 11 per cent. . . . Without much addition to the Overheads, it is expected to carry out these works (on Power plant) thereby reducing the Overhead percentage at least to half if not to a third." This comes down to something between 6 to 4 per cent almost in the sense in which ordinary overheads are understood. Thus we find how an "Overhead" cost of 61 per cent boils downs to less than 6 per cent. This may not be considered as too high.

As regards stores purchase, the Audit Report says,

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"Purchases have generally been made through the Central Purchasing Organisation. Open tenders are not being called for. Quotations are invited from selected firms. There is no approved list of firms either. The tenders when called for should be opened in the presence of the tenderers." In the next paragraph, the Audit Report states, "The Corporation have agreed to call for tenders as far as possible and to have an approved list of suppliers. It was also explained that for the type of heavy stores purchased there are only a limited number of suppliers and therefore, though a so-called list is not maintained virtually it exists. Such purchases are not made by calling for open tenders, *e.g.*, heavy construction equipments, etc. . . . The Corporation stated that they could not always use the agency of the Director-General of Industries and Supplies as the latter could not guarantee delivery when materials were urgently required." The Audit Report has warned that "in such cases it should be seen that prices paid are not higher than those allowed by the D.G.I.S. by obtaining his price-lists." The Auditor never said that the prices paid were higher.

It has been alleged that cement worth Rs. 3 lakhs has deteriorated on account of premature purchase. The Audit Report states that about 4,500 tons of cement stored at Maithan was fast deteriorating. In the very next sentence it states that about 3,400 tons were issued to various works and the manufacture of hollow concrete blocks. The balance of 1,100 tons was deteriorating. This purchase had been made at a time when the time lag between order and delivery was at least some nine months. The cement apparently had been ordered for the Maithan and Panchet Hill Works but as the latter had meanwhile been postponed for want of funds, the cement had to be diverted for other works. We are rather inclined to give credit to the D.V.C. for having made attempts to save at least 3,400 tons.

Railway Budget

Railway Minister, Sri Gopalaswamy Ayyangar, has presented the Railway Budget. The main features of the Budget proposals are (1) Increased passenger fares, (2) Inauguration of the re-grouping of the Railway system, (3) Reorganisation of the Railway Board and (4) Rehabilitation of Railways on an extensive scale. The financial position of the railways has very much improved during recent years. Current year's earnings have gone up by Rs. 30 crores. Due to the increase in the Depreciation Fund from Rs. 11.58 crores in 1949-50 to Rs. 15 crores in 1950-51, and further to Rs. 30 crores in 1951-52 Budget. This alone has reduced the coming year's surplus, without taking the increased fares into consideration from Rs. 17.85 crores to Rs. 2.85 crores. Last year's and current year's surplus stand at a[bout] Rs. 14 crores.

The increased fares would bring a revenue [of] Rs. 19 crores out of which Rs. 17.2 crores will be contributed by third class passengers, Rs. 1.3 crores by inter class, and only Rs. 40 lakhs by the first and second class passengers. The incidence of increase has been the highest on the third and inter class passengers. The arguments put forward by the Railway Minister in support of his proposal for increase in fares are likely to be challenged all-round. His claim that passenger fares have always been unduly depressed and are among the lowest in the world is somewhat unten[able]. The fallacy of this claim will become apparent if a comparative fare chart is made of various railways in relation to the per capita national income. Absolute expense figures, divorced from the income level is meaningless. He has stated that "an increase in rail fares, particularly in the two lower classes, will also be anti-inflationary character." We wonder what data the Railway Minister can produce to show that the income of the poor and lower middle class people has gone up more proportionately than their expenses. In respect of the utilisation of the larger revenue yield, the Railway Minister says, "The revenues accruing from the enhancement of passenger fares are intended for the stabilisation and expansion of the railway undertaking. It might be pointed out that we shall not in actuality be spending the additional funds that we raise. That is so. But those revenues will go into our earmarked funds and be held to our credit they will also earn interest from General Revenues until the latter are in a position to release them in future. Until they are so made available, they will serve to fortify the ways and means position of the Government, and Railways should feel proud of the assistance they are able to render to General finance. The Financial Commissioner has categorically stated at a Press Conference, according to the *U.P.I.*, that the enhancement of Railway fares was "dictated more by the general ways and means position of the Government than by the necessities of the Railways." This goes to show that the poor citizen is thus made to bear the brunt of the feckless spendthrift administration's problems.

The Railway Minister has proposed to start regrouping from South India. With the war clouds on the horizon, the wisest step would have been to undertake immediate regrouping of our frontier railways on the West as well as on the East. The Northern and the North-Eastern Railways should have had top priority. The proposed North-Eastern Railway, as at present constituted with the E.I.R., O.T.R. and A.R., is the most clumsy and unscientific; all movements on these railways are subjected to three widely different controls which very often hamper vital movements

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is ridiculous to start regrouping on the safest zone, leaving the precarious ones to the wolves.

We give below the salient features of the Railway Minister's speech :

In presenting the Railway Budget, Sri Ayyangar, referred at length to the proposed regrouping of Indian railways into six major zones and stated that the reactions of the State Governments, Chambers of Commerce, the Railway Labour Federations and other interested parties had been obtained.

He informed the House that the reactions of these bodies were generally in favour of the plan though some adjustments had been suggested by some of them.

He also announced that, with the wholehearted and unanimous approval of the Central Advisory Council, it was proposed to start in the coming year the formation of the southern zone by the amalgamation of the M. and S. M., the S. I. and the Mysore Railways. As all these three railways were at present organised on the district pattern, it was not proposed to disturb that pattern but having regard to the route mileage of the combined system and the volume of traffic, the zone would be divided into three operational regions to provide intermediate co-ordination.

The Minister explained that under this plan not only the carrying out of policy of improvement in the administrative pattern and financial control, rationalisation of workshop and other operational arrangements would be promoted but economies in the management and enhanced efficiency in operation would be secured.

He added that there would be substantial reductions of the overheads of the zone as a result of the fusion of the higher administrative organisations of two or more railways into one. The pooling of locomotives and rolling stock in the larger jurisdictions of the new zones would afford more scope for more intensive and balanced utilisation of power and equipment, thus leading to a reduction in the number of locomotives and in consequence in capital and maintenance costs.

Referring to the various steps which had been recently taken to overtake the problem of overcrowding and improve the comforts and conditions of travel, the Minister said that 126 additional trains, including 41 extensions of existing services, had been introduced and 55 short distance supplementary services for third class passengers had been instituted.

The Minister confessed that the amenities provided up till now were not perhaps on a scale he would like, but the problem was being energetically tackled and a minimum expenditure of Rs. 3 crores would be continued to be earmarked annually for the purpose.

The Minister reiterated that Government stood committed to a policy to continually improve the status and ameliorating the conditions of railway workers. He informed the House that the recommendations of the Central Pay Commission had been extended to all railway employees.

He added that the anomalies resulting from the application of the Central Pay Commission scales had also been examined at great length by the Joint Advisory Committee. The bulk of the recommendations of this Committee had also been implemented at the cost of additional recurring expenditure of Rs. 2 crores.

He informed the House that the provision of housing labour was being maintained despite financial difficulties and better facilities for medical relief and education had also been given. The total bill for the year on labour welfare was 7.95 crores.

Sri Ayyangar said that the relations of labour with management had generally been cordial and there was a growing consciousness of responsibility among the great majority of railway workers and this had now found an expression in an improvement in productivity measured by the yardstick of train miles, vehicle miles, etc., from 69.38 in 1949-50 to 78.1 in 1950-51.

"These facts," said Sri Ayyangar, "are gratifying to contemplate and they will, I hope, prepare Hon'ble members for the one mild shock that I shall be administering to them before I have done."

The Railway Minister referred to the unusual difficulties of an economic character which the country was experiencing. Above everything else, there had been the continued deterioration in the ways and means position of the Government as a whole. Their bank balance was running low and much success had not attended their efforts to raise capital resources in the market.

He told the House that, although the railways had lent impressive support through the earmarked funds balances to the general ways and means position of Government, he had willingly agreed to a limitation of the railways' demands for the allocation of Government's capital resources with a view not to starve or severely to curtail the resources that should be made available for developmental activities in agriculture, industry, other forms of transport and in fact all those governmental activities which ensured for security and economic development.

The immediate problem facing the railways, said Sri Ayyangar, was the magnitude of their rehabilitation requirements. The repairs and replacement of railways' assets had been neglected from the early thirties when they were caught in the doldrums of depression. The emergence from the depression and the attempts made to overtake arrears of maintenance and rehabilitation were rudely interrupted by the war which started in 1939. When the hostilities ended the railways were left with major problems which were not susceptible of immediate solution. Long-term plans of post-war rehabilitation and development carefully drawn up were stultified by the effects of partition.

While during the last three years, considerable

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improvement had been registered in spite of tremendous difficulties facing the railways, he added, a good deal of damage still remained to be remedied. The minimum requirements for a period of five years commencing from 1950-51 were 1,250 locomotives, about 60,000 wagons and about 7,500 passenger coaches.

The Minister further observed that the Government could not be content with mere rehabilitation and replacement. The standard has to be raised in every direction so that railways might stand comparison with railways elsewhere in the world. A vast country like India could not continue indefinitely a policy of starving expansion. The need for construction of new lines to fill gaps and to open unopened country was claimed. All these meant a higher level of expenditure in both revenue and capital.

"We cannot," said Sri Ayyangar, "entirely and always count upon the assistance which can be looked for from general finance. It is in this comprehensive context that the Government had taken the decision to enhance passenger fares."

The Minister explained that the proposed enhancement of fares was also otherwise intrinsically justified by a study of the economics of railway operation. The price level in the country had now risen to about 400 as compared to 100 in 1938 which was fully reflected in the increase in the Wage Bill of the railways. The cost of fuel now stood at 471 taking the figure of 1938 as 100. Against all these, the increase in average freight rates and passenger fares were of the order of 73 per cent and 46 per cent respectively.

Passenger fares in India were rationalised on a uniform mileage for all railways in January, 1948. The passenger fare today was only 46 per cent more than the fare in 1938-39. The freight structure was rationalised in October 1948, when some of the unduly low rates were also raised. The overall increase in freight rates works out of 73 per cent in 1949-50 compared to 1938-39. In other words, the incidence of the increase had been borne mainly by goods traffic.

In considering any further adjustment of the freight rates, it was also necessary to bear in mind the possible inflationary stresses and their inevitable repercussions on the price level in the country both of consumer and industrial goods. On these considerations, the Minister said, it would be extremely inadvisable to raise freight rates further in the context of our requirements of additional finance, and necessarily additional revenue would have to be secured by an adjustment of the passenger fare structure. He explained that the passenger fares in India had been unduly depressed and were among the lowest in the world. They did not bear any relation today either to the economic situation in the country or to the economics of railway operation.

"While in all sectors of the economic life in this country," he said, "we have called upon consumers of goods and services to pay high prices and incur heavy sacrifices, we have continued to acquiesce in the consumers of rail transport not contributing their legitimate share to easing the burden of large increases in the cost of railway operation." The Minister observed that, although his proposal for the enhancement of fares might produce in the minds of the members of Parliament an unfavourable reaction, he had no doubt that when they had applied their minds to the matter in the light of all the facts, they would give their approval to the increase in fares contemplated, viz., 1 pie per mile in third class, 1.5 pies in inter class, 2 pies in second class and 3 pies in first class, to take effect from April 1, 1951.

As regards the current year, the gross receipts are now expected to rise up to Rs. 263.40 crores or an improvement of about Rs. 31 crores over the budget estimates. The original estimate of working expenses, viz., Rs. 166.59 crores is now likely to rise to Rs. 190.8 crores due to several important post-budget developments. The most important of these are the decision to extend the application of the Central Pay Commission's pay and allowances to the staff of ex-State Railways which came under the control of the Centre with effect from April 1, 1950. Anti-sabotage and other security measures for prevention of accidents and repairs to damages caused by natural calamities which have also led to heavy unforeseen expenditure.

Additional provision had also to be made to overtake arrears in repairs and maintenance of rolling stock and track in view of the rapid deterioration in the international situation. Similarly, the acceleration of the implementation of the adjudicator's award and the recommendations of the joint advisory committee approved by Government necessitated increased additional expenditure which had been provided in the budget.

An additional provision of 13 crores for appropriation to depreciation reserve fund has also been made in the revised estimates of the current year as the appropriation to the fund should accord with the trend of withdrawals from the fund, which is of the order of 35 crores per annum. As a result of the variations, it is now estimated that the surplus in the current year will stand at 14.24 crores against 14.6 crores estimated in the budget. Out of this surplus 10 crores will be taken to development fund as originally provided and 4.24 crores to revenue reserve fund.

Turning to the financial prospects for the budget year, the Railway Minister did not anticipate any significant variation in the volume of import or export traffic carried by rail. As regards the internal traffic he stated that though the major industries were maintaining their current position and the crop position next year was unlikely to be worse than that in the current year, there were trends to indicate that we had

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reached the peak in our earnings in the goods traffic. Receipts from goods traffic have, therefore, been placed at Rs. 2 crores or about 1.5 per cent less than the revised estimates of the current year.

Accordingly, the total gross receipts, on the present levels of fares and freight rates, would be of the order of Rs. 260.40 crores which is 3 crores less than the revised estimates for the current year. The estimate of working expenses for 1951-52 has been placed at Rs. 186.75 crores which is Rs. 6.44 crores more than the revised estimates of the current year. The increase is mainly due to additional expenditure on staff for Rs. 3.86 crores on maintenance for Rs. 2.66 crores and on freight on fuel for Rs. 13 lakhs. Including the additional earning of about Rs. 19 crores which are likely to result from the enhancement of the fares, the surplus for the year 1951-52 is estimated at Rs. 21.85 crores which is proposed to be distributed between the development fund (Rs. 10 crores) and the revenue reserve fund (Rs. 11.85 crores).

Referring to the reserve funds the Minister stated that the three railway reserve funds were well-stocked and the total of the funds balances at the credit of railway would stand at Rs. 160.88 crores at the end of March, 1952. The Hon'ble Minister told the House that the additional revenue resulting from the adjustments of fare structure would go into these ear-marked funds and be held to the railways credit, for which general revenues would be paying interest until the latter were in a position to release them for expenditure in future. The most important fact to remember, he added, was that no fraction of the additional amounts raised would be annexed by the general finance.

The railways' capital programme in 1951-52 would amount to Rs. 66.5 crores. Out of this Rs. 38 crores would be required under rolling stock and machinery, Rs. 26 crores under works, Rs. 1.5 crores for investments in the shares of Tata Engineering and Locomotive Co., Ltd., and Rs. 0.5 crores in road services. The budget provision in 1951-52 for new acquisitions of rolling stock including the orders placed abroad is Rs. 24 crores.

The most important engineering project included in the budget is the Mukerian-Pathankot project for which a provision of Rs. 200 lakhs has been made in the coming year. Rs. 3 crores will go to passenger amenities and Rs. 4.55 crores for quarters and staff amenities.

The Railway Minister informed the House that the prevention of sabotage had been discussed with all concerned, *viz.*, States Governments, General Managers, security police and others and as a result arrangements had been made for the intensive patrolling of vulnerable railway tracks, for the running of pilot engines where the situation demanded it and for the increased provision of armed guards.

Special devices had also been introduced on certain railways in order to make the tampering of track more difficult. Railway staff had also been warned to be more vigilant and a larger delegation of powers had been made to responsible officers to take prompt disciplinary action in cases of neglect of duty.

The services of two French railway engineers, one a specialist on locomotives and the other on track, had also been secured through the French railway authorities in order to investigate into the complaints regarding unsuitability of new locomotives and the deficiency in the maintenance of tracks and their report which had already been received was now under the consideration of the Government.

The Minister next referred to the first locomotive which steamed out of the Chittaranjan Locomotive Works on 1st November, 1950, the function is being blessed by the presence of the President of the Republic. He stated that the factory was making good progress, that the targets of production which had been prescribed had been maintained and that 36 locomotives were expected to be turned out in the coming financial year.

The Minister stated that in the past adequate attention had not been paid for improving standard of performance of the metre-gauge systems giving rise to legitimate complaints from the area served by them. He told Parliament that special steps had now been initiated to remove these complaints. One hundred and fifty improved type Y. P. locomotives, 8,000 metre gauge wagons and 250 metre gauge third class bogie coaches had been ordered for the metre gauge systems.

The Minister stated that, with the constitutional changes and with a Minister responsible to Parliament coming to be in charge of the Railways, the functioning of the Railway Board had altered substantially in the new set-up. He said that he had given serious thought to possible changes in the constitution and functioning of the Board and had come to the conclusion that for the time being, no major changes should be made.

The Minister explained that, under the present arrangement, the Chief Commissioner was not in charge of any specific 'portfolio' and was responsible merely for presiding at the Board's meeting and/or overall functional supervision and co-ordination of work. But in the changed constitutional position, overall co-ordination was actually ensured at the Ministers' level and so the need for an officer in the Board who was not burdened with departmental responsibilities was not by any means compelling.

He announced that with the retirement from 1st April, 1951 of Sri K. S. Bakhle, the present Chief Commissioner of Railways—to whom he paid a handsome tribute—the post of the Chief Commissioner would be retrenched, and the Board would be reconstituted with three functional members and the Financial Commissioner.

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Railway Budget at a glance (in lakhs of rupees):

	Actuals 1949-50	Revised Estimate 1950-51	Budget Estimate 1951-52
Traffic Receipts :			
Gross Traffic Receipts	23635	26340	27950
Working Expenses :			
Ordinary Working Expenses	18153	18031	18675
Appropriation to Depreciation Reserve Fund	1158	3000	3000
Payment to Worked Lines	180	24	22
Total Working Expenses	19491	21055	21697
Net Traffic Receipts	4144	5285	6253
Miscellaneous Transactions :			
Receipts	389	29	28
Expenditure	756	633	759
Net Miscellaneous Expenditure	367	604	731
Net Railway Revenues	3777	4681	5522
Interest Charges	2318	....	....
Dividend to General Revenues	....	3257	3337
Net Gain or Surplus	1459	1424	2185

Communism vs. Democracy

The dictator of the Soviet Union is very reticent in the use of words. Not so President Truman who as leader of a democratic State has to be always explanatory, and invite criticism on his doings and sayings. But Marshal Stalin is freer from this criticism and Communist practice does not allow of any such judgment. His latest interview with the *Pravda* (Truth) correspondent, an "arranged" affair, is a case in point, and the Leader but echoes the general run of the Soviet Press and of the speeches of the Soviet representatives in the United Nations Organization. Their "fellow-travellers" and dupes in the democratic world toe this line, condemnatory of their own leaders and their policies.

In this interview Marshal Stalin has said nothing new except that he has tried to simplify the problem that divides the world into two hostile Blocs. The Soviet Leader appears to think that the differences causing this split have been caused by the "warmongering" of the democratic Powers, headed by the United States and Britain, against which are ranged the peace-loving States headed by the Soviet Union. As a propaganda stunt this thesis may appeal to many millions sick and weary of the disruption of their habits of life and thought by two World Wars in course of thirty years of the present century. But though there may be "innocents" in India misled by this propaganda and succumbing to it, we are rather sceptical and cynical of its *bona-fides*.

And for this reason if for no others. In the Communist practice the class to which we belong are tolerated simply as dupes and instruments by the dispensers of this world of make-belief. Though Marx and Lenin were "intellectuals" and middle-class "effetes," they knew that only these men and women could supply the hot gospellers of their [illegible] faith, and from their ranks would emerge the pa[illegible] finders of their adventure. From amongst them [illegible] the first "puzzled" revolt against the misery and [illegible] injustice brought into a focus by the Industrial Re[illegible] lution. This sensitiveness has been specially active [illegible] the countries under imperialist exploitation. [illegible] Communist leadership has seen to it that it is [illegible] fied in these areas nursing their loss of self-resp[illegible] Hugh Seton-Watson in an article entitled "[illegible] Intellectual's Place in Communism" has explained [illegible] position thus :

> "In England, we are all in the 20th cen[illegible] The workers can look after themselves with[illegible] being led forward by intellectual protectors. B[illegible] still, great scientists and great writers have pres[illegible] If they can be persuaded to speak on behalf of [illegible] Soviet Union, their words carry weight. They [illegible] sow doubts in the minds of their listeners. T[illegible] too, have a place in the Soviet scheme of thing[illegible]
>
> "The job of the pro-Communist intellec[illegible] abroad is to revolt against the capitalist soc[illegible] which surrounds him. His positive beliefs do [illegible] matter very much as long as he thinks that Co[illegible] munism would, on the whole, be an improvem[illegible] He may pick and choose among the dogmas [illegible] Marxism-Leninism, accepting some and reject[illegible] those which do not attract him. He is not req[illegible] to conform. . . ."

Seton-Watson cites the instance of the gr[illegible] French artist Picasso to drive home his point. He d[illegible] not conform, he need not conform. "Yet Picasso's na[illegible] has been a rallying-cry for the pro-Commu[illegible] intellectuals of France. Is not this inconsistent? N[illegible] replies the Communist dialectician. Picasso is faithf[illegible] reflecting the chaos and despair of the decaying cap[illegible] ist society around him, and is quite right to paint [illegible] a style which, if practised in Moscow, would be co[illegible] demned as empty bourgeois formalism."

"But the Communist dialectician, if pressed, wo[illegible] explain that if Picasso were to live for long en[illegible] in the Soviet Union, his art would change. Accord[illegible] to the official view, the environment would have [illegible] effect. He would become a realist painter of So[illegible] reality, and his subject would be Soviet Man, him[illegible] the product of the new Soviet environment, bu[illegible] building Communist society. Rather a violent adj[illegible] ment, you may say. And in practice very few pro[illegible] nent Westerners have yet had to make it. Yet it m[illegible] be made by any pro-Communist intellectual in [illegible] West who has occasion to cross the bridge and m[illegible] his home among the Communist intellectuals of [illegible] East. He leaves behind him a social environme[illegible] where, for him, revolt has been the order of the da[illegible] where established beliefs existed only to be qu[illegible] tioned."

"Beyond the bridge there lies a Communist so[illegible] of certainties and dogmas: a world in which the re[illegible] lution has already happened, in which rebellio[illegible] intellectuals are no longer the star attractions. T[illegible] party, not conscience, thinks for the party line, is the

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who wields the influence. And in this intellectual climate, there is no place for the intellectual who does not conform."

Thus it has come about that we are just "accepted on sufferance," to quote Arthur Koestler's words used in the book—*The God That Failed*—a work depicting disillusionment of five other Western intellectuals—Italian, German, French, British and American. And Seton-Watson has analyzed the position for all of us when he says :

"The Communist technique, then is to get at intellectuals in the non-Communist world by appealing to great words like "peace" and "justice" which mean one thing in the languages of the world and another thing in 'communese,' by exploiting their idealism and worrying their conscience.

"But what of the position of intellectuals in the countries which enjoy benefits of Communist rule? What about the intellectuals in Eastern Europe who in 1944 welcomed the Soviet forces as liberators and voted for the Communist in the hope of freedom and justice? What has happened to them now? Above all, what about the position of intellectuals in the Soviet Union?"

Seton-Watson has something to say on the "Peace" campaign inspired by the Soviet Union's immediate followers. It ought to open the eyes of Indian intellectuals who have toppled over one another to sign the "peace pledge" propagated from Bucharest, capital of Rumania, the seat of Communists' intellectual offensive. At present the Communists of all lands are running a "peace campaign" to support Russian foreign policy. It is specially directed at intellectuals in the West who are appalled by the thought that war may again ravage us, whose consciences are uneasy because America has the horrifying weapon of the atom bomb. The Soviet Union has not got so far as America in production of this weapon, so the Communist "peace" campaign concentrates its attack, in the so-called Stockholm Appeal, on this weapon. Even the emotional rhetoric of the Soviet writer Ilya Ehrenburg cannot conceal this ulterior motive of the Soviet.

And then there is Academician Lysenko, who is held up to us as a great pioneer of scientific research and academic freedom. No one could say he is not frank. "It is the sacred duty," he says, "of all upright scientists and intellectuals in every country to explain to the people that by its very socialist nature, the Soviet Union is not and cannot be an aggressor, an oppressor of peoples."

Ours may be, and is, a "class-conscious" interpretation of an anomalous position. But the fault for this does not lie in us; the "comrades" themselves have whipped in us this class consciousness; they have to thank themselves for teaching us this aberration of a genius. But things have more dangerous possibilities as a consequence of the Communist philosophy, adumbrated by Karl Marx, and set in practice by Lenin and Stalin. With a view to an understanding of these two, we propose quoting from their writings and statements which are today slurred over by Communist propagandists. These will show that neither the Communist philosophy nor their practice are favourable to peace by which they swear today with such violence. The *Communist Manifesto* issued over the names of Marx and Engels made no secret of the purpose and method of the ideology :

> "The Communists disdain to conceal their views and aims. They openly declare that their ends can be attained only by the forcible overthrow of all existing social conditions. Let the ruling classes tremble at a Communist revolution. The proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains. They have a world to win. . . ."

As a faithful disciple, Lenin accepted both this philosophy and practice and is found in his *State and Revolution* to say that "the replacement of the bourgeois by proletarian State is impossible without a *violent* revolution." (P. 33. Italics ours.)

And Stalin in his *Foundations of Leninism* (p. 20) just indicated the natural corollary in the lines quoted below :

> (1) The revolutionary Communist is antagonistic to reform. "To a revolutionary, the main thing is revolutionary work and not reforms; to him reforms are by-products of the revolution. . . . The revolutionary will accept a reform in order to use it as an aid in combining legal work with illegal work, to intensify, under its cover, the illegal work for the revolutionary preparation of the masses for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie."

In their later writings they elaborated the same thesis proving how insincere and dishonest is the Communist plea that their brand of Totalitarianism and the Freedom of the Human personality and, likewise, that Communist rule and democratic rule over States, can exist side by side. Stalin with brutal frankness has laid the course of conduct for the upholders of these two anti-thetical system. The objective of the Communist strategy is :

> "To consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat in one country, using it as a base for the overthrow of imperialism in all countries. The revolution is spreading beyond the confines of one country; the period of world revolution has commenced.
>
> "The main forces of the revolution: the dictatorship of the proletariat in one country, the revolutionary movement of the proletariat in all countries.
>
> ". . . the semi-proletarian and small-peasant masses in the developed countries, the liberation movement in the colonies and dependent countries."—(*Foundations of Leninism*, p. 91)

From this philosophy and practice follow another tactics that has become repugnant to every man and woman, to decent human conduct. This has been described as "patriotic betrayal." A theoretician of Marxism, M. N. Roy, during his days of collaboration with British imperialism in India (1939-1945) indicated it

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for us. We will close these remarks with a quotation from him :

> "A theory was constructed out of the Russian experience. Collapse of the established State in consequence of a military defeat is the condition for a successful revolution. Therefore in the case of war, revolutionaries should try to bring about the military defeat of their own countries. The theory has come to be known as revolutionary defeatism."

It was this tactics that the Communists in India adopted during the second World War sabotaging and disrupting Indian unity. That should have been a lesson for all Nationalists in India, and the saboteurs should have had a short shrift. But, we have not learnt this lesson yet. The old adadge is as old today—*Eternal vigilance is the price for freedom.* That vigilance is more than ever necessary today when the Communist is abroad with his insidious ways, his treachery and weapons of betrayal. The wiseacres who are all aflame in defence of the "fundamental rights" of the disruptionists may also pause to consider.

United Germany

It is the Soviet Union and her dupes and victims in the so-called East Germany that are mainly responsible for the disruptions of this State brought into being by Bismarck about 80 years back. This feeling was rubbed in into the reply of the West German Chancellor Conrad Adenaur when he rejected East German Premier Otto Grotewohl's offer for all German unity talks. The news was released from Bonn, West German Republic's capital on January 15 last.

Addressing a Press Conference he said that Government wiuld only start discussions "with those who are willing unconditionally to recognise and to guarantee a regime based on the recognition of law, a form of Government which respects liberty, the protection of human rights and the maintenance of peace."

He declared, however, that his Government would "leave nothing unattempted to re-establish German unity."

Germany

Germany is the pivot of peace in Europe both by its geographic position and the inner strength of its people. The defeat in World War I, and the destruction inflicted on her by the victors in World War II have not been able to hold her down. We have often said that it was a question of time when the victors will in the pursuit of their particular interests start to coax and cajole her. The P.T.I.R. and Reuters correspondent at Bonn, on January 11 last described how the mind of the people had been moving.

The anti-rearmament slogan 'Ohne Mich' (Without Me) seems today to sum up the attitude of an increasing number of Germans towards plans to re-establish a German armed force in a European army as now being discussed between the Western Allies and West Germany.

"Allied observers here and in Frankfurt, headquarters of the United States High Commission, believe that the results of a public opinion poll by Germans just published were a fair reflection of the present state of the German mind.

"The results showed that the number of Germans ready to take up arms, already low, was still falling steadily. By November, 1950, the number of Germans willing to fight had dropped to 13.6 per cent from 27 per cent in June, 1949. In November, 1950, about 53 per cent said they would refuse to take up arms compared with 60.2 per cent in June, 1949, according to the survey.

"The recent Provincial Parliamentary results in the three American Zone States of Hesse, Wuerttemberg, and Bavaria, showed a big swing in favour of Dr. Kurt Schumacher's Social Democrats who decline to support West German rearmament without more 'positive evidence' that the Allies will not leave West Germany 'holding the bag' in the event of sudden Soviet attack.

"More positive support means powerful military reinforcements which would win the first battle east of the Elbe and not the last, according to Dr. Schumacher.

"Anti-rearmament sentiment is being considerably strengthened, Allied observers agree, by the unremitting campaign of Dr. Martin Niemoeller, head of the Protestant Church in Hesse, who is the leading non-political opponent of rearmament in East or West Germany.

"The military performance of the United Nations forces in Korea has not impressed the ordinary German with the idea that he is bound to be on the winning side if he fights with the West.

"Further, the suggestion of new four-Power talks with Russia has not been rejected by the more responsible West German newspapers. Germans seem unwilling to commit themselves openly to actions which the Russians might regard as provocative. Most German men have first hand experience of fighting the Russians, and most Germans know that a new war would be immediately fought on German soil."

This interpretation of developments in Germany appears to have a basis of truth as revealed by latest observers and commentators. One of these happens to be Mr. Alec Read, at present the "special correspondent" of the Birla group of papers. In his first article on "New Germany" rising out of the wrecks of the Allied bombings he says :

> "Three years have gone by since then and I have visited Germany again but what a different Germany from the one that lay prostrate after her second crushing defeat in a little more than a quarter of a century. The hands of time are once more being reversed. Out of the shattered wreck of what was once Berlin, out of the devastation of the Ruhr, which was first Bismarck's, then Hitler's, then also Hitler's, on the arsenal, then the Kaiser's, then also Hitler's, on the banks of the Rhine as she flows swiftly past the West German capital of Bonn, there is a new Germany

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arising that finds herself in the new amazing position of being wooed by the East and also the West.

In the East, in the Russian Zone, a new creed is being preached which is having an enormous and far-reaching effect on German youth. In the West youth is being told: 'You must rise again to defend your country against Communism.' Everywhere I went I was told: 'We do not want another war—.' And some added the words: 'But, of course—.' That came from those who would benefit from this complex situation and who would see Germany once more a military Power in the heart of Europe."

In his sixth article there was a picture of the "bitterness" of defeat and the determination of the people to regain their own. We reproduce here significant portions; "One day during my tour I stood at a window of the office buildings of the Krupps works in Essen. The sky was overcast and a light rain was giving place to snow showers. Besides me was one of the business executives. 'Have you ever seen such a scene of destruction?', he asked, as we gazed out on a wild array of what remained of machinery amidst the rubble of what had once been vast machine shops. 'And the trouble is,' he continued bitterly, 'after having done all that with your infernal bombers, you won't even now leave us alone.' He nodded towards a group of workmen who were engaged in the demolition of the remains of one of the plants. 'Having practically hammered us to death, we simply cannot understand why you British keep up your destruction.'

"He was referring to the long and every bitter question over dismantlement, which has been such a bone of contention. It is being pursued here and there even to this day while the Germans turn round and ask—'How do you expect us to take part in the defence of Europe if you still insist on draining away our life-blood?'

"I saw much evidence of this and also one outstanding facet of German character. Despite deplorable housing conditions, the rising cost in living and the many traces of the mental and moral shocks of the second World War defeat, there is a determination (which one does not always get even in Britain itself) to revive industry. There were cases, in several towns, where the Germans had said: 'Well, if you must remove our plants, you cannot prevent us from putting up new ones.' And there stood the new factories with better equipment than their predecessors."

The "Paktoonistan" Movement

Janab Arbab Quadir, Secretary of the Anjumen-e-Watan of Baluchistan, has, in an article published amongst others in the *Organizer* of Delhi, thrown light on the running sore that the British regime has left by its legacy of the Durand Line. He has quoted from Hurzerford Holdich's book entitled *The Indian Borderland* to press forward and justify the claim for a "Paktoonistan" of a people numbering more than 70 lakhs. This British bureaucrat had supervized the demarcation of the boundaries of Afghanistan with India, Iran and Russia. Commenting on the Line, he said in page 231 of the book:

> "He (meaning the Amir) did not like it, but he signed the Agreement all the same: silently reserving to himself the right of disputing the boundary in detail when it should come to the process of actual demarcation." Again on page 230 he writes, "And he had omitted to sign the maps which were supposed to be illustrative of the Agreement."

Justifying the attitude of Amir Abdur Rahaman towards this Boundary Line so-called, the writer continued:

> "But Bajaor and Swat and the Mohmand country—were they not full of his own people, who being allied to him by ties of faith, of language, and of kinship, should learn to recognise his direct authority?"
>
> "Under any circumstances they were connected by ties of faith and brotherhood with the West and not with the East."
>
> "Swatis and Mohmands are themselves chiefly Afghans, talking the same language, boasting the same descent from the tribes of Israel, imbued with the same faith, acknowledging the Amir as their spiritual head."
>
> "Afridis and Waziris are allied in tongue and religion with Afghans."

With the then (1893) Afghan King in this mood, is it any wonder that successive generations should have resented this imposition? The British authorities were also fully conscious of the affront offered to a people who prized their freedom above all other earthly good, and they had to maintain "full 3 divisions of their army" to keep the peace of the "settled" districts.

The writer remarks on the Pakistani plea of a common religion as follows:

> "If this claim were put forward, say 1300 years ago, then I would have had nothing to say against it, but to think that such a preposterous formula is practicable in this atomic age is to put it very mildly, extremely frivolous. According to the new Pakistan doctrine, China has a divine right of ruling over Tibet, Indo-China, Burma, and Thailand, while she herself has a Heavenly Charter to possess Indonesia, the Arab States, Turkey, Iran, Afghanistan, Egypt, Libya, Morrocco, and Malaya, because they are predominantly Muslim States. I am afraid that either the Government of Pakistan have not studied history at all or are trying again to conveniently forget that a stronger and more religious Government than the infant Pakistan, namely, the Caliphate of Turkey, could not stand the flood of Arab nationalism. The Arabs followed Lawrence and Allenby eagerly rather than submit to their spiritual and temporal head—the Sultan."

Ceylonization

The All-India Congress Committee during its recent sittings at Ahmedabad during the last week of January last wanted to pass a resolution proposing that the Central Government be requested "to take immediate action to get full citizenship rights for all Indians 'who have been in

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Ceylon before 1949 and have completed five years' residence and their dependants who desire to become Ceylonese".'

"In the case of Indian residents who did not desire to become Ceylonese, the resolution stated, their status and treatment should not in any way be different from, or inferior to, that of residents of any other non-Ceylonese nationality in Ceylon.

"The resolution demanded that if the Ceylon Government did not agree to 'this reasonable demand,' the Government of India should arrange to get all the estate labourers, 'who are the real bread-winners for Ceylon,' repatriated to India rather than allow them to 'live a life of permanent slavery' under the most wretched conditions'."

This is an element of exaggeration in the words quoted above, and the injury to about 10 lakh Indians in Ceylon by repatriation would be worse than the remedy. These people and their ancestors had gone to Ceylon because their homeland could not provide avenues of employment.

We are glad, therefore, that it was withdrawn after a speech by Shri Jawaharlal Nehru bringing into focus the crux of the question. He put the matter neatly when he said : "We are apt to forget that in dealing with Ceylon, in spite of very close contacts, cultural, geographical, etc., we have to deal in effect with an independent nation. It is not likely to help much if the A.-I. C. C. issues condemnations of another nation's policy or gives specific directions in regard to it."

"Indian Opinion"

For some time the *Diwali* Number (November 3, 1950) of this weekly has been lying on our table. The Number has certain articles—"The Ballad of Maqbool Sherwani," the hero of Baramula (Kashmere), "Wake up ! Bantu," the majority people in South Africa, "The Poetry of Gujarat"—that have more than a temporary interest.

The paper was founded by Gandhiji in 1903, and since then it has been upholding the traditions evolved by him through the travail of his "experiments" at the end of which shone Truth, the God at the altar of which he dedicated his life and staked all that people hold dear as human beings. May its ministry for Truth and Godliness endure !

Malaria on the Retreat

The Regional office for South-East Asia of this supernational organization issued a statement on January last from its New Delhi office which contained a gladsome news to malaria-infested peoples of the world. It was given a heading—"Malaria on the Retreat," which our readers will find summarized below :

"WHO experts working with anti-malaria teams in India, Thailand and Afghanistan all report malaria on the retreat in their respective areas of operations totalling 4,000 square miles.

"Although it is still too early, they state, for scientific assessment of results, observations to date indicate the virtual disappearance of malaria, in some cases after only one year's DDT spraying operations.

"In the Sarapee district of N. Thailand, a WHO-UNICEF malaria control team have recorded a drop in "spleen rates" from 70.5 per cent to 31.4 per cent since March 1950. During the same period, the rate remained constant in non-sprayed areas. These comparative figures are accepted as a positive proof of the efficacy of the control, as spleens enlarged by repeated malaria infections are slow to return to normal.

"In the Terai and Bhabar tracts of U.P. (India) the team's examination of 3,000 infant blood smears shows a reduction in malaria infection from 60 per cent to nil.

"Reports from the Jeypore Hills project in Orissa (India), formerly one of the worst strongholds of malaria, show that the malaria-carrying mosquito has practically disappeared from sprayed villages.

"In Malnad (Mysore) India, a large percentage of babies have always become infected with malaria in their first year of life. Since the commencement of spraying operations, all the new-born babies have remained free from malaria.

"The virtual elimination of the malaria-carrying mosquito from an area of 142 square miles in the Western Ghats (Malabar District, India) gives protection to many hundreds of thousands of population in adjoining areas to which malaria was found to be spreading.

"From the Khundus-Khanabad district of North Afghanistan come equally satisfactory reports of progress made in controlling malaria among a population of 70,000 in the short period of six months after the team first went into the field."

Economy in Delhi Secretariat

The Estimates Committee of the Indian Parliament has submitted its report recommending a 23-point economy in the Central Secretariat. One of these is that "officers drawing salaries of Rs. 3,000 a month might be induced to surrender voluntarily the excess over Rs. 3,000," as the summary of the report says :

The Committee has also suggested abolition of the post of Additional Secretary on the ground that it is "unnecessary." The posts of Joint Secretary, Deputy Director-General and the like "which are created for supervisory duties should also be done away with." But in exceptional circumstances it becomes necessary to appoint a Joint Secretary, "he should be given independent charge of work and made finally responsible for it."

The Committee's report on the reorganisation of the Secretariat and Departments of the Government of

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India was presented to Parliament on February 9 last by its Chairman, Deputy Speaker Ananthasayanam Ayyangar.

The Committee has called for "urgent and effective action" to reorganise the work of the Secretariat on better and more methodical lines to secure co-ordination of work and unified control over allied subjects and policies. The work initiated in this regard by the reorganisation wing of the Home Ministry should be expedited and decisions taken soon.

The Committee has also urged that a messenger system should be introduced at once and considerable reduction effected in the posts of Class IV servants (chaprasis, jamadars, etc.).

The Committee does not want employment of stenographers as ornaments to Officers and has, therefore, recommended that for junior Officers, a pool of stenographers or steno-typists should be created at the scale of one steno-typist or stenographer for every two or three officers. At present each officer has a stenographer to himself.

Other recommendations are : The old system according to which officers deputed from States to the Centre had to return to their respective Governments after completion of a tenure period should be restarted.

Posts of assistants created for routine or semi-routine type of work should be down-graded and the less important duties entrusted to second division clerks, which cadre should be re-introduced.

The method of disposal of work in the Secretariat should be so revised that as many papers as possible will be disposed of by the Officers themselves at each level.

Secretariat Officers should, as a rule, confine themselves to questions of policy and should devolve complete responsibility upon heads of the subordinate offices to carry out the day-to-day administration in accordance with that policy.

Financial advisers, economic advisers and other advisers should themselves attend to the problems which they have to tackle and their advice should not be circumscribed by the opinion of assistants.

Appropriate rules should be laid down to ensure that no persons appointed under the Central Government on salaries which are disproportionate to their previous salaries in business or under State Governments.

The field of selection for technical appointments should be broad-based and widened so as to include larger categories of officers. Tests for recruitment of persons should be laid down but these tests should not be so hard that it will be difficult to find any one to satisfy the test.

A list of all the technically qualified personnel should be prepared and added to from time to time so that the list may be consulted when making appointments to the various posts.

In each Ministry a senior officer should be made responsible to see that wasteful methods of working in the Ministry are avoided. Amenities in the nature of library, etc., should be provided to the staff working in a Ministry or Department.

The work load of each person in the office should be laid down clearly and responsibility fixed at each level and on each individual, and steps should be taken to provide appropriate punishments in the case of the defaulters.

Telephones at the residence of the officers should be installed only in such cases in which it is absolutely essential to provide such telephones.

Where telephones are installed at residences, Government should make a rule to pay only for a limited number of calls which should be arrived at by taking an average of the calls that can normally be made on official business on a telephone.

The country will watch with cynical interest how the bureaucrats react to these recommendations. "Yes" or "No," they are being put on their last test.

Development Plans for Madhya Pradesh

The Madhya Pradesh has a clean slate to write its future achievements. It was, therefore, natural that public opinion will demand developments to build up a better life. The local press published the following news on February 4 last :

> The Madhya Pradesh Government have drawn up a five-year development plan, estimated to cost Rs. 57 crores and a fifteen-year plan costing Rs. 11 crores to develop the irrigation resources of the State. The plans which have already been submitted to the Planning Commission, will take effect from 1951-52.
>
> The five-year plan lays emphasis on agricultural and "grow more food" schemes (19 crores), completion of thermal projects with a capacity generation of 82,000 kwt. (14½ crores), construction of 1,000 miles of new roads in the merged areas and development of communications (two crores), improvement of conditions in the backward and aboriginal tracts of the State (two crores) and industrial projects including Kamptee and Korba coal-fields (Rs. 230 lakhs).

Prantiya Raksha Dal

Uttar Pradesh has been forging forward in all constructive activities. We commend, therefore, the letter that appeared in the *Leader* on February 7 last describing the steps being taken to organize and discipline the youth of the State.

"The 'voluntary semi-military force' of P.R.D. was formed after the partition 'as a second line of defence in urban and rural areas for maintaining law and order.' According to Chief Minister Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant, the Prantiya Raksha Dal 'has not only helped effectively in the maintenance of law and order

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and in the prosecution of the grow-more-food campaign but has rendered very useful help to the villagers in various spheres of activities.' Its present strength is 6,24,000. Now, of course, when the entire Raksha Dal will be reorganised as a whole-time voluntary army of constructive workers, it can contribute a lot in furthering projects of increased food production and village uplift, if its discipline is tempered with idealism of national reconstruction. As the Territorial Army is gradually growing as India's second line of defence, every State can form and develop a voluntary army of constructive workers, wholly devoted to executing the schemes of nation-building activities with military zeal. Specially on the food front a whole-time army of constructive workers, raised on a voluntary basis, will be a great asset to the nation, struggling for self-sufficiency in food. In strengthening the village panchayats and popularizing the co-operative movement also such an 'army' can play a vital role.

"In U. P., the Government proposes to increase the strength of P.R.D. to 12 lakhs. It is a bold scheme but attempts should be made to consolidate the present force for fulfilling its new role before enlarging it. A vigorous campaign in the villages by Panchayats and in the cities by Municipalities or other popular organisations can alone create a proper atmosphere for real public co-operation in the formation of a whole-time voluntary army of constructive workers on a large scale. It is difficult to form a strong army and that too of constructive workers on a voluntary basis. An army marches on its stomach ! Even an army of constructive workers cannot be an exception to this rule. If the members of this army are to be whole-time workers, the Government or Panchayats or other local bodies will have to give them necessary financial support."

Research in Ayurveda

This problem has been engaging the attention of the practitioners of the healing art and science of Ayurveda. The Governments of Provinces have been known to have set up committees of enquiry, and Ayurveda Boards to regulate, guide and control this system of treatment of diseases. But while our Kavirajas appear anxious to have State patronage and financial help, they are mighty afraid of the State, with its spirit of interference with their secrets. This is the handicap that appears to stand in the way of Ayurveda receiving State help.

But the greatest stumbling block appears to us to be the way in which even the Kavirajas have been developing into practitioners of Western medicine making their system of treatment too expensive for our people, rich or poor. We cannot off-hand suggest a remedy, but we feel that medical people, Allopaths and Kavirajas, must undergo a change of spirit and cease to think that disease is "a vested interest" of theirs alone, to use the expressive words of a Brit Prime Minister, Lloyd George.

In view of this state of things the following re commendations of the Enquiry Committee appoint by the Bombay Government raise hopes that Ayurved will have a fair deal in free India.

The establishment of a State Research Board Ayurveda and of a Central Research Library is on of the principal recommendations of the Committee appointed by the Government of Bombay, in Marc 1949, to report on the question of research in Ayurveda, Dr. K. S. Mhaskar was Chairman of th Committee. The proposed research Board is for apportioning and controlling the various sections of research and arranging for the training of research workers

The Committee is of the opinion that the methods of research in Ayurveda should be in accord with the Ayurveda system itself and the modern methods of investigation should be resorted to whenever necessary, Authoritative versions of ancient Ayurvedic texts, the Committee says, will have to be collected, carefully, edited and published.

It opines that the psychological doctrines in Ayurveda require study as they appear to have already anticipated the modern trends in Western psychology. It further records that the general fundamental doctrines of (1) *Panchmaha-Bhoota*, (2) *Tri-guna*, (3) *Tri-Dosha, and* (4) *Dravya-Guna-Rasa-Vipaka-Veerya-Prabhav* must be clarified. This will help to elucidate Sharirkriya (Physiology) as well.

It also recommends study of Dharmashastras, Smritis, Grihya Sutras, Darshanas, Artha-Shastras, Vedic literature, Mahabharata, Puranas, etc., from the Ayurvedic point of view in order to make Ayurveda clearer still.

The other recommendations of the Committee are for the standardisation of Ayurvedic teaching, practice, terminology, etc.

Inland Navigation in India

The British regime generally neglected inland navigation in this country in their obsession with the extension of railways mainly designed to encourage British trade in India as well as to facilitate the export of raw materials that served British industries in their homeland. There were notable exceptions, one of whom was Sir Arthur Cotton; great engineer that he was, he was fully conscious of the value of this means of communication in a predominantly rural country. Their value was also inseparable from irrigation facilities, so much needed in India's economy as the years have demonstrated. In his classic book on the subject written a hundred years back he fought the ruling bias of the British bureaucracy. He failed to carry conviction to them. This story has been brought out in a recent pamphlet entitled "Water Transport in India". The report details the plans that are at present in hand or under contemplation for the development of inland navigation.

The fact that Water Transport had all along been a Provincial subject, has been responsible for the lack of a unified policy and of integrated care and develop-

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ment. This difficulty has been remedied under the new constitution which has made navigation on inter-State rivers and waterways a Central subject. The responsibility for surveying, planning and developing the country's Water Transport has been assigned to the Central Waterpower, Irrigation and Navigation Commission.

The construction of the Hirakud Dam in Orissa, for instance, would make the Mahanadi navigable for 300 miles down the sea, the Kakrapara Project in Bombay provides for navigation from the sea-face near Surat up to the reservoir of the dam at Kakrapara and 50 miles further inland. Similarly, the Damodar Valley Project in Bihar and West Bengal envisages the construction of a Navigation Canal linking up the lower Raniganj coal fields with the Hooghly River. The Commission is also actively considering revival of water traffic on other navigable rivers, *e.g.*, on the Ganga, from Buxar to Allahabad, and on the Gohra, up to Bahr-am Ghat. Investigations carried out by C.W.I.C. also show that it is possible to connect the western and eastern coasts of India by inland navigation channels. Similarly, it is possible to connect Assam and West Bengal by a dual-purpose water course.

The pamphlet quotes the opinion of Mr. Otto Popper, a navigation expert deputed by the E.C.A.F.E. in 1950, to advise the Government of India on the development of Inland Waterways, that India's waterways "if systematically organised and exploited, could become equal partners to her railways."

The Sindhu Resettlement Work

We summarize from Press reports the valuable work that is being done by the Sindhu Resettlement Corporation and the Government in course of the port at Kandla in the Bombay State :

"The Government of India have decided to spend Rs. 16 crores on the development of Kandla Port, to implement the suggestions of the West Coast Major Port Committee, which found Kandla to be the best natural harbour on the Coast of Kutch and Saurashtra. The Government appointed a Development Commissioner and foreign firms were asked to submit tenders. The Port of Kandla will replace the loss of Karachi and relieve the bottle-neck at Bombay. It will feed the hinterland of Rajasthan, Delhi, East Punjab, Western U. P., Kashmir, Ajmer, Western Gujrat, Gwalior, as these areas will be hundreds of miles nearer to Kandla than to Bombay. The Government of India are also spending Rs. 12,00,00,000 on the two Railways connecting Kandla with the rest of India. These two factors alone will help make Kutch a land of progress plenty and prosperity."

The Sindhu Resettlement Corporation Ltd., was formed three years ago with the chief object of settling and re-habilitating displaced persons from Pakistan, particularly the Hindus from Sind. The main function of the Corporation is to build new towns and colonies where plots of land will be allotted to shareholders on easy terms if they undertake to aid industrial, commercial and agricultural schemes and other public utility projects at the places of settlement and thus provide not only shelter but also sources of livelihood for the new citizens. Acharya Kripalani is the Chairman of the Board of Directors. The authorised capital of the Corporation is Rs. 2½ crores. The first issue of one crore of rupees divided in 10,000 shares of Rs. 1,000 each was over-subscribed long back. Now again the permission of the Government of India has been obtained for a further issue of Rs. 1,00,00,000 shares and they will be divided similarly. The Government of India have subscribed 25 per cent to the first and the second issue. The Government of India have also given a loan of one crore and ten lakhs of rupees for the construction of 4,000 simple houses.

"The blue prints of the town of Gandhidham have been prepared according to the plan by the Italian architect Mario Bachoicci. At present two localities in the town have been developed, namely, Sardarganj, named after Sardar Patel for residential purposes and the factory area called Adipur where factories and industries have been started. A small colony of about 12,000 people has already come into existence. The scheme of water supply of Gandhidham is to be carried out in two stages. The *interim* scheme is to yield 1½ million gallons of water per day and the Pilot scheme when completed will yield 4½ million gallons of water per day. Experimental borings that have gone from 600 to 700 feet deep have shown wonderful results. For power supply, a small station capable of generating about 500 KW is in existence. Further generating sets of 750 KW capacity have been indented.

"Along with the material development of the town, very great attention is paid to look after its social and cultural side.

Rift in Orissa Congress

The *Bombay Chronicle* published on January 11 last under this heading news of a rift in the Congress. The Oriya papers did not, however, publish it. The differences that divided the organization were the usual ones, and we will allow the paper's "own correspondent" at Cuttack to tell the story.

> Since the departure from Orissa of Mr. Harekrushna Mahatab to Delhi as a minister in the Union Cabinet, the group rivalry inside the P.C.C. is becoming more pronounced and time and again both the parties are looking to Mr. Mahatab for guidance and direction.
>
> It was no surprise, therefore, that the decision to hold a Provincial Congress workers' conference on January 22 at Cuttack which was arrived at by the Chief Minister, Mr. Nabakrushna Chaudhury,

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and the President of the Utkal P.C.C., Mr. Biswanath Das, has now become a point of dispute, between the leaders themselves.

It is, however, learnt that the Chief Minister is taking the initiative in convening the workers' conference which will be addressed by the former Congress Parliamentary Chief, Mr. Mahatab, on his way back from Madras.

The differences arising out of the formation of rival Congress Committees, *viz.*, the Town Congress Panchayat and the Congress Workers Committee of Cuttack is yet another serious organisational problem because both the bodies seem to be breaking their heads among themselves for getting the official recognition from the P.C.C.

As matters stand at the moment there is every likelihood of the widening of the rift among the Congress workers of Orissa if the unfortunate situation is not satisfactorily settled by Mr. Mahatab.

We entertained the fond hope that our Oriya brethren were a satisfied body as a result of the consolidation of almost all areas where Oriya culture has been predominant. But that hope appears to be unsubstantial.

Andre Gide

A contemporary of Henry Barbusse and Roman Rolland, this leader of French thought has left the world at a time when it is distraught by conflicting ideals and practices. He had his mind stirred by the 1917 Revolution in Russia just as his predecessors in France had seen in the French Revolution a vision of the Kingdom of God on earth. But he lived to be disillusioned; this process he has shown in his book on a Russian visit describing men and measures in the Communist heaven. But he was a great man who rose above his disappointments in life, and continued to work for the coming of the world's redemption in fields of his own choice.

Major M. G. Naidu

The most handsome memorial to this doyen of medical men in the Hyderabad State has been etched by a contemporary when he wrote : "A man who shunned publicity and consistently refused permission to biographers and compilers of 'Who's Who' has passed away as unobtrusively as he chose to live."

These words testified to the quality of the man who departed from this world on February 12 last. Husband of Sarojini Naidu who predeceased him nearly 28 months ago, the flowering of her personality and of their sons and daughters was made possible by their father's self-effacement.

Leader of all social service activities, one of the founders of the National Medical Association of India, Major Naidu has shown how a sense of duty to God and men could rise over the most adverse of circumstances. In his death Indian society has lost one of those individuals who in their life and thought stood for certain old-world virtues that would remain ever green.

C. R. Reddy

In the death of this noted scholar and educationist at his 70th year India has lost a vivid personality.

After completing his education at the British University of Cambridge with marked distinction he joined the Mysore Service as Inspector-General of Education in about 1918. Not a little of the educational progress of this "model State" was due to his drive. From that time on he was marked for higher distinction. As Vice-Chancellor of the Andhra University he helped its growth during its formative years. And from thence he reverted to Mysore Service where he ended his career as pro-Vice-Chancellor of the University.

His interest in politics was that of an intellectual and his rugged individuality disabled him for the wider field in India. We mourn the death of a good man.

G. H. Langley

This British educationalist who made his mark in India as teacher of our youth specially as Vice-Chancellor of the Dacca University has ended his days in his homeland. His interest in India's higher thought and life was proved by his biography of Sri Aurobindo. To the memory of this relation we pay our tribute.

Khurshed Lal

The death at the age of 48 years only of Khurshed Lal, Deputy Minister of Communications in India, ends short a career that had immense possibilities of service to his people. We tender to his wife, sons and daughters our condolences.

Born on March 4, 1903 he topped the list of graduates in 1924 from the Lucknow University and then studied law. In 1926 he commenced practice as an advocate in Dehra Dun. He joined the Congress during the Salt Satyagraha campaign of 1930 and was imprisoned in 1932, 1941 and 1942.

In 1931 he became President of the City Congress Committee, Dehra Dun, and except for a brief break for about two years continued as President till 1946.

He took an active part in civic affairs and was Chairman of the Municipal Board, Dehra Dun, from 1936 to 1946. His interests in the wider interests of his people led him to active participation in public life, not alone politics. He was a member of the Jaunsar Bawar Enquiry Committee to enquire into the affairs of this partially excluded area in the United Provinces. In 1940 he resigned from the Municipal Board as a protest against the resolution moved with the assistance of the European and Muslim League members to remove the National Flag from the Municipal buildings. Towards the end of 1946 he was elected to the Constituent Assembly of India. He was understood to have been offered and accepted the post of India's High Commissioner in Pakistan.

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THE PRIME MINISTER OF INDIA

A Constitutional Study

By G. P. SRIVASTAVA, M.A., LL.B., D.P.A., D.F.A. & D.

In a Parliamentary type of Government the office of Prime Minister is the most important of all executive offices. In fact, the Prime Minister is more powerful than the executive head of the State who has only nominal authority and does not exercise real powers of Government. It would be true to say that the Prime Minister is the centre-piece of the whole mechanism of Parliamentary Government. As England was the first country in the world to evolve a Parliamentary system of Government, the office of Prime Minister first came into existence in that country and Sir Robert Walpole was the first Prime Minister during the reign of George II. But for a long time the office of Prime Minister was not recognized in law. It was only in 1905 that the office was officially recognized and in 1917 it was given statutory recognition. Finally, the Salaries Act of 1937 laid down the salary for the office of Prime Minister and First Lord of the Treasury. As the constitution of the Republic of India has adopted a parliamentary type of Government for this country it is both interesting and instructive to trace the constitutional position and powers of the Prime Minister of India.

Article 75 provides that the Prime Minister shall be appointed by the President. As it is a responsible type of Government depending upon the goodwill and confidence of the legislautre the term of the Cabinet has not been statutorily fixed. In fact, it can not be fixed under this system. Therefore, the same article provides that the Ministers shall hold office during the pleasure of the President. In actual practice, the pleasure of the President means the pleasure of the Legislature or Parliament which is supreme over the executive. But the expression 'pleasure of the President' has been inserted in the constitution as in law the President is the repository of all executive powers.* Thus the term of the Prime Minister is indefinite and is dependent upon the fact of his continuing to enjoy the confidence of the legislature. In actual practice, it means that he will continue in office so long as his party forms a majority in the House of the people.

The Prime Minister, like other Ministers, has to take the oaths of office and secrecy before the President. His salary like that of other Ministers shall be determined by the Parliament but until it does so he would draw a salary of Rs. 3000 per month as laid down in the second schedule of the constitution.

The Prime Minister has five important duties under the constitution. But two of them are really very important. The first is that of recommending the names of other Ministers in his Cabinet. It is provided in Article 75 that the other ministers shall be appointed by the President on the advice of the Prime Minister. This matter depends upon a well-established convention in England. In fact, it is the essence of the Parliamentary system and is found in all countries having a Parliamentary type of executive. In this system after the elections of the legislature are over the Head of the State invites the leader of the majority party in the lower chamber to form Government. In England, this principle has been followed since 1923. When Mr. Bonar Law resigned and the turn of the Conservative Party came for forming Government, many people thought that the King would invite Lord Curzon to form Government but instead he invited Mr. Baldwin who belonged to the same party but was a member of the House of Commons. If the leader of the majority party agrees he submits a list of his prospective colleagues for approval to the Head of the State. The Leader becomes the Prime Minister and the body of ministers is collectively known as the Cabinet. In the matter of choice of other ministers the Head of the State, or the nominal executive as he is called, exercises some discretion. Sometimes he may disapprove any name or press for the inclusion of a new name. But generally the Prime Minister has the final say in this matter. That this will be so in India is beyond doubt because the Prime Minister will have the support of the majority in the Legislature and the President will not find any other member who is able to form an alternative Government.

The second and probably the most important power of the Prime Minister is mentioned in Article 74 (1) which provides that

> "There shall be a Council of Ministers with the Prime Minister at the head to aid and advise the President in the exercise of his functions."

This article assigns to the Prime Minister the duty of helping the President in the administration of the country. In England, the Prime Minister enjoys this status and power by virtue of a convention only and

* Article 53 (1)

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it can not be traced to the letter of law. But in India it has been provided in statute.

Article 78 charges the Prime Minister with three more duties. Firstly, he shall communicate to the President all administrative decisions as well as legislative proposals of his Cabinet. This means that he will serve as a channel of communication between the President and the Cabinet. Secondly, he shall furnish such information regarding the above two matters as demanded by the President. Thirdly, if the President requires—the Prime Minister shall place a matter before the whole Cabinet on which any individual minister has already taken a decision.

Let us study the position of the Prime Minister *vis-a-vis* his Cabinet. Article 75 provides for the collective responsibility of the council of Ministers to the House of the People. In actual practice in every parliamentary type of Government this responsibility is both joint and several. The Cabinet as a whole is responsible for the policies and actions of the Government. But every minister is also individually responsible for the proper working of the Department. Therefore, the Prime Minister along with his colleagues is responsible for the work of his Government but he is also individually responsible for the Departments which are directly under his charge. At present the Prime Minister has the direct charge of the Department of External Affairs.

In England, the position of the Prime Minister is that of first among equals. But this position has not so far crystallized in India. At least there is one instance which will illustrate this point. On the matter of the Indo-Pakistan Pact of 8th April, 1950, a majority of members of the Indian Cabinet was opposed to the point of view of the Prime Minister who favoured such a pact. But he disregarded the opinion of the majority. As a result two ministers resigned from the Government. Without going into the merits of the case it can be asserted that it was a dangerous precedent for a country which was experimenting with Parliamentary democracy. This shows that the position of the Prime Minister in India is much more than that of equality with other ministers. Perhaps this is so because the Prime Minister is the hero of many a battle fought against foreign rule and due to this fact commands a great popularity in the country. The position of other Ministers as against the Prime Minister is further weakened due to the fact that the Cabinet is a heterogenous body. It is composed of not only Congressmen but also of non-Congressmen. No doubt, the inclusion of non-Congressmen was an act of great foresight on the part of the Prime Minister and this fact made the Cabinet truly national but the position of non-Congressmen in the Cabinet is very weak.

Another matter that deserves notice in this connection was the position of the Deputy Prime Minister. Although unknown to the letter of the constitution position was officially recognized. In fact, he played a very important role in the formulation and direction of Governmental policies. This was due to the fact that the incumbent of that office who was no other than Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel occupied a very important position in the political life of the country. But since his death the post has not been filled up although no definite decision has been taken, it can be safely predicted that it will not be filled now and will fall into desuetude.

But the only rival to the power of the Prime Minister is the President. It is, therefore, necessary to study the powers of the Prime Minister *vis-a-vis* the President in order to have a clear notion of their constitutional position and powers.

Article 77(1) provides that

> "All executive action of the Government of India shall be expressed to be taken in the name of the President."

Article 77(2) further provides that the President shall make rules for the authentication of orders and other instruments made and executed in his name. This shows that his powers are intended to be more nominal than real. Article 77(3) provides that

> "He shall make rules for the more convenient transaction of the business of Government of India and for the allocation among ministers of the said business."

But, in fact, he would do so in consultation with the Prime Minister who as the head of the Council of Ministers is charged with the duty of aiding and advising the President in the performance of his duties.

The President has many legislative powers such as those of summoning, proroguing and dissolving the legislature or those of giving assent to a bill, withholding assent or sending it back to the Parliament for reconsideration. But there is no doubt that he will perform his functions in this field on the advice of the Prime Minister. The President, like the British King has also the power of addressing the legislature at the beginning of every session. But the practice in England is that this address is prepared by the Prime Minister. That this will be so in India is obvious. His power to promulgate ordinances during the recess of Parliament is also exercised by him on the advice of the Prime Minister.

But there are many provisions in the Constitution which give the impression that the President is intended to be a real ruler and not a nominal head. One such matter which is found in Article 78 and which has already been referred to is that even after a decision has been taken on a matter by the Minister in charge of the Department the President may require the Prime Minister to place that matter before the whole Cabinet. The second feature is that the acts of the

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President do not require the counter-signature of the Ministers which is the practice in all Parliamentary types of Government. It may be argued that this thing is implied in a Parliamentary system of Government but when various other minor details of administrative action have been provided in statute it is not clear why such an important provision has been left out. The third feature of the Constitution is the provision for the impeachment of the President. This also like the above two provisions, shows that the President is intended to be a real ruler because if he is the nominal head of the executive whose acts are countersigned by his ministers there is no need for impeaching him for any constitutional impropriety. Thus, legally speaking, the President is the real ruler.

But it is obvious that the Prime Minister will exercise a great influence in the election of the President as the majority of one part of the electoral college, *i.e.*, the elected members of the Parliament will be amenable to his control. Article 53(3) (b) empowers the Parliament to confer by law "functions on authorities other than the President" and as the Prime Minister commands a majority in the Parliament, it is, in fact, he who will determine what functions should be conferred on those authorities. Moreover, being the leader of the majority party in the Parliament the Prime Minister will have an effective voice in the decision whether the President should be impeached under Article 61 or not if and when such a proposal is brought before the legislature.

Thus although sovereignty resides in the people, the Parliament which is the representative of the people is the real carrier of that sovereignty. It is clear from the fact that it can not only confer powers "on authorities other than the President" but can also increase the number of judges of the Supreme Court. But sovereignty of Parliament means the supremacy of the Prime Minister in the organisation of Government. In fact as the Government of India is of a Parliamentary type there is no real danger that the personality of the Prime Minister will be dwarfed by the Constitutional position of the President. This is clear from the speech of Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, the Chairman of the Drafting Committee in the Constituent Assembly, in which he said :

> "The President of the Indian Union will be generally bound by the advice of his Ministers. He can do nothing contrary to their advice nor can he do anything without their advice."

Ramsay Muir says that the Cabinet is the steering wheel of the ship of state and the Prime Minister is the steersman. This description holds good of the Indian Prime Minister also.

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LONDON LETTER

By Major D. GRAHAM POLE

"The world is so full of a number of things, I am sure we should all be as happy as kings." It is the centenary year of Robert Louis Stevenson, who wrote this children's rhyme, and I was wondering, were he still alive, what he would find to be happy about. Reflection soon brought two men to mind, Sir Benegal Rao and General Eisenhower. Then in the realm of abstract things, we can rejoice that Free Speech still prevails in the greater part of the world. Last but not least a religious revival is well under way—and this time it has the powerful aid of science which seems all the time to be uncovering the underlying one-ness of the universe. (As indeed Charles Kingsley always felt that it would—and that at the height of the hulabaloo which followed on Darwin's assertion of the theory of Evolution, also nearly a hundred years ago).

At first we thought of Sir Benegal Rao principally as a peace-maker and go-between the United Nations and the Chinese Government. We watched eagerly for any news of the response which he was receiving from the Chinese. Now it becomes clear that the position in the East is most dreadfully entangled and that the United Nations is in very great need of someone who can explain the East and the West to one another. Sir Benegal Rao has put his hand to the plough. He can have had no idea how far his task would lead him. But it would be a wonderful thing for the world if India could assume this role of Mediator and Interpreter. The world is so weary of war but disarmament will never come until we disarm our minds. Russia, straddling Asia as she does, might have been the bridge between East and West. But for too long Russia thought her Revolution was menaced by the outside world and it has led her to make her neighbours into satellites and herself into an imperialism, that hopes to rule the world—and to fight through other people's armies. It may seem an endless and often disheartening journey, but can India begin on a great detente in the Asiatic world ?

Not much to the purpose can be said at the

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moment about the situation in Korea. General MacArthur seems to be a Nelson as regards being a law unto himself and a very Montgomery as regards making speeches. The point about being a Nelson is that one must succeed. If General MacArthur had made good his boast and ended the fighting in Korea by Christmas, no one would have questioned the wisdom of his plan of campaign. In any event, since he did decide to cross the 38th Parallel, it is no use being wise after the event and crying over spilt milk. It proved to be a disastrous step but, since war was the method, there was nothing inherently "wrong" in his action. As more than one critic has observed, it was no more unreasonable of him to pursue the aggressors into their own territory than it was, in the last war, for us to pursue the Germans across *their* borders. Still the tragedy of Chinese intervention remains. (And how great a tragedy that is for China anyone can see who reads the reports of recent fighting and of the way in which the Chinese hurled away their lives on American guns). History will criticise the policy-makers. Why did they not heed China's warning that she would not stand aside if the United Nations advanced to the Manchurian frontier? We shall not know the answer until the war is over.

But one thing we do see now. Matters might not have fallen out in such a way had China been an undisputed member of the United Nations with a seat on the Security Council. Here it is worth while being wise after the event. To come by way of war to partnership in the United Nations seems a travesty and to some plainly unthinkable. But does it ever work out to put a quarrel into cold storage? Surely the history of our experiences with Germany, and above all with Russia, teach us quite otherwise. We must stop thinking of German militarism and Russian Communism and Chinese Communism and try instead to reach them as individuals. If we never despair of them, they may some day throw up a different kind of leadership who want to try a different kind of approach to us. Thinking along these lines, I would like a copy of the speech made the other day by Lord Samuel—our one philosopher-statesman—to be printed and put in the hands of every member of the United Nations. He believes that the United Nations should include in its membership every nation on the earth.

> "I do not believe at all," he said, "in this principle of screened admission to the United Nations, as though we were choosing members for a select club. . . . That is the principle of the one-party legislature. It is a totalitarian principle. It is not democratic . . . All should have equal rights, whether they agree with one another or not."

Lord Samuel takes a realistic view of Chinese Communism. He does not believe that it is allied to the Russian product. The Chinese, he thinks, are Communists because they are engaged in an agrarian revolution. And he thinks too that they have probably got a better administration now than they have had for many years. It would indeed be an overwhelming and intolerable disaster if short-term policies on our part were to drive China into an alliance with Russia. As Jugo-Slavia is demonstrating, there is a kind of Communism that can make peace with its neighbours. Might it not be the case that China is going to exhibit yet a third variety? All other considerations apart, it is very hard to believe that China with her long tradition of culture—and her chronic addiction to philosophy—could for long make common cause with the Russian totalitarianism which closes not only its land frontiers but the frontiers of the mind.

War strategy in Korea has gone awry. May defence strategy fare better in Europe this week when the meeting of the North Atlantic Council takes place in Brussels. It is a comfort that it now seems certain that General Eisenhower will be appointed as Supreme Commander of the Atlantic Forces in Europe. General Eisenhower has proved his worth as an outstanding and capable soldier. And to see him on a news reel—or to hear him over the radio—one feels that he would have made an equally successful General of the Salvation Army! He has no wish—or need—to try for effect or cut a figure. He gives the impression of a man who has learned an immense amount from life and whose whole energies are dedicated to the service of mankind. He will have a tremendous task in Europe including that of reconciling France and Germany. France would like a European Army under a European Defence Minister —and Germany would like to stay out altogether if she is only to be allowed to provide troops and not have her own General Staff. As *Time and Tide* remarks of General Eisenhower :

> "All his renowned capacity for tactful realism must be concentrated on assisting the French and German Governments in the extremely delicate experiment of co-operative rearmament."

May he succeed. He has a German name and it will be a wonderful feat if he is able to awaken the European conscience of Germany—three times the aggressor in a space of less than eighty years—to the realisation that now she has a chance to redeem the past by taking a part in the preservation of Europe. Anyway, thank God, Eisenhower is coming. There are many in America who think that most of our defence preparations so far are still on paper. But now, to quote *Time and Tide* again, "the task of turning a multi-national conglomeration of soldiers into an effective army" is about to begin.

At any other time than this our heads and the newspapers would have been full of the big item of home news last week, the suspension of Marshall Aid to this country. But the news has fallen very flat. For one thing, if the strange workings of economics have been read aright, we owe this suspension in part

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the tremendous rise in prices which is getting us all down! So though we can never forget our tremendous debt to the United States for Marshall Aid—aid which got us on our feet and saved thousands and thousands of our people from unemployment—we can hardly stop to rejoice at the special circumstances attendant on our improved dollar position. We are everlastingly grateful to America for her unexampled generosity. But very feelingly do we echo Shakespeare: "Evermore thanks, *the exchequer of the poor!*"

The cost of living is becoming the King Charles's head in every conversation. Everything that's made of anything is going up in price—sometimes, if it happens to be made of wool, by as much as two-thirds. But cotton is bounding up too. The only prices that vary hardly at all are the prices of one's food rations. And the only reason they don't go up is that they are subsidised out of our own pockets in the form of taxation. An article appeared in the London *Evening Standard* the other day entitled "The High Price of Going to Sleep." Item by item the writer went through the cost of equipping a single bed. She demonstrated that whereas in 1939 a single bed could be bought and fitted up with bed-clothes for the sum of £11-2-2, today such a bed would work out at no less than £53-0-4. Laundry charges, amongst other things, are up by 77 per cent. So that keeping the bed up to standard is another problem.

We are in fact, all of us, in a very tight spot and the worst of it is that it is bound to become tighter. Some time before the last War, when rearmament was beginning, we all noticed how prices began to rise. What advance in prices can we expect now? We can only bring down the cost of living by making more and selling more. But how can we do this when we must employ men and materials on the unsaleable goods of rearmament? And how are we to meet the competition that is reviving from abroad, from countries where wages are low compared with ours and whose industry is not taxed to pay the expenses of a free medical service, free teeth and free eye-glasses, subsidised houses and subsidised food, and all the other expenses of the Welfare State? The Japanese, for instance, are flooding the American market with beautiful china dinner services. To pass them off as English goods they have given these products such names as "Wentworth,' 'King's Court' and 'Citadel.' Lady Violet Bonham-Carter said in Rome recently that all parties in England were committed to the policy of the Welfare State. And indeed no one who remembers the appalling suffering during the years of the great Depression can feel otherwise than that the Welfare State is a good thing. But we are in a dilemma. We cannot give up our Welfare State but as things are this State is yoked to the galloping horse of inflation. Unless we can contrive some means of stopping the horse, it is going to run us right over the edge of disaster!

However one thing that really is 'free' in this country is free speech and it continues to brighten our darkness. A most amusing article appeared this week entitled 'Crazy Coal' and analysing the situation of our nationalised coal industry. Coal, of course, is no laughing matter. There is an enormous unsatisfied demand for our coal abroad and prices are higher than they have ever been. But we cannot take advantage of this demand—instead we ourselves have to import coal! For the first time in our history the proverb 'carrying coals to Newcastle' has lost its meaning. Various reasons are put forward for the present shortage. In particular it is ascribed to full employment and the fact that industry has been going at full steam. But this explanation does not account for the main, incredible, underlying fact. That fact is that under nationalisation—when 'the miner has become one of the best paid workers in industry, with a priority claim for housing and an assured job'—the output of coal does not reach the figures of the years of unemployment. Production for 1950, it is stated, is likely to amount to about 217¼ million tons as against 227 million in 1938. In a nationalised industry we are all shareholders and the writer asks: Has our money been wasted? He says he cannot give the answer because 'the only way to approach such a judgment is to compare the working of alternative possibilities in active competition.' But a nationalised industry has no competitors. In fact, he concludes, 'by eliminating competition the Coal Board has not only locked the door to efficiency but *has swallowed the key as well*'! (Italics mine).

And now for a brief inadequate word about the religious revival. Church-goers have for many years been irritated by the parrot cries —from those who would never bother to go there anyhow—that 'the churches could not be emptier.' That the churches *were* emptier was due to changes in our social habits. In the first place, like so much also that has changed in England, church-going was affected by the servant problem. In former times, when the upper and middle classes could all get house-maids, families would troop off to church in the morning and come home to find the Sunday dinner ready cooked for them. Now most of them are maidless and too there is always or almost always a very good service, with excellent sermon, broadcast over the radio. These factors have operated to keep people away from church. But, in spite of this, the churches are filling up again! The Roman Catholic Church, of course, has never suffered in this way. Its members are well schooled from their childhood to make a point of going to church (and never to be so late as to miss the reading of the Gospel). Now other churches are reporting growing congregations. Recently a friend of mine tried to get into a Christian Science

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meeting that was being held in Westminster. As it was a pouring wet night she thought she would be certain of a place. But there was a long queue stretching right down the street and she only just succeeded in getting into an overflow meeting which was packed out too. A Lay Reader, arguing from his own experience, in a letter to the press this week has no doubt that the decline in church-going is much more than arrested. He writes :

> "May I cite one figure which I know is accurate and may be taken at its face value ? The Church of England Men's Society, without spectacular effort, has added branches at the rate of a hundred a year in each year since the war ended, and is rather more than maintaining that rate in 1950."

It is part of his work to attend a good many different churches and he gives the names of six churches within a few miles of his home that have crowded congregations each Sunday. (Four of these are Anglican, one is Baptist and one Methodist). Surely these are enough swallows to herald the summer—and silence the parrots !

Some people affect to believe that church-going is escapism. My favoured form of escapism is reading about the past. "The use of history," says Thucydides, "is to light the present hour to its duty." That is true of history but one of its junior branches—biography—has a gentler use. It makes a man feel at home in his environment. At the present time many of us are reading Boswell's recently discovered *London Journal*. He doesn't give us a torch to light us to our duty—far from it !—but it is a torch that lights up the London of his day, a London of dirty streets and jostling chairmen and of poets so thick upon the ground that, as Boswell says, finding poems for the *St. James's Magazine* "is as if one were making a collection of whinstones in Scotland, where you may get them on every field." It is a delight, on a cold foggy evening such as we have been experiencing this past week, to open Boswell's Journal and to fancy him, just round the corner in his lodgings in Downing Street, trying to conquer the town on a meagrely allowance of £200 a year. Just up Whitehall lives his friend the Countess of Northumberland—Northumberland Avenue still recalls that the family once had its London house there. This Countess, like so many of the people who [illegible] in these pages, is vividly etched in. As so often [illegible] the artistocracy, she has a very peculiar streak [illegible] thrift.

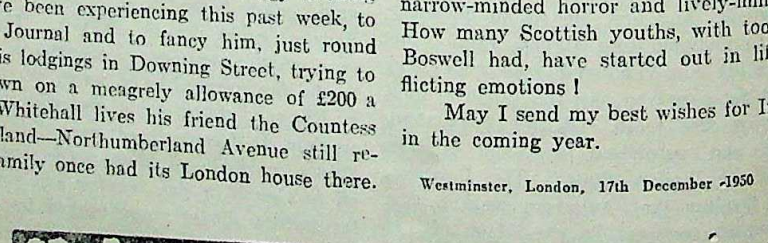
> "Why don't you go to Court, Mr. Boswell," says she, "I'm sure that's a cheap diversion. It costs you nothing, and you see all the best company and chat away. It is the best coffee-house in town !"

One could rattle on indefinitely—to use a favourite word in the eighteenth century—picking out glimpses of London at that time. None of them very important—except for the meeting with Dr. Johnson—but one encounters little unforgettable scenes or a record of conversation so real that one fancy the different tones of the speakers. One favourite memory is of Boswell, in very bad humour, keeping places in the pit at Drury Lane for two friends who can't be bothered to turn up until the last moment. However, he adds balefully, 'I had the satisfaction to see them well-punished, for by staying so late they could scarcely squeeze through the crowd. Haven't we all been served like that by our friends ? But we would not have the same mitigation as Boswell. At least Oliver Goldsmith came into the box behind him . . .).

May I be forgiven for a last word about Boswell and that is that he and I appear on the roll of members and Masters of the same Masonic Lodge, Canongate Kilwinning, in my native town Edinburgh. Boswell was Master of the Lodge in the year 1773 and a hundred and thirty-eight years later, in 1911. Boswell loved the Canongate and in his day the Edinburgh Theatre was there. So I will close with a glimpse of Boswell, as a boy, walking down Canongate. "In boyish days," he writes, "I used to walk down the Canongate and think of players with a mixture of narrow-minded horror and lively-minded pleasure." How many Scottish youths, with too strict a father as Boswell had, have started out in life with these conflicting emotions !

May I send my best wishes for India's good fortune in the coming year.

Westminster, London, 17th December 1950



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PRESIDENT'S RESIGNATION IN THE NEW CONSTITUTION

By Prof. K. V. RAO, M.A., M.Litt., O.E.S.

Article 56(1) limits the tenure of office of the President to five years, but the President is eligible for re-election any number of times. Originally the Draft Constitution wanted to restrict re-election only for one more term but it was deleted without comment by the Constituent Assembly. It was a good thing that it was deleted for it was meaningless to restrict his term and re-election when he is to be only a mere 'constitutional head.' A President elected a number of times again and again would accumulate experience and wisdom so that he could be a real friend, guide and philosopher to the ministry. On the other hand, thus restricted, a President running a second term may become a bit indifferent as he has nothing to lose. Elective principle acts as a great restraining force as it makes the incumbent seeking re-election to account for his acts of omission and commission before the electorate periodically.

A vacancy in office occurs in four ways: (*i*) by the natural expiration of the five-year term; (*ii*) by death or by permanent disability such as total paralysis; (*iii*) resignation; and (*iv*) by removal by impeachement. This is covered in the Constitution by Articles 56, 62, 65 and 70. The Constitution provided for an election to take place before the expiration of the normal term of office [Article 62(1)]; and in the case of other vacancies by death, resignation, removal or otherwise, elections will have to take place within six months after the occurrence of the vacancy [Article 62(2)].

The word 'otherwise' in this Article 62 is difficult to understand as causing a permanent vacancy. The Drafting Committee have not explained it. Is it merely a legal safeguard inserted by the lawyer-members of the Committee to cover any unforeseen contingency or were they contemplating anything more mysterious, something like a man becoming invisible, as in H. G. Wells' novel? Another such safety provision is found in Article 70; but we are not discussing a casual or temporary vacancy here.[1]

A President whose period normally expires need not automatically vacate his office; but only a vacancy occurs. He continues in office under Article 56(1)c, "until his successor enters upon his office." Here 'successor' probably does not mean the Vice-President; for ordinarily the successor is already elected, according to the Draft, under Article 62(1). This is probably intended to cover a contingency of India going without a President in two possible ways. One is temporary inability of the President-elect due to absence from the country at that time or illness, etc., which prevents him from taking the oath and assuming office on the appointed day; the second is an unforeseen permanent vacancy occurring by the death of the President-elect before he assumes the office. In both these cases, the old President continues. A better provision would have been for the Vice-President to step in, for there is another contingency which the fathers of the Constitution have not foreseen, as otherwise they would not have made it so. Suppose the out-going President is very unscrupulous and knows fully well that he has no chance for re-election. He can manipulate remaining in office by dissolving the House of People or some other House of Legislature in the States.[2] It is highly desirable that the Constitution is amended to make the Vice-President, who is only a temporary lease-holder, to step in all contingencies when a vacancy occurs in the office of the President.

One important way in which a permanent vacancy occurs in the office is by the voluntary quitting of office by the President by resigning. This is provided by Article 56(1)(a). This is not an ordinary contingency whereby a President, whether a constitutional head or not, resigns his office for nothing. There must be some contributary causes that leads to that step. Now what are they? There may be four grounds leading to resignation. One is a normal contingency of illness, etc. The second is that it might be something like an 'abdication' which is voluntary, like that of Edward VIII, where the President does not look eye to eye with his ministers and would like to quit instead of creating a constitutional crisis; or, under similar circumstances or otherwise, a President could be asked to resign by the High Command, and he might oblige. The third reason might be an impending impeachment; a President might prefer resignation to

1. One such contingency not covered by Clauses 1 and 2 of Article 65 is probably 'unwillingness of the President' to act. Suppose a President is 'unwilling' to act with a view to paralyse the government. (This is not the same thing as madness though it may be one such kind). Impeachment is both long and difficult and meanwhile administration may suffer. Parliament could provide for such a contingency under Article 70 and Article 71(3). But in such a case another question crops up,—to what extent Parliament will be going against the provisions of the Constitution by such legislation?

2. The question I pose here is this: What is the meaning of 'Electoral College' in Article 54. Does it mean that all the Houses mentioned therein should be there before an election takes place? Say, can an election take place when the House of the People or the Assembly of Orissa stand dissolved? The final answer can be given only by the Supreme Court under Article 71(1). In any case an unscrupulous President can take advantage either by dissolving the House before an election or dissolving some hostile legislatures.

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removal by impeachment. The last is, it might be the President might use it as a threat against the Ministry and the majority party on some vital point which might reveal something bad against the Ministers and so might make them reconsider their own stand or voluntarily themselves resign.

Before going into the details of these grounds and the probable circumstances under which each cause occurs, let us have an idea of the procedure contemplated by the Constitution and the issues it raises. The Constitution has laid down a very simple procedure, obviously because the fathers of the Constitution have taken it as a casual, normal, thing requiring no explanation and elaborate examination. On any one of the grounds as stated above, suppose the President has decided to resign. He has simply to write a letter of resignation to the Vice-President, which "shall forthwith be communicated by him to the Speaker of the House of the People." [Article 56(2)]. The Draft Constitution in Article 45(a), following the procedure given in the Report on the Union Constitution [Clause 2(1a)] which was approved by the Constituent Assembly on 24th July 1947, lays down the procedure that the President under his hand address the Chairman of the Council of States and the Speaker. Later on, it has been amended to make the address to the Vice-President and him compulsorily to the Speaker. The following questions of procedure arise out of this procedure and either conventions should be established or the Constitution has to be amended to solve the difficulty, unless meanwhile the Supreme Court decides it finally:

a. When does the resignation come into effect? Is it as soon as the letter is written down; or as soon as the President's letter is received by the Vice-President? Is it necessary that a Gazette Extraordinary should announce it, and who will announce it in the Gazette, the President or the Vice-President?

a. Is the resignation final and irrevocable? Can the President reconsider his decision? And, if so:

b. When does the resignation come into effect? Is it as soon as the President writes his letter, or is it after the Vice-President receives it? Or a Gazette Extraordinary should first announce it, and in this case, who will send it for publication?—the President or the Vice-President? It cannot obviously come into immediate effect in any of the cases cited above, as there is some time-lag between one President resigns and another (the Vice-President) assumes charge after taking the oath under Article 69: and who will be President in the interval? The out-going President, obviously, must remain in office till the Vice-President assumes office by taking the oath. Incidentally it must be deemed to be the meaning of Article 56(1c) that it covers all contingencies mentioned above and that 'successor' there means both the Vice-President, and the President-elect. Now the question is: can the President reconsider his decision and withdraw his resignation meanwhile?

c. The answer to the above questions depends upon the answer to another question that arises. Is there any question of accepting the resignation and, if so, by whom? We may understand, by the absence of any provision for acceptance, that the same will be accepted by the Vice-President. But in this case, the incidental question comes whether the Vice-President has got the option of requesting the President to reconsider. To the last question we may emphatically say 'no'; the Vice-President is not so dignified an officer to exercise such discretion. From the context, after reading the Debates of the Constituent Assembly on the Article, the President is asked to address the letter of resignation to the Vice-President because he is the person to step into the shoes of the President and who could also write to the Election Commission to get ready for the election of a new President. We could have easily accepted this view but for another question that is raised below.

d. What is the purpose of communicating the news of resignation to the Speaker of the House of the People? There was no valid and convincing reason given for this particular provision in the Article. It might be just an accident that this provision remains from the original which suggested that the President should address letters to the Chairman of the Council and the Speaker of the House, as the Presiding officers of the two Houses of Union Legislature. It was then amended that it should be addressed to the Vice-President as the successor Officer and then the latter should inform the Speaker because it is simply desirable and for no other reason.[4] But there must be some sub-consciously reason why the Speaker alone should be singled out but we are not able to find it out. What is the Speaker supposed to do them? Is he, or even it that the Vice-President, supposed to place it before the respective Houses? and, if so, what are they to do if the Houses are not in session? And lastly, if the Houses of Legislature have the power (right) the duty to consider the letter and discuss it even come to a decision, *i.e.*, can they refuse to accept the resignation? This question becomes especially relevant when proceedings for impeachment are going on in the Legislature. Can the House, for instance, refuse to accept the resignation and proceed with impeachment?

The Constitution should have clarified these points. And if the intention is that the resignation should take immediate effect as soon as the letter is received by the Vice-President, then it should have been stated to do so and then the Vice-President should have been asked to communicate the same once to the Election Commission. Thus the election machinery for the next election should have been set in motion.

3. In actual fact the matter was treated rather lightly by the House. One Member suggested by an amendment that the letter should be addressed to the Indian National Congress. *Debates*, Vol. VII, p. 1021.

4. The mover of this amendment said: "It is better, therefore, that provision should be made that one person should receive the resignation and be responsible to set the machinery in motion to fill the vacancy. And that person is most properly the Vice-President. I have therefore provided that the Vice-President should receive the resignation. But at the same time it is desirable that the Speaker also should know it." *Debates*, Vol. VII, p. 1020.

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Now let us examine in some greater detail the plausible grounds on which a President would be tempted to resign such a high post. Illness could be dismissed as most improbable. To start with, no weak man on death-bed would have stood for election, and not much energy is required to carry on the duties of a 'constitutional head.' If the illness is serious enough, then he can temporarily go on leave, as our constitution, unlike the American one, creates also a temporary vacancy and thus enables the President to go on leave. Human nature being optimistic, no President would resign his post on grounds of illness; he would at the most go on leave, thus creating a temporary vacancy. If the reasons are strong differences with the Ministry or the majority party and the President wants to quit quietly, then it is all right and no difficulty arises. (This the President would do only if his own party is in power and it is strong enough to make him resign). So also when the President resigns rather than faces an impeachment.

But suppose some high principles are involved and the majority party is not his, then resignation would come in handy when the President wants to bring a constitutional issue to a head and wants the dispute settled by the Legislature. Sometimes on particular occasions, the President might feel that he is in the right and ministry is in the wrong. It may not be serious enough to dissolve the House. Again it might be the Ministry is not treating him well; an autocratic Prime Minister might not be carrying his duties under Article 78. He cannot dismiss the Ministry as he (the Prime Minister) has a strong majority in the House. Moreover, such a dismissal would turn out to be a challenge to the sovereignty of the House, as the House would be completely ignorant of the issues. As it is, the President has no constitutional way to bring his grievances to the notice of the Legislature, the immediate masters; the Courts are forbidden to enquire into the matter under Article 74(2). We do not know how the Constitution expects the President to enforce Article 78. One way is for the President to disregard the advice of the Ministry (having a majority in the House, otherwise it could be dismissed) but then he would be impeached and he has to stand as an accused. The other way is resignation; the Ministry would then be the accused. Resignation might be used as a mere threat, or the President might resign, explain his stand and again stand for election. Let us examine them both.

The threat of resignation is a great weapon, if properly used. A President with a commanding personality could use it with great advantage. It may amount to a threat of abdication found in England and once or twice Queen Victoria used it to carry out her will.[5] The threat of resignation on particular issues might wring out some important concessions from an otherwise recalcitrant ministry, and in case of serious differences the President should be given a chance of bringing these differences to the House of the People which could decide who was in the right —the President or the Ministers—either by accepting the resignation or refusing it by simple majority. In the latter case, he might dismiss the Ministers and choose another.[6] From this point of view, Article 56(2) could have made it obligatory for the letter to be placed before the House of the People which should then decide whether to accept or reject it or request the President to reconsider the decision. (Rejection is to be used in case of impeachment proceedings before the House). In case his point of view is not accepted by the House, he can still appeal to a bigger electorate—after all the House of People is not the final authority on constitutional delicacies—by standing again for election; the letter of resignation and the subsequent discussion in the House would place the issues clearly before the country for the electors to judge. In case he is elected again, he might then justifiably dissolve the House and ask for another election. A threat of resignation would be a great weapon against a corrupt and unconstitutional ministry backed by a strong but blind, or as Jinnah used to call, brute majority. The President also requires a weapon in case his ministers violate the constitution and the House backs the ministry which the country would not. Resignation along with the suggested procedure would serve the purpose. Therefore, I suggest that Article 56(2) should be amended thus: "Any resignation addressed to the Vice-President under Clause (a) of the proviso to Clause (1) shall forthwith be communicated by him to the Speaker of the House and the Speaker shall forthwith place it before the House of People for its acceptance."*

5. See A. B. Keith: *England from Victoria to George VI*, Vol. I, page 141. But Keith thinks that such royal threats were "unconstitutional except as a mode of emphasising the strength of the feeling in the matter."

6. It is not the same thing as his dismissing the ministry before resigning and forming another. In this case, the issues would not be before the House. If he is definitely in the right, then the President might be requested to reconsider his decision, which amounts to a vote of no-confidence in the Ministry.

* The reader will not be able to appreciate the true spirit of this article unless he understands the truth of the following: *i.* That no constitution is capable of laying down every detail of its working; it will leave some leeways; *ii.* That no conventions can be binding on the people unless forced by strong circumstances and organised public opinion; *iii.* that our constitution does not necessarily bind our President to be 'nominal,' but it leaves it to circumstances; *iv.* that in politics there is a regular struggle for power between parties, between groups within the parties, and between individuals within parties and groups; that is the only realistic approach to politics; and *v.* that there will be a period of such struggle between the President and the Prime Minister before the issue is finally settled whether the President is *bound* by the advice of the Council of Ministers or not. This article of mine envisages the use of resignation by the President during such periods of struggle, especially when the President and the Prime Minister belong to two different parties.

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CENSUS OPERATION

By Dr. PURNENDU KUMAR BOSE,
Calcutta University

In India, Census may be well compared with the appearance of a comet on the horizon. Just as a comet appears on the horizon after long intervals, stays for a few days attracting attention of the general public and then disappears, leaving almost no impression so also does the Indian Census which is taken at an interval of ten years. During the Census year people become interested for the time being, show an extra amount of enthusiasm but the whole thing is temporary, the exuberance dies out only after a few days. Most of the people in India fail to realise the real significance of Census. They only think that Census means the counting of people, they are not in a position to connect census with the developmental projects of the Government. Two things are essential for making the census a success. They are: (*i*) Enumerator, (*ii*) Citizen. Unless the two co-operate whole-heartedly the census cannot be perfect. I believe, in India, the second one *i.e.*, the citizen is more important than the first. People ought to understand clearly why the census is taken? Unless this is clear people's co-operation can not be expected. In the United States of America, which is one of most advanced countries of the world, this difficulty is also similarly felt though in a lesser degree. This is evident from the following statement by H. L. Dunn, Chief Statistician for Vital Statistics, United States Bureau of Census:

> "The problem involved with making Census data available to the public are primarily psychological ones . . . . True there are plenty of headaches in terms of budget, publication, analysis and presentation of statistical material. But these things can be solved by buying trained brains and skilled hands, by turning them loose to do a job the best they can. But to understand the audience for this material is a more difficult matter. One which is hemmed in by barriers of ignorance, indifference, distance and prejudice. If the Bureau is to reach its audience and make its data truly available its primary task is to understand the people whom it would serve and whose needs it desires to satisfy. It must interpret its data in the light of what they are. Of how they live and feel and dream. In other way can the gap be bridged between supply and demand."

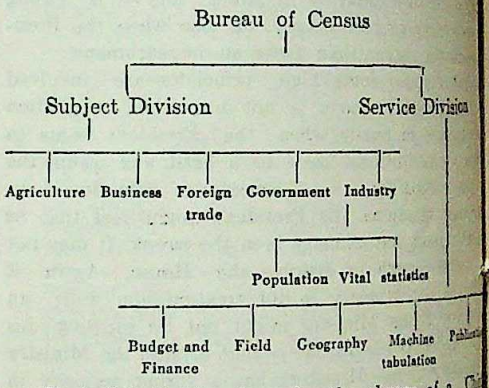
In America, the census operations are now considered as a continuous process. By continuous process I mean that throughout the year they are collecting information, not as in India at intervals of ten years.

This year in the Independent Sovereign Republic of India we shall have the first Census. In order that this census may be a success all citizens should co-operate earnestly so that Government can collect correct figures which they can unhesitatingly utilise for their future planning.

I shall try to give you in brief: (*i*) An account of the census operations in the United States of America because here it is done most methodically using modern statistical methods, (*ii*) A Summary of the Indian Censuses in previous years and (*iii*) Future Recommendation. The subject under discussion is very wide so it is not possible to give an exhaustive study of the different aspects at such a short space.

An Account of the Census Operations in U.S.A.

In the United States of America, there is a permanent department under the name Bureau of Census. In the Bureau of Census there are broadly two divisions: (*i*) Subject Division and (*ii*) Service Division. Under subject division there are seven items and under service division there are six items. This can be diagramatically shown as:



Each Sub-division is under the charge of a Chief (scientific man), besides these officers there are two more Senior Officers (all technicians) and a Director. This is in short the administrative set-up of the Bureau of Census. From the list of items given above it will be clear that the Bureau of Census in the United States covers a very wide field. Let us now turn to the activities of the Bureau. As in India, in the United States also there is decennial census. At intervals of ten years there is a complete census and in the intercensal period the Bureau collects information under the above heads. In our country we understand the need of a department of the above type in the census year but we fail to understand the necessity of the department in other years. The collection of information should be up-to-date so that we can use this in war-time as also in peace-time with complete reliance. The following quotation may be of interest:

> "The principal changes in the work of the Bureau of the Census during the past year were brought about by the termination of hostilities and of wartime controls, the need for statistics to aid planning for reconversion, the development of a comprehensive, balanced, permanent Census program geared to peace-time needs . . . . needed to furnish new statistical bench marks for Government, business and private research".

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Firstly, we shall consider the normal activities of the Bureau and then we shall discuss in brief how the decennial census is arranged in U.S.A.

NORMAL FUNCTIONS OF VARIOUS SUB-DIVISIONS

(i) Agriculture includes for the year under review the total number of farms and lands in farms. It also includes detailed information on acreage and production of specific crops and live stock in each county. Additional information such as land use, value of land and buildings, farm dwellings, farm population, farm labour, farm equipment, farm fecilities, value of farm products sold, etc., are included.

(ii) *Business* : It includes the series of monthly, quarterly and annual reports relating to retail and wholesale business and to the flow of certain commodities through the distribution system.

(iii) *Foreign trade* : It includes matter like adjusting foreign trade reports, statistical classification of domestic and foreign commodities, etc.

(iv) *Government* : It includes analytical reports on State expenditure, State surpluses, State debt, City capital outlay, City debt, etc.

(v) *Industry* : It includes surveys in the manufacturing fields. In a particular year, work under this head is clear from the following sentence :

"The principal efforts in this subject during the past year involved taking over certain war agency surveys which were being discontinued by them and initiating new surveys of commodities for which production had been virtually suspended during the war."

(vi) *Population* : It includes preparation of inter-censal and post-censal estimates of population. During the decennial census, complete count of the population of the United States is done but from year to year the net increase or decrease in the number is furnished by the department.

(vii) *Vital Statistics* : It includes "processing, analyzing and publishing the essential national statistics of births, deaths and still births. In addition, special statistics of motor vehicle accidental deaths, the 10 per cent mortality analysis and various current reports are compiled and published."

In the above paragraphs I have tried to explain in brief the various activities of the different branches under subject division. I believe now it is clear that a permanent Bureau of Census is essential for the country. About the second main division, namely, Service Division, I will not try to explain as it is mainly administrative.

Now I shall try to place before you something about the decennial census in the United States of America. United States of America is a country with a population of 13,16,69,275 and an area of 30,22,387 square miles. The last census was taken in 1940 and this year they will take a fresh census.

"In the United States, the Census of population has been taken every tenth year since 1790. This is a function of the Bureau of the Census, where statistical and administrative activities are carried on by a staff of about 3,000 employees. A large number of this permanent or quasi-permanent staff engaged in different tasks throughout the various stages of preparation, tabulation and other censal and post-censal operations, aside from the special census force engaged periodically for actual work in the field.

"In the 1940 Census, more than 1,20,000 enumerators were employed. Written examinations to test the ability of enumerators in the use of Schedules and instructions and moving pictures to show practical angles of the work and determine an efficient selection were important features of the organisation of this census. The country was divided into enumeration districts, each of which contained, on the average about 1,000 persons. Maps of these districts were prepared and furnished to enumerators who visited each place of residence and entered in the schedules the householder's answers to queries. On a small number of topics the questions were asked of only a 5 per cent randon sample of the population, a procedure which permitted the broadening of the scope of the census to obtain additional information at a minimum cost. The enumeration was completed in about two weeks in urban areas and in one month in rural areas. The general results were published in several regular volumes, within about three years of the enumeration period."

The above extract is taken from *Census Costs in the Ten American Nations.*

The total amount which was spent in 1940 for decennial census is $3,66,08,496. This comes to nearly .278 dollars per capita. In the preceding paragraphs census operations in the United States have been explained. The need for a permanent Census Bureau is now felt by all advanced countries of the world. The whole idea of explaining the activities of the Bureau of Census is to illustrate how the collection of information is actually done and how they are useful for the administration of the country and also for proper planning.

A SUMMARY OF THE INDIAN CENSUS IN PREVIOUS YEARS

The first census in India was taken in 1881 and the last census was in 1941. That is, up to now we have seven censuses. This year we shall have the eighth census or in other words the first census in Independent India.

Census in India was started by the British Government, so naturally it followed the British model. In England, Census is taken at an interval of ten years. The whole country is divided into districts and sub-districts and each division is in charge of an official. About 40 thousand enumerators are employed in each census, they distribute the schedules and collect an exhaustive information in every building. Almost the same procedure is followed in India.

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Indian Census : Administrative Arrangement

(*a*) *Census Act* : Before census is taken in India, Census Act is passed by the Government. By this Act :

> "Every military officer, every person in charge of lunatic asylum, hospital, workhouse, prison, reformatory, a lock-up. or any public charitable, religious or educational institution, every keeper, secretary of a boarding house, lodging house, emigration depot or club, every manager or officer of a railway or any commercial or industrial establishment and every occupant of immovable property where at the time of census persons were living, was, if required by district magistrate or Provincial Government, under legal obligation to perform the duties of a census officer in relation to the persons who at the time of the census were under his command or charge or inmates of his house or were employed under him."

(*b*) *Staff* : Central Government appoints a Census Commissioner to conduct the census. Under him the administrative arrangement is as follows :

Census Commissioner
|
Provincial Superintendent
|
District Census Officer—Collector
|
Charge Superintendent—Kanungo
|
Circle Supervisors
|
Block enumerators

Block enumerators are mainly village headmen, village school masters and also patwaris. They all perform their duties as part of their ordinary day's work. Thus census is conducted mainly by honorary workers. Before these enumerators start their work, they are properly trained. They are asked to fill up some schedules to see whether their training is satisfactory or not.

Census up to 1931

The work is divided into two parts, preliminary and final. Each house in a particular block is marked. A separate house is decided on the basis of "chullah." Usually the preliminary census is taken a few weeks before the actual census. The enumerator goes to a particular house and fills the form. This is carefully checked by supervisors and other officers.

> "The actual census usually relates to a particular night. On the night of the census the preliminary record is made up-to-date. Names of persons who have left their houses or died are struck off from the list and those who have come from outside or are born are entered in the list."

The enumerator prepares a statement showing the population of the block. Each enumerator submits his records to the Circle Officer, following the hierarchical process shown above. Provincial totals are calculated and are published in the form of separate volumes.

1941 Census (*Census Report*)

"The 1941 Census operations differed wide in their circumstances, methods and outcome from those of the previous decades and taken all must represent the most difficult operation of the long and honourable series.

"The first point of comment is that this census saw more changes in methods than had previously taken place in the whole 70 years since the census began. The chief was the abolition of the old six night theory of enumeration and the next was the abolition of old Schedule and the conducting of enumeration straight on to the slip which was later sorted to produce the various tables. Connected with the list was the complete centralisation of printing, the removal of any written language from the enumeration slip and a variety of other connected and consequent changes which produced not only efficiency but substantial economies amounting to over a lakh of rupees. The first major change enabled us to relate the enumeration more closely to the existing systems and agencies in the country and brought down the number of enumerators from two millions to one and for British India from 1½ million to 2|3".

Under this system the census was extended over a period and it was taken on ordinary residence basis. Suppose a man whose residence was in Calcutta, he would be counted always in Calcutta, no matter whether on the census day he remained in Bombay or in Madras. Another innovation in 1941 census was that every 1/50th slip was marked. The idea was to estimate the population on the sample basis and to see whether the sampling method would be suitable for this purpose.

The different tables which were included in 1941 Census were as follows :

(1) Area, Houses and Population.
(2) Variation of population during fifty years.
(3) Towns and villages classified by population.
(4) Cities classified by population with variation since 1891.
(5) Towns arranged territorially with population by communities.
(6) Community.
(7) Variation in population of selected tribes.
(8) Summary figures for provinces and States by district.

Future Recommendations

(*a*) Census operations in India should not be a temporary one. Realising the importance of census a permanent department should be established immediately. If future planning in India is to be done on a sound basis then a Bureau of Census on the lines indicated above should be set up.

(*b*) In England and in America trained enumerators are appointed on a paid basis but the enumerators here have to do the work in addition to their normal work. Thus the enumerators are careless and often commit blunders. The following sentence is interesting :

> "In India which is, no less than a Continent, the vast army of enumerators appointed, gets only paper certificates in lieu of the service rendered."

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Indian census is unpaid. The census reports may continue to pay glowing tributes for the efficient work done by the enumerators but the fact remains that the majority of enumerators take census as a burden forced upon them against their wishes.

This mental outlook should be changed for efficient work. This can only be achieved if proper remuneration is given to all workers concerned. This will further offer an incentive to the educated public of this country and they will render their services. In former times Census used to be taken more as a "show" than for any real purpose. In Free India we hope this will be changed, and trained and efficient enumerators and supervisors with proper remuneration will be employed. Unless this is done we cannot expect good census.

Now we shall turn to some of the operational aspects of the Census.

(c) Sampling methods applied to Census work. Suitable sampling techniques should be evolved for Census work. This is intended for two purposes: (*i*) to estimate the population in the intercensal and post censal period. (*ii*) Many items can be estimated with lesser cost.

In 1940, in the United States, Sampling in conjunction with the census was tried. Following are very valuable observations by M. H. Hansen, Statistical Assistant to the Director :

"In planning the 1940 census of population it was clear, because of the limits placed upon the census by available time and money, that it was impossible to include for complete Census enumeration a number of inquiries urgently needed by both Government and private sources. It was also clear, however, that many of the desired statistics could be collected if sampling techniques were employed."

It was possible to design a highly efficient sampling technique for use in conjunction with the 1940 Census of population because the complete census itself provided a prelisting of the poulation of the United States. A 5 per cent sample was pre-designated by requiring supplemental inquiries to be asked of all persons whose names fell on specified lines of the Census Schedule. The sample so drawn provided a representative cross-section of both persons and families in the United States.

The introduction of sampling techniques into the 1940 Census of population made it possible to increase the number of inquiries by approximately 50 per cent and thus, tremendously to increase the amount of information collected with no appreciable loss in the accuracy of the data and at considerable savings in the cost of the enterprise to tax-payers.

Moreover, the use of sampling in the census made possible the preparation of preliminary returns on the basis of a specially prepared set of sample punch-cards for the persons enumerated on the sample lines of the schedule fully eight months in advance of complete tabulation. Thus it was possible to serve quickly the vital public need for accurate statistics on employment, unemployment and the age, sex and colour composition of the population. Finally, the use of sampling in the census made possible a considerable increase in the scope of cross tabulations of basic social and economic characteristics of the population.

In 1950, the Bureau of Census in America is using the sampling techniques in greater details. From the preceding paragraph it is clear that sampling methods provide the following advantages :

(*i*) To increase the number of inquiries, *i.e.,* to increase the information collected with no appreciable loss in the accuracy of data and at considerable savings in the cost.

(*ii*) Reports can be published within a short time.

As regards the accuracy of sample census estimates the following illustration may be interesting. In 1944, in some congested areas in the United States sampling technique was used to estimate the population. The following table gives the estimates with error:

Areas	*Estimated 1944 civilian population*	*Average relative sampling error in per cent*
Charleston S. L. Area	167,195	.8
Detroit-Willow	2,658,700	.8
Hampton-Road Area	496,790	.6
Los Angles Area	3,356,969	.7
Mobile Area	233,891	.8
Portland-Vancouver Area	660,583	.7

In the table it has been shown that error has not exceeded in any case 1 per cent.

In India in 1941-Census, every 1/50th card was marked and was kept separately. With these slips, Government of India with the help of the Indian Statistical Institute is now trying to estimate the different characteristics of the population. I suggest that in this year's census, sampling techniques should be employed in conjunction with the complete population census. In analytical statistics, theory of sampling is highly developed and with the statistical experts in the country I believe we can collect very useful information with considerable lesser expense.

(*d*) United Nations set up a Population Commission to select subjects on which internationally comparable information in the population census is to be taken in or about 1950. The object and the number of subjects may be quoted from the proceedings of the report of the Sub-committee, dated 19th May, 1948 :

"The object of the Commission in preparing this list of subjects and the accompanying explanatory notes are to provide a frame-work for the development of comparable data on the more important matters of demographic interest and thus to lay a sound factual ground-work for the work of the Commission. The Commission feels that the development of comparable data on these topics is essential for the consideration and solution of world population problems. The recommended list of subjects is presented below, without regard to relative

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importance : 1. Total population, 2. Sex, 3. Age, 4. Marital status, 5. Place of birth, 6. Citizenship, 7. Mother tongue, 8. Educational characteristics, 9. Fertility, 10. Economic characteristics—(*a*) total economically active and inactive population, (*b*) occupation, industry and industrial status, (*c*) population dependent on various types of economic activities, (*d*) agricultural population, 11. Urban and rural population, 12. Households (including relationship to household head).

"It is understood that it will not be practicable in some censuses to obtain data on all these topics and that in many censuses it will be undesirable to include subjects not mentioned in the list. The Population Commission agrees with the opinion expressed in the report of the third session of the statistical commission, that statistics on total population, sex, age, marital status and economic characteristics are specially important."

The important items which the Population Sub-Commission has recommended for inclusion in the census operations should be clearly explained so that there may not be ambiguity.

(*i*) Total population means population living in the country as a whole at the time of census. Foreign military and diplomatic personnel located in the country should be excluded whereas military and diplomatic personnel of the given country located abroad at the time of the census should be included.

(*ii*) Sex.

(*iii*) Age: The population should be classified by age in terms of completed years at the last birthday. In our census-table this is omitted. This is very important because if we want to construct life-tables we cannot do it if the population is not classified according to age. To calculate the expectation of life which is so vital for Insurance Companies this is indispensable.

(*iv*) Marital status: Data should be provided for these four marital status—(*a*) Married, (*b*) Widowed, (*c*) Divorced, (*d*) Single.

(*v*) Economic characteristics: (*a*) Economically active population, (*b*) Inactive population.

It includes : (1) persons engaged only in household work at home, (2) students, (3) inmates of penal, mental, and charitable institutions, (4) all other persons not engaged in economic activities such as retired and disabled persons and those who derive their income from rents, royalties, dividends, pensions etc.

(*c*) Occupation, Industry and Industrial status.

(*d*) Population dependent on various types of economic activity.

(*e*) Agricultural population.

The detailed explanatory notes on different items have been given by the Population Sub-commission but here I have mentioned only a few.

Considering the importance of Census, Government both at the Centre and in the provinces should carefully plan the method of procedure. The points which I have raised as a form of recommendation should be carefully considered. The different items can be summarised as :

1. There should be a permanent Bureau of Census.
2. It should be a paid Census. No honorary workers will be allowed.
3. Proper sampling techniques should be employed.
4. Different items on which information will be collected should be chosen from the list recommended by Population Sub-commission accepted by U.N.O.

We the citizens of free India hope that this year's Census will be a real Census in the true sense of the term where both the Government and the people will co-operate with sincere interest.*

* Subject-matter of a talk given in Indian Association on 8th May 1950.

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INDIAN ECONOMY UNDER INDEPENDENCE

By MRITYUNJOY BANERJEE, M.A. LL.B.

It was our poet Rabindranath Tagore who predicted on the 1st of Baisakh, 1348 B.S. that

"The wheels of Fate will some day compel the English to give up their Indian Empire but what sort of India will they leave behind, what stark misery ? When the stream of their centuries' administration runs dry at last, what a waste of mud and filth they will leave behind them !"

It is about three years and a half since the British left India. The question is, have we been able to recover from the rot, are we on the road to our long-dreamt-of Ram Rajya ? For an answer to this question it is necessary to analyse the progress we have achieved or deterioration we have suffered so far in some of the major sectors of our national economy.

National Income

The national income of British India was estimated by Dr. V. K. R. V. Rao at Rs. 62 per head in 1931-32. On the basis of Dr. Rao's estimates an economist arrived at the figure of Rs. 213 per head for the Indian Union in 1947-48 (*Commerce*, Annual Number, 1949). According to the *Eastern Economist*, Annual Number, 1948, it was Rs. 160 per head in 1947-48. Three different official estimates of national income have come out recently. The per capita income for provinces in the Indian Union was estimated by the Economic Adviser to the Government of Madras at Rs. 232-0-0 for 1949-50; that for Bombay, by the Provincial Bureau of Economics and Statistics at Rs. 249-2-0

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1948-49; while according to the Ministry of Commerce, Government of India, the national income of the Indian provinces stood at Rs. 204 in 1945-46, Rs. 228 in 1946-47 and Rs. 272 in 1948-49. In other words, averaging these different estimates, the current national income of India comes to about Rs. 220 per head per year. But this refers to nominal national income, that is, to national income in terms of money. Money itself has fallen in value. Prices have risen more than four times from what they were in 1931-32. Therefore, there has not been any appreciable increase in India's real income so far.

The per capita incomes of other principal countries at present stand thus :

	Rs.
United States	4,643
Canada	2,826
Denmark	2,647
United Kingdom	2,356
Australia	2 160
Ceylon	300
Philippines	228
Pakistan	225

Agriculture

The agricultural situation may be judged from the following estimates of area and yield of principal crops for the Indian Union :

(Area—in 1,000 acres)

	1947-48	1948-49	1949-50	Percentage increase or decrease in 1949-50 over 1947-48
Rice—				
Area	60,818	70 275	71,660	+ 18
Yield (in 000 tons)	19,534	21,725	21,913	+ 12
Wheat—				
Area	20,353	21,875	23,627	+ 15
Yield (in 000 tons)	5 389	5,472	6,110	+ 13
Sugarcane—				
Area	4,047	3,791	3,641	— 10
Yield (in 000 tons)	5,803	4,993	4,904	— 16
Groundnut—				
Area	10,079	9,145	9,672	— 4
Yield (in 000 tons)	3 411	2,896	3,399	— .4
Tea—				
Yield (in million lbs.)	568	595	580	+ 2
Raw Cotton—				
Area	10,932	11,293	11,793	+ 8
Yield (in 000 bales)	2,116	1,767	2,165	+ 2
Raw Jute—				
Area	652	834	1,158	+ 78
Yield (in 000 bales)	1,696	2 055	3,117	+ 84

(Source : Ministry of Agriculture, Government of India)

Thus it appears that there has been a considerable improvement in production in respect of raw jute and an appreciable one for rice and wheat. The production of raw cotton and groundnut fell in 1948-49 but has improved again in 1949-50. In the case of raw cotton it is higher than in 1947-48 but of groundnut, it is lower. The production of sugarcane has been falling year by year. Another noticeable feature is that in the case of rice the increase in yield has been made possible by a larger increase in area, while the decrease in yield of sugarcane has been larger than its decrease in area. This shows that there has been a fall in the average yield per acre of these two crops.

Industry

Industrial production stood as follows in recent years :

	1947	1948	1949	First nine months of 1950	Percentage increase or decrease in 1949 over 1947
Coal (in 000 tons)	30,073	29,822	31,457	23,994	+ 4.6
Steel ingots and castings (in 000 tons)	1,256	1 252	1,353	1,054	+ 7.7
Cloth (in million yards)	3,816	4,338	3,904	2,762	+ 2.3
Jute (in 000 tons)	1,051	1,048	946	622	— 10
Sugar (in 000 tons)	925	1,075	1 045	780	+ 13
Caustic Soda (in 000 tons)	3,314	4,383	6,303	8,094	+ 90.2
Paper and paper-boards (in 000 tons)	93	98	103	81	+ 10.8
Cement (in 000 tons)	1,441	1,553	2 102	1,911	+ 45.9

(Source : Ministry of Industry and Supply)

Thus compared to 1947, the production of cement and caustic soda has increased substantially ; of sugar, paper and steel appreciably ; coal and cotton textiles, slightly; while production of jute manufactures has actually fallen much. There has been a fall in production of cotton textiles and sugar in 1949 compared to 1948. On the basis of available records for the first nine months of 1950 it may be estimated that the production of coal, steel and paper will be slightly higher in 1950 than 1949, caustic soda and cement much higher and cloth, jute and sugar lower.

Industrial Profits

The position of industrial profits has been as follows :

(Base 1928=100)

	1939	1946	1947	1948	Maximum reached and year
Iron and Steel	289.3	293.7	249.6	278.0	402.2 (1942)
Jute	13.6	56.4	42.5	49.0	56.4 (1946)
Tea	96.2	191.5	208.4	123.3	219.5 (1942)
Cotton	154.5	631.9	490.9	846.9	988.9 (1943)
Sugar	179.4	219.2	308.1	685.1	685.1 (1946)
Coal	139.1	276.5	239.4	280.1	359.7 (1945)
All Industries	72.4	160.2	134.0	181.7	181.7 (1948)

(Source : Ministry of Labour)

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Thus the profits of all the industries have been higher during the period of Independence than on the eve of World War II, except in the case of iron and steel where they are lower by a few points only. Profits have been higher in 1948 than 1947 for all industries except tea. The cotton industry has earned in 1948 nearly double its profits in 1947 and more than five times the pre-war profits, while sugar industry more than double the profits of 1947 and about four times the pre-war profits.

Industrial Disputes

The average number of stoppages per month due to strikes has stood as follows:

1939	34	1947	151
1943	60	1948	105
1945	68	1949	77
1946	136	1950 (First 9 months)	82

The average number of man-days lost per month has stood as follows:

1939	416	1947	1,380
1943	195	1948	653
1945	338	1949	550
1946	1,060	1950 (First 9 months)	1 028

This shows that both the number of disputes and the number of man-days lost reached their maximum in 1947, they have been steadily declining since then but they suddenly jumped up in 1950. During the first nine months of 1950 as many as 9.886 man-days were lost, raising the month's average 1.098. The long strike in Bombay during August and September was principally responsible for this situation. Except for this extraordinary development, it may be said that the labour situation, though on the whole worse than during or before the last war, has still been improving slowly.

Prices

The index-number of wholesale prices, as compiled by the Economic Adviser to the Government of India, has moved as follows:

(Base August 1939=100)

Annual Average

	November 1947	1948-49	1949-50	23rd Dec. 1950
Food articles	294.8	382.9	391.3	419.7
Industrial raw materials	377.9	444.8	471.7	536.4
Semi-manufactured articles	252.5	327.3	331.6	350.9
Manufactured articles	283.2	346.1	347.2	350.3
General index	302.2	376.2	385.4	411.5

The prices in India are the highest among principal countries of the world and price variations are also the highest. They remained fairly stable in the first eleven months of 1947, rose sharply after decontrol in November, 1947 and have been rising slowly and almost steadily since then. The present price-level is more than four times the level in August, 1939; two times that in December, 1942; and about one-third more than what it was on the eve of Independence. Stabilisation of the price-level, not to speak of lowering it, has been the main cause of headache to the Government whose measures like price control, ration, concessions to industry and relaxation of import restrictions have alike failed to check the price spiral.

Foreign Trade

The over-all position of India's foreign trade stood as follows:

(Valued in lakhs of Rupees)

	1947-48	1948-49	1949-50
Total Imports	4,86,43	6,65,59	5,87,[illegible]
Total Exports	4,03,19	4,50,61	4,[illegible]
Balance of trade	—83,24	—2,14,98	—1,[illegible]

Her sea-borne trade in merchandise, both private and Government, has been as follows:

(In lakhs of Rupees)

	1938-39	1947-48	1948-49	1949-50
Imports	155,55	398,62	518,32	500,[illegible]
Exports	169,83	403,41	423 32	425,[illegible]
Balance of trade	+ 14 28	+4,79	—95,00	—75,[illegible]

India's trade with Pakistan has stood thus:

(Valued in lakhs of Rupees)

	1948-49	1949-50
Imports	105,17	43,55
Exports	74,01	41,40
Balance of trade	—31,16	—2,15

Thus her balance of foreign trade, including trade by land, has been negative during the three years of her Independence, but the deficit which increased enormously in 1948-49 has been lowered substantially in 1949-50. This is the direct result of devaluation of the Rupee which was adopted on September 19, 1949 and which has, on the whole, proved beneficial to India's foreign trade. The balance of trade on current account in the 12 months almost preceding devaluation, *viz.*, October 1948 to September, 1949, was negative or adverse to the extent of Rs. 248.8 crores while in the corresponding period following it, *viz.*, October, 1949 to September 1950, it has been positive or favourable to the extent of Rs. 65.9 crores. Similarly, in the capital account there has been a favourable balance of Rs. 34.7 crores in place of an adverse balance of Rs. 245 crores.

Conclusion

Considering the multitude of accumulated deficiences that have been inherited and new handicaps that have cropped up since Independence, the trend of Indian economy during the past three years has not been on the whole unsatisfactory nor altogether discouraging either. As our new Finance Minister has said the economic situation is difficult but not desperate. In some of the items of agriculture and industry particularly, tea, raw jute, cement, caustic soda and coal the production figures are highly encouraging. In respect of agriculture it has to be remembered that

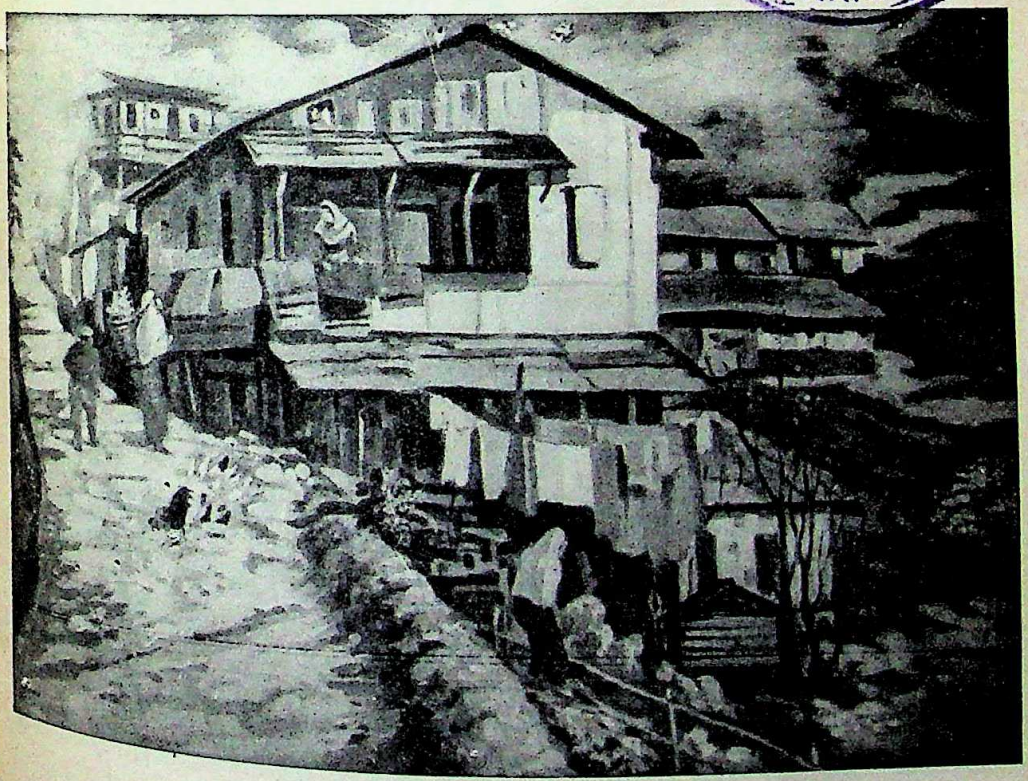
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KANKHAL.

Spring Festival
By Nandlal Bose

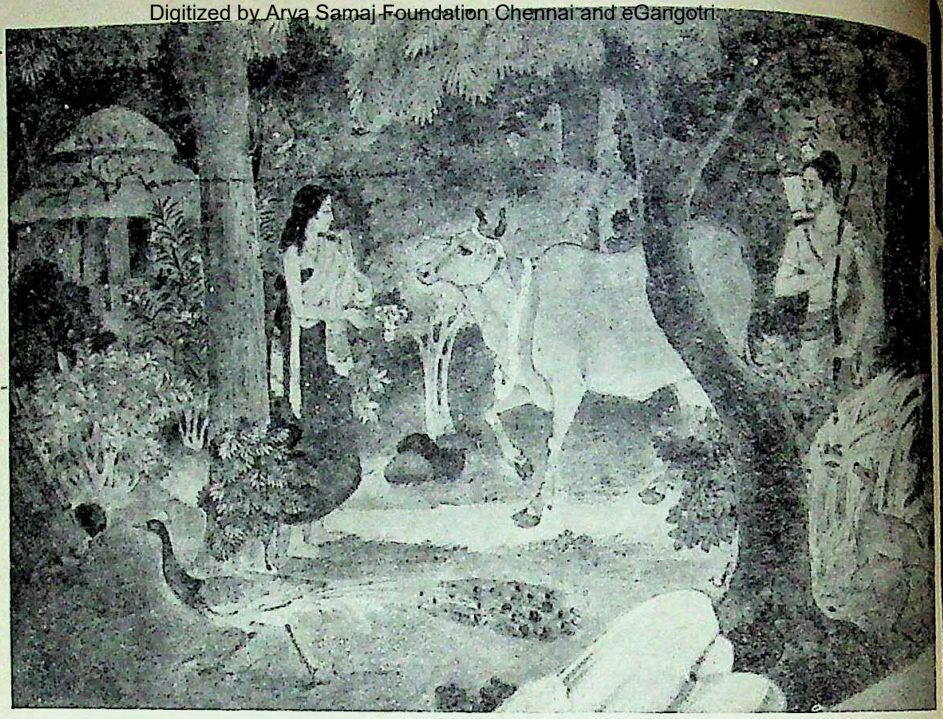


Bhutia Basti
By Ramendra Nath Chakravorty

Photo Society

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The cow served by King Dilipa and Queen Sudakshina
By Satyendranath Banerji



Angling (Coloured Wood-cut)
By Haren Das

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partition India retained 77 per cent of the population which has been augmented further by mass migration of refugees, but she got only 73 per cent of the total area, 72 per cent of the rice area, 70 per cent of the wheat acreage and 70 per cent of the irrigated land. In these circumstances the achievements in the agricultural sector generally are not too little. In industry the recent production trends are quite promising and the tempo has only to be pushed up further by a return of confidence in the investment market and a peaceful labour situation. Our foreign trade position has improved tremendously and the latest figures are record ones in India's history. One disconcerting element, however, in the economic situation is the demon of high prices which appears to be the villain of the piece. It is the most important factor which is damaging the entire economy. It is because of high prices that the increase in our national income is rendered meaningless in terms of reality and the standard of living is so low. If prices rose to that extent only which was necessitated by shortage in supply or increase in demand or both, prevalent in the post-war era and no more, the situation would have been a tolerable one. A considerable portion of the price-rise is speculative and has been caused by non-economic factors. The responsibility for these is not merely Governmental. It has to be shared by the people, too. High prices above the controlled level are charged and paid also by our countrymen, exclusive of the Government. There is dishonesty to the right, corruption to the left; profiteering here, and blackmarketing there. This makes clear the truth that national economy is inextricably mixed up with national character. National character is again the sum-total of individual character. Ultimately the task of lifting the country out of its economic difficulties devolves on every man and woman of the country. Independence has brought on new responsibility. If each one is true to this new sense of duty, economic recovery will not be difficult in any way.

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BRITISH PRESS : IS IT REALLY FREE ?

By NIKHIL RANJAN RAY, M.A.,

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I

While flinging the common gibe at the Russian Press that it is a propaganda arm of the Communist regime and serves only State-manufactured opinions, British newspapermen and politicians insist that the British Press is absolutely free. This claim for the British Press, however, is much too extravagant. If the Russian Press is designed primarily to serve "the interests of the toilers" and "strengthen the socialist social order",[1] its counterpart in Britain is mainly an instrument of the financial interests for the propagation of their views and the upholding of the capitalist social order. In fact, free Press in a class-ridden society is a chimera. In every country, whether it is a Fascist dictatorship, a "proletarian dictatorship," or a "liberal democracy" the Press is principally a means in the hands of the dominant class for the dissemination of news and views accordant with that pattern of culture and society which guarantees its dominance.

A free Press serves no particular class; its allegiance is to the whole society. It presents news accurately and serves as a national pulpit from which all shades of opinions can be voiced without let or hindrance. It does not black out news or suppress opinions because they are subversive of the interests of any particular class. A free Press is the mirror and pulse of the national life; it is the warden of public conscience and exponent of public opinion. It is the one means through which the freedom of the people to know, speak and criticise can seek realisation. Judged by this standard the British Press falls far short of the requirements of a free Press. Those who assert that the Press in Britain is absolutely free really refer only to its comparative freedom in relation to the State and overlook its servility in relation to the financial interests. A free Press not only enjoys immunity from undue governmental interference, it also functions as an impartial agency for the dissenmination of news and opinions without being subjected to any pressure from the financial interests. It is no exaggeration to say that the British Press is a virtual prisoner in the hands of the financial interests. It is an outstanding fact of the modern newspaper industry of Britain that the ownership and control of newspapers and periodicals, with a very few exceptions, are concentrated in the hands of a few big combines in which half a dozen Press Lords, such as Lord Rothermere, Lord Kemsley, Lord Camrose, Lord Beaverbrook, Lord Illiffe, etc., are the central figures. A brief account of the ownership and control of the Press in Britain may be attempted here.

1. Andrei Vyshinsky, Soviet Foreign Minister, in his *Law of the Soviet State*, writes: "Freedom of speech, of the press, . . . are the property of all the citizens in the U.S.S.R., fully guaranteed by the State upon the single condition that they be utilised in accord with the interests of the toilers and to the end of strengthening the socialist social order."

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II

The main groups that monopolise the ownership of the "big" Press differ considerably in their structure. While there are some which are very ramified and control every process from the manufacture of newsprint to the publication of every variety of newspapers and periodicals, there are others which have no ramifications and whose interests do not extend beyond the publication of a few dailies.

CONSERVATIVE PRESS

Harmsworth Group : The oldest of these groups is what is conveniently described as the Harmsworth group, to which the main inheritance of the two Harmsworth brothers, Viscount Northcliffe and the first Viscount Rothermere, had descended. This group comprises mainly four companies, namely, Associated Newspapers Limited, Daily Mail and General Trust Limited, Daily Mirror Newspapers Limited and Sunday Pictorial Newspapers Limited.[2] In addition to the publication of such national papers as *Daily Mail, Overseas Daily Mail, Sunday Dispatch* and the London *Evening News,* this group owns or controls a host of Provincial newspapers and periodicals. Besides, it has large interests in a number of paper mills.

It is difficult to trace where the real financial control of the group lies. Lord Rothermere has substantial direct holdings in both Associated Newspapers Limited and Daily Mail and General Trust Limited but they are comparatively small. The directoral connections of the companies of the group however are a fair indication of where the financial control can possibly lie. Lord Rothermere is chairman of both Associated Newspapers and Daily Mail and General Trust Limited. In addition, he is chairman of British Movietone News and a director of Gaumont Picture Corporation Limited. Besides, he is on the boards of Anglo-Canadian Pulp and Paper Mills Limited and Anglo-Newfoundland Development Company. The Vice-chairman of Associated Newpapers, Esmond Layton-Bennet, holds eighteen other directorships, including several investment trusts, and insurance, hotel, publishing and other companies. On the board of Daily Mail and General Trust the smell of rubber is strong. Its Vice-chairman, Sir Samuel Hardman Lever, is a director of three companies of the Dunlop group. With him on the board is F. A. Szarvasy, who is also connected with the Dunlop group, investment trusts and banking. In addition, Szarvasy is deeply involved in South Wales, being chairman of the vast Amalgamated Anthracite company. Directoral connections with *Daily Mirror* and Sunday *Pictorial* are maintained by F. A. McWhirter, managing director of Associated Newspapers, who sits on both boards, which in turn are strongly interlocked under the same chairman, H. G. Bartholomew. The circle is completed by A. S. Fuller who is a director both of the Daily Mirror and the Daily Mail and General Trust.

Kemsley and Camrose Groups : The second great Press trust and the greatest rival of the Harmsworth group is what was formerly known as the Berry group which split into three separate groups under the two Berry brothers, Lord Camrose and Lord Kemsley, and Lord Illiffe in 1937.

The key company in the group is Kemsley Newspapers Limited. It owns *Daily Dispatch, Empire News, Evening Chronicle, Sunday Chronicle* and *Sunday Times* and has a direct controlling interest in a large number of papers.[3]

The second main group is that of Lord Camrose whose daily newspaper interests are confined to the *Daily Telegraph* of which he is proprietor and editor-in-chief. Lord Camrose is also chairman of the vast Amalgamated Press which publishes over a hundred and fifty weeklies, monthlies and annuals. The company, among other things, diaries, has a direct controlling interest in Imperial Paper Mills Limited (Gravesend) and owns about three quarters of the ordinary shares of Kelly's Directories Limited which publishes over one hundred Directories and has a direct controlling interest in Fixol Stickphast Limited and two subsidiary printing companies and owns all shares of Associated Illiffe Press Limited.

The newspaper interests of the group which centres round Lord Illiffe has shrunk considerably since his temporary 'retirement' in 1939. In 1937 when the original

2. Associated Newspapers Ltd. owns the *Daily Mail, Overseas Daily Mail, Sunday Dispatch* and the *London Evening News.* Through subsidiary companies it also owns or controls a host of provincial newspapers and periodicals. It owns *Gloucestershire Echo, Cheltenham Chronicle, Citizen, Gloucester Journal,* Stoke-on-Trent *Evening Sentinel* and *Staffs Weekly Sentinel.* It has a direct controlling interest in *Hull Daily Mail, Grimsby Daily Telegraph, Sports Mail, Hull and Lincoln Times, Saturday Telegraph, South Wales Daily Post, Herald of Wales, Derby Evening Telegraph and Express.* It has also an interest in the *Leicester Evening Mail* and the *Bristol Evening World* and *Evening Post.* In addition it controls Empire Paper Mills Ltd., and has a substantial holding in Anglo-Newfoundland Development Co., with which it has an agreement to purchase all its requirements of newsprint until 1958.

Daily Mail and General Trust Ltd. is primarily a shareholding concern, and holds more than a third of the deferred shares of Associated Newspapers. It has also a large interest in Bristol United Press Ltd. which runs *Bristol Evening Post* and has a direct controlling interest in *Bristol Evening World.*

Daily Mirror Newspapers Ltd. owns *Daily Mirror* and has a direct controlling interest in *Lincolnshire Echo;* it has large holdings in Albert E. Reed & Co., Ltd., (Paper Mills), Anglo-Canadian Pulp and Paper Mills Ltd., Daily Mail and General Trust Ltd., Associated Newspapers Ltd., and Sunday Pictorial Newspapers Ltd. which publishes *Sunday Pictorial.*

Sunday Pictorial Newspapers Ltd. publishes *Sunday Pictorial,* and has large shares in Anglo Canadian Pulp and Paper Ltd., in Associated Newspapers Ltd., and Daily Mail and General Trust.

The Western Morning News (published by the Western Morning News Ltd. in Plymouth) with its associated papers, such as the *Cornish Evening News, Cornish Guardian, Western Times, Tiverton Gazette, Wellington Weekly News,* etc., is under the control of another branch of the Harmsworth family.

3. Namely, *Daily Graphic* and *Sunday Graphic; Newcastle Journal and North Mail, Evening Chronicle, Sunday Sun; Glasgow Daily Record, Evening News* and *Sunday Mail; Sheffield Telegraph and Independent Star; Yorkshire Herald, Yorkshire Evening Post; Aberdeen Evening Gazette; Northern Daily Telegraph* (Blackburn); *Newcastle Press and Journal, Evening Press; Middlesbrough Evening Gazette; Stockport Express.*

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Berry group split up Kelly's Directories passed under the control of Lord Illiffe but control reverted to Amalgamated Press in 1939. Publications of the group now includes *Coventry Evening Telegraph, Birmingham Post, Birmingham Mail, Burmingham Weekly Post*, etc.

The holdings of the Berry family in its companies are enough to give it an effective control over the publications of the group.

The Financial News Limited forms the core of another small group. This company publishes the *Financial Times*, owns a fifty per cent interest in the *Emonomist*, all shares of the Investors Chronicle Limited, all shares of the *Practitioner*, and a substantial interest in Moody's Economic Services. The chairman of the group is Major General G. P. Dawnay Day and Company, the City financial house.

Express Group: The Express group organised under Lord Beaverbrook almost qualifies as a trust since it owns *Daily Express, Sunday Express, Evening Standard* and has a controlling interest in the *Glasgow Evening Citizen*. Of the 408,000 ordinary shares of London Express Newspapers Limited in which the voting rights are concentrated 136,507 were held by Lord Beaverbrook in 1941 and 154,200 by Control Nominees Limited.

Liberal Press

Provincial Newspapers Limited is what remains of the great group which was formed by the Inveresk paper interests in the twenties under William Harrison. Today Inveresk group controls four evening papers (Provincial), their local sporting papers and a number of weeklies. It also holds some shares in Hull and Grimsby Newspapers Limited.

Chairman of the board is Sir Herbert Grotrian. He also holds the chairmanships of United Newspapers Limited, Argus Press Limited and Argus Press Holdings Limited in which he has a large interest. On the board are also B. H. Binder, who is connected with a number of South American railways and British Breweries, rubber, insurance, property and investment trusts, and Sir Harry Britain, Tory M.P. for Acton, 1918-29, one of the founders of the Anti-Socialist Union.

Westminster Press Provincial Newspapers Limited is the last survivor of another group of Liberal tendencies, originally known as the Starmer group, which owned the *Westminster Gazette* and had an interest in the *News Chronicle*. This company owns eleven morning papers, seven evening papers and one Sunday paper. The group has always been closely identified with the Rowntree (cocoa) and Pearson (contracting and electrical) interests.

Two important London Dailies, *News Chronicle* (morning) and *Star* (evening), are controlled by the Daily News Limited which has no further newspaper interests. Control of this group is clearly in the hands of the Cadbury family.

In the periodical field the Odhams Press occupies a position next to the Amalgamated Press of the Camrose group. Its newspaper interests consist in the publication of the *Daily Herald* and *The People*.

Today the only national papers independent of the above combines are two dailies—*The Times* and the *Daily Worker*—and three Sundays—*The Observer, Reynolds News* and the *News of the World*. Both *The Times* and *The Observer* are closely associated with the Astor family.[4]

There is also a large number of independent Provincial papers some of which are of national reputation, *e.g.*, the *Manchester Guardian*, the *Yorkshire Post*, the *Scotsman*, the *Glasgow Herald*, the *Liverpool Post* and the *Birmingham Post*.

The word "independent" has little meaning as applied to many of these papers. *The News of the World* has an authorised capital (£2,500,000) larger than that of some of the groups. Besides, a Tory newspaper representing big industrial interests remains Tory in inclination and affiliation whether it stands on its own or whether it is part of one of the big chains.

Labour Press

Labour is represented nationally by the *Daily Herald, Daily Worker* and *Reynolds News*. Control of these papers is vested in their readers, in part directly in the case of the *Daily Worker*, through the Co-operative movement in the case of *Reynolds News*, and through the T. U. C. in the case of the *Daily Herald*. The position of the *Daily Herald* is peculiar. Its body is owned by a capitalist combine, and its soul by the T. U. C. The Odhams Press holds 51 per cent of its shares but policy control lies with the General Council of the Trade Union Congress who hold the remaining 49 per cent of the shares. There are also Labour weeklies and monthly periodicals which flourish in a large number of localities.

Monopolistic tendencies are also evident in the Indian Press. At present there are five groups of papers owned or controlled by five families. (a) Birla family owns *The Hindusthan Times* of Delhi, daily and weekly; the *Leader* of Allahabad; the *Searchlight* and *Rashtrabani* of Patna; *Jagriti* (Bengali monthly) of Calcutta. It is reported that this family has also a controlling interest in Bombay's Bharat group of papers, started by Mr. Dayabhai Patel, son of Sardar Patel. (b) Dalmia family owns the *Bennet Coleman* publications of Bombay which include *The Times of India*, (and will include the *Times of India*, Delhi, to be started soon) and *Satyajug* (Bengali) of

4. In the field of finance and British public life the Astor family is well-known. On the death of the first Viscount in 1919, his American fortune alone was estimated at £22,000,000. By the middle thirties, besides Lord Astor in the House of Lords, the family held three seats in the Commons (Lady Astor, the Hon. J. J. Astor and the Hon. W. W. Astor) and a daughter of Lord Astor's was married to another M.P. (Lord Willoughby de Eresby). Throughout the late thirties, the influence of the family and the "Cliveden" set, named after Lord Astor's country house, on the Chamberlain Government became well known.

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Calcutta. The *Indian News Chronicle* of Delhi till recently belonged to this family. (c) Goenka family owns the *Indian Express* and *Andhraprava* of Madras; *The National Standard of Bombay;* and the *Eastern Express* of Calcutta. (d) The Amrita Bazar group belonging to Sri Tushar Kanti Ghosh of Calcutta includes *Amrita Bazar Patrika* and *Jugantar* (Bengali) of Calcutta; *Amrita Bazar Patrika* and *Amrit Patrika* (Hindi) of Allahabad. (e) The Ananda Bazar group belonging to Sri Suresh Majumder includes *Ananda Bazar Partika* (Bengali), *Hindusthan Standard* and *Desh* (Bengali weekly) of Calcutta. Starting of an English daily in Delhi by the group is reported to be in preparation.[5]

The growth of powerful chains of newspapers creating a monopoly of ownership has certain far-reaching consequences involving considerable loss of freedom on the part of the British Press. First, there has been a gradual reduction in the number of papers consequent upon amalgamation, absorption and extinction. In 1921 there were 12 morning papers and 6 evening papers in London; now there are 9 morning and 3 evening papers. In 1921 there were 45 morning papers and 88 evening papers in the Provinces (English); now there are 18 morning and 65 evening papers. In this process of absorption and extinction many papers of real worth have gone to the wall. Disappearance of such papers as *Westminster Gazette, Pall Mall Gazette* and *Daily Graphic* (old) is a real loss to the reading public of Britain. In the United States also the same tendencies are in evidence. In 25 years since 1921 the total number of newspapers there had been halved, and the situation is such that today there are 10 whole States in which there are no cities with competing newspapers.[6]

Second, there is a marked decline in the editorial standard. Nowadays editors of assertive personality and independent mind are at a discount. Newspaper proprietors rather prefer "scribling lackeys" who would toe the marked line without demur. As Wickham Steed, former editor of the London *Times,* said :

> "Newspaper proprietors today dislike editors and editorial writers of strong personality. They prefer that their own personalities should be served by expert scribes who can be trusted to advocate whatever the view the proprietors may wish to proclaim."[7]

Referring to the cause of the serious decline in the quality of British journalism in the past thirty years Michael Foot, the noted editor of the *Evening Standard,* said :

> "It is due to the decline in the power of the editor, and the encroachment of the authority of the newspaper proprietors. Thirty years ago, many of the great editors of the great dailies were well-known people throughout the country. Today, very few of their names are known; in fact, many of them are little more than stooges, cyphers and sychophants."[8]

Third, the sum of money that has to be risked in starting a new daily with any hope of making it stand on its own feet is so enormous that the door of the industry is virtually closed against a new-comer. The result is that the competition is limited to the existing papers. Since the first World War only one full-scale national paper, the *Daily Herald,* has been established. Though this paper derived substantial goodwill from its official connection with the Labour Party yet the Odhams Press had to spend £2,000,000 to make it self-supporting. As truly the London *Economist* said, "There are very few industries which impose an entrance fee as high as this."[9] It may be noted that most of the sum has to be spent not on capital goods (plant, etc.) but in building up goodwill. In getting a foothold a new paper has to fight fierce 'circulation war' against powerful well-entrenched enemies. In order to beat their rival papers they often resort to such journalistically unworthy devices as offer of various inducements in the form of "insurance benefits," "free gifts," "competition coupons," etc., to "registered readers." According to the *Economist,* in pre-war days, of the total production cost of £3,000,000 of a paper with a circulation of 2,000,000 "Readers' Insurance" normally absorbed £100,000 and canvassing and publicity £300,000.[10] In the beginning of this century the proprietors of the *Daily Tribune,* a London morning journal of a serious type, had given up the unequal struggle after they had poured £600,000 into it.[11]

Fourth, in news, leaders and features variety has yielded place to dull uniformity. Today the different links of a chain are little more than the same edition under different titles. In most cases the functions of the editors of chain newspapers are mechanical and consist in carrying out instructions and policies dictated from a central source. An ex-editor wrote :

> "With some years of experience as editor of a daily newspaper in a large provincial city, I am well aware of certain undesirable aspects of the group or 'chain' system of ownership, such as the subordination of editorial to the managerial (*i.e.*, commercial) status, the standardised service of leading articles and political commentaries to all the group newspapers from a central source, the directoral instructions as to the news 'slants', the lack of genuine local news involved in multiple proprietorship and the interplay of group finance with its tendency towards amalgamation."[12]

III

Ownership and control seldom part company. He who pays the piper calls the tune. In the case of the British

5. Cf. Subhash Roy's article on "The Indian Press Owners and Reuter" published in *Swadhinata,* 21st October, 1946, and S. G. Roy's "Free Press in India" published in *The Republic,* December, 24, 1949.

6. Cf. Mr. Michael Foot's speech in the House of Commons.—*Hansard,* Vol. 428, No. 206, 29th October, 1946, p. 464.

7. *The Press,* p. 173.

8. Cf. His speech in the House of Commons, *Hansard,* 29th October, 1946, Vol. 428, No. 206, p. 469.

9. 2nd January, 1937, p. 4.

10. 9th January, 1937, p. 52.

11. Cf. *The Press* by Wickham Steed, pp. 83-84.

12. Letter from "An Ex-Editor," *The Times,* 30th July, [illegible]

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Press also it is the proprietor who sets the tone of the paper and controls its editorial policy. And since all the important papers, with a very few exceptions, are owned by big trusts or by wealthy persons (as in the case of *The Times* and *The Observer*) the views and opinions that find expression through their columns are those of the financial interests. As Francis Williams, editor of the *Daily Herald*, said :

> "The modern editor has become primarily an executive carrying out policies laid down for him by his proprietors and voicing, in so far as the newspaper he edits attempts to form public opinion, their judgments. It is the voice of Lord Beverbrook that is heard in the *Daily Express*—which indeed is stamped throughout with his brilliant, dangerous and irresponsible personality—the voice of Lord Rothermere and his friends that comes to us through the *Daily Mail*, the voice of Lord Camrose that is heard, tuned to a slightly dignified note, in the columns of the *Daily Telegraph*, and the lighter tenor of his brother, Lord Kemsley, that inspires each morning the readers of the *Daily Sketch* and of the other Kemsley newspapers."[13]

Lord Kemsley admitted that he had instructions to his editors that the editorial policy of his papers should have a "wide general regard for Conservative interests" which he conceived "to be the best for the country."[14] He assured the recent Royal Commission that it was quite unnecessary for him to tell his editors his views on any subject since they were all "men with similar ideas to my own".[15] Lord Beaverbrook is said to be in the habit of "talking his editors out of it" if their views on Empire Free Trade do not coincide with his.[16] He has also declared that the main purpose which he seeks to fulfil through his papers is 'propaganda'.[17]

The newspapers and periodicals representing the capitalist interests are not only the vehicles of the ideas and opinions of those interests but also a means of propaganda against their political opponents. Since Labour assumed control of the destinies of the nation the capitalist Press has been bitterly hostile to the Government always endeavouring to discredit it in the eyes of the public. In a booklet published by the Labour Research Department it has been remarked that the "Labour Government, elected with a clear mandate, stands confronted with, in the main, a bitterly hostile Press tightly organised both nationally and locally, which reflects not the interest and the aspirations of the British people or of any considerable section of it, but purely those of large-scale capitalism."[18] The capitalist Press does not see eye to eye with the Labour Government, for the conception of socialist Britain which is alleged to be the creed of the Labour Party is completely excluded from the philosophy of the capitalists. Having lost control of Parliament capitalists are striving to divert public attention from Parliament to the Press which they are seeking to develop into a rival forum. Now they fight national issues not so much on the floor of Parliament as on the columns of their papers. In debating national questions they do not adequately represent the views to which they are opposed; they misrepresent their opponents in order to show that the latter are wrong and make themselves appear infallibly right. They show scant regard for truth. If truths do not serve their purpose they invent falsehoods. If facts do not agree with their policy, they suppress them and invent new ones as it suits their policy. In 1946 the Attorney-General of England remarked : "They distort the facts; they suppress the news upon which free opinions can be freely formed. They refrain from publishing information which might conflict with their particular opinions."[19] In 1946 the *Daily Graphic*, in an attempt to discredit the Labour Government, published a circumstantial and wholly apocryphal report of a cocktail party to be given by Mr. Shinwell (the then Minister of Fuel) for "1000 guests" to celebrate the transfer of the coal industry to State ownership. On the eve of the October election of 1924 Conservative Press published a forged letter known as "Zinovieff letter" which raised in the minds of the electorate a suspicion of Russian influence in Labour's counsels. The publication of the "Red Letter" had the desired result: it destroyed all chances of Labour victory. In condemning a section of Conservative Press for its vile and vitriolic attack against that group of Conservatives which was led by Mr. Baldwin (later Lord) when in early 'twenties the lute of the Party exhibited a rift, he said: "The papers conducted by Lord Rothermere and Lord Beaverbrook are not newspapers in the ordinary acceptance of the term. They are engines of propaganda for the constantly changing policies, desires, personal wishes, personal likes and dislikes of two men. What are their methods? Their methods are direct falsehood, misrepresentation, half-truths, the alteration of speaker's meaning by putting sentences apart from their context, suppression and editorial criticism of speeches which are not reported in the paper. What the proprietorship of these papers is aiming at is power, but power without responsibility, the prerogative of the harlot throughout the ages."[20] Indeed, "processing" of facts of which Wickham Steed so pompously accused the Russian Press and Government recently is a common practice with the partisan Press and Government in every country, not excepting Britain.[21]

13. Cf. *Press, Parliament and People*, p. 174.
14. Cf. Mr. Davies' speech in the House of Commons. Mr. Davies quoted Lord Kemsley. *Hansard*, 29th October, 1946, Vol. 428, p. 459.
15. Cf. Pro Bono Publico, *The New Statesman and Nation*, July, 1949, p. 4.
16. *Ibid.*
17. To the Royal Commission he said, "I run them purely for the purpose of making propaganda and with no other motive.'—Reported in *The Statesman* (Calcutta), July 1, 1949.
18. *The Millionaire Press*, p. 3.
19. *The Daily Herald*, July 20, 1946.
20. Quoted by Mr. Davies in the House of Commons. *Hansard*, 29th October, 1946, Vol. 428, No. 206, p. 460.
21. Cf. "Processing" Persons, Parties and History (an article) by Wickham Steed: *Pakistan Observer*, November 22, 1949, (Mofussil).

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Next to proprietors it is the advertisers who exert potent influence on the newspaper Press of Britain. Revenue from advertisements has long been the mainstay of newspaper enterprise in Great Britain. Popular papers draw about half their income from advertisements, and class newspapers three-quarters or more. Without advertisement revenue it is wellnigh impossible for a paper to become self-supporting. Dr. Max Grunbeck in his *Die Presse Grossbritanniens* observed :

"The economic success of an English newspaper is so overwhelmingly dependent upon its advertisement columns that the advertiser has been able to develop into a Press dictator who, as such, plays a part far more dangerous than that of the State since in the majority of cases his influence is secret, entirely selfish and not susceptible of control. Besides, the whole make-up of the English popular papers is to-day the clearest example of their economic dependence upon advertisements. So advertisers exert influences which, in effect, are scarcely less efficacious than restrictions of newspaper freedom by the State itself."

In 1938 after Munich the British Government had to prevent three prominent British public men from returning to office under German pressure. When this news was broadcast the whole nation became greatly incensed. But hardly a hint of the enraged public feelings did appear in the Press. For certain advertising agents warned papers that advertisements would be withheld from them should they "play up" the international crisis and cause an alarm which was "bad for trade."[22]

While pointing out that the indirect influence of advertising was more subtle and extensive, Mr. Ivor Thomas, who is rather an apologist for the capitalist Press, said:

> "A newspaper that receives a large revenue from company prospectuses may have an unconscious bias in favour of our present financial system; and the paper carrying frequent advertisements of patent medicines may, without any conscious deviation from rectitude, give too little weight to the medical professions views on such goods."[23]

In stressing the subservience of the British Press to financial interests Bernard Shaw observed :

> "As people get their opinions so largely from the newspapers they read, the corruption of the schools would not matter so much if the Press were free. But the Press is not free. As it costs at least quarter of a million money to establish a daily newspaper in London, the newspapers are owned by rich men. And they depend on the advertisements of other rich men. Editors and journalists who express opinions in print that are opposed to the interests of the rich are dismissed and replaced by subservient ones. The newspapers therefore must continue the work begun by the schools and colleges; so that only the strongest and most independent and original minds can escape from the mass of false doctrine that is impressed on them by the combined and incessant suggestion and persuasion of Parliament, the law-courts, the church, schools, and the Press."[24]

With the increasing dependence on the advertisers' revenue for finance the Indian Press is also showing signs of its subservience to the advertisers. In November, the Calcutta editors at a meeting agreed upon a 'code of behaviour' for the Press to 'combat Provincialism.' On the face of it the attempt was a laudable one. But subsequently it transpired that behind this move there was the threat of the Calcctta Marwari business firms to withdraw their advertisements from papers which would publish news, and make comments, tending to accentuate provincialism.

IV

In April, 1947, following a vote in the House of Commons the Labour Government appointed a Royal Commission to inquire into the ownership, finance and control of the British Press in order to devise means for maintaining freedom of discussion in the Press by freeing it from capitalist control. The Commission which submitted its report in June, 1949, however 'vindicated' the Press and cleared it of all charges of dishonesty, misrepresentation of facts and doctoring of news in the interest, and at the dictation, of proprietors and advertisers. They held that "free enterprise in the production of newspapers" was "a pre-requisite of a free Press, and free enterprise" would "generally mean commercially profitable enterprise in the case of newspapers of any considrable size and circulation." They added that the Press gave "good value for money" and that soaring circulations were proof that the public was being given "what it wanted." "Indeed," as the *New Statesman and Nation* remarked, "no more respectful whitewashing of large-scale capitalist enterprise in the production of newspapers could have been expected, had the Commission been appointed not by the sixth George Rex but by the first Baron Kemsley."[25]

It needs no emphasis—since the bubble of the nineteenth century individualism was long pricked by new and inevitable developments in the industrial sphere—that while free enterprise in the publication of newspapers is an essential condition of a free Press, freedom of enterprise can be maintained only by delivering the Press from the shackles of Capitalist domination, by creating conditions which will rule out the development of trusts. As P.E.P.[26] observed, "The economic accident which

22. Cf. *The Press*, Wickham Steed, Penguin edition, pp. 249-50.
23. *The Newspaper* (Oxford Pamphlets on Home Affairs), p. 24.
24. *The Intelligent Women's Guide to Socialism, Capitalism and Fascism*, Vol. I (Pelican edition), Chap. 19, p. 77.
25. July 2, 1949, p. 4.
26. In 1938 there was an expert inquiry into the working of the British Press by "Political and Economic Planning."

The details about the ownership of the British Press refer to the year 1946, and are obtained from such sources as the debates on the British Press held in the House of Commons on the 26th October, 1946, *The Press* by Wickham Steed, *The Millionaire Press* published by the Labour Research Bureau, *The Newspaper* (Oxford Pamphlets on Home Affairs) by Ivor Thomas and private information.

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links the function of reporting, interpreting and commenting on news with the running of a large-scale, highly capitalised industry, is having some unfortunate results, and we doubt whether a Press subject to these conditions can fully satisfy democratic needs." The same view found expression on an international plane in a resolution of the International Congress of Journalists at Copenhagen in 1946. The resolution was as follows :

"This Congress recognises that Press freedom can never be fully assured while newspapers, news-agencies and broadcasting system are solely in the hands of individuals or private monopolies with no responsibility to the people, and it recalls that freedom of the printed word has been used in the past not for the benefit of humanity but against it, and therefore recommends the appropriate departments of the United Nations and of the W.F.T.U. to consider an international investigation on this question....."

The contention of the Commission that the increasing circulations reflect the fact that the public gets what it wants hardly needs rebuttal. When it has no alternative choice the public has to swallow whatever rubbish is served to it.

———:O:———

BERTRAND RUSSELL

By Prof. P. P. MEHTA, M.A.

Among thinkers and writers who tolled the death-knell of Victorianism, its prudery and its snobbishness, Bertrand Russell, along with Dean Inge, H. G. Wells and Bernard Shaw, stands pre-eminent.

It must have caused many a literary critic a pleasant surprise to learn that the 1950 Nobel Literary Prize was awarded to Bertrand Russell, whose thought-provoking writings have greatly influenced the world in the spheres of mathematics, logic, sex, marriage, society, education and philosophy. His writings show a clear, nay crystal-clear, intellect probing into a subject and whatever theme he handles, we find that this 78-year-old philosopher goes straight to the heart of the subject and puts forward his own conclusions, and completely independent ideas, even if they shock the entire world.

Lord Russell whose grandfather was Lord John Russell, who successfully piloted the Reform Bill of 1832 comes of noble family with liberal political traditions. His father had destined young Bertrand to have free education; but the trustees waived aside this provision and Bertrand Russell got the usual religious education, which did not have much influence on him.

His first wife was Alys Whitall Persall Smith, sister of L. P. Smith. It was during the time of his first marriage that Russell's most important work in mathematics, logic and philosophy was finished. *Philosophy and Mathematics, Principles of Mathematics, Introduction to Mathematical Philosophy* are works of sterling merit and scholarship. When the World War I broke out, Russell opposed conscription as a conscientious objector and courted jail and fine, over and above losing his job. But his independent ardour kept him undaunted. In 1921, his first marriage, which was childless, was dissolved. The period of his first marriage coincides with the period of his most important work.

His second wife was Dora W. Black and the education of his children focussed Russell's ideas on the problem of education. He tried his hand at schooling on his own lines—an experiment which was as novel as it was strikingly original. His books *On Education, Education and Social Order* and others enunciate his theory of education in which, entire emphasis is laid on development of instincts of children. At the same time, his *Marriage and Morals* created a sensation of the first order in the thinking world. His ideas on sex, trial marriages, etc., are not only in advance of the society today, but are equally bold and original. To an Indian mind, which believes in the sanctity of married life, this Bohemian attitude of this strange philosopher, who believes in free love and ultra-marital sex-relations, would seem shockingly vulgar. So it did to the whole world at that time. During this period his bold ideas touched many subjects and the result was *Sceptical Essays* and *Conquest of Happiness*. This marriage, too, was dissolved in 1932.

In 1936, he married Helen Patricia Spence and a period of quiet and deep thinking followed. He was appointed Professor at New York City College in 1940, but the court revoked his professorship on the ground that he advocated trial marriages for students. When recently asked about the incident in America where he is now on a lecture tour, he replied, "I am not mad at anybody—except the Catholic Church." In 1940, when German bombers were showering death on London every night, he renounced his pacifism and was a staunch advocate of war and patriotism. His other works comprise *An Inquiry into Meaning and*

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Truth, Human Knowledge, History of Western Philosophy, etc. On the radio, he made a deep and lasting impression with the Reith lectures by delivering six broadcasts on "Authority and the Individual," which came as "a revelation to a great many of those who listened to them of the sheer power of mind to marshal highlights of history and contemporary facts into a coherent pattern of thought which could be understood and grasped by any reasonably intelligent human being."

He is, as his writings show, a champion of humanity and freedom of thought. There was a time when he had praised Russia sky-high; but one visit to Russia and he did not flinch from renouncing his views and two years ago lecturing to a London audience he had declared :

> "Either we must have a war against Russia before she has the atom bomb, or we will have to lie down and let them govern us."

His views on individual liberty are radical and wherever he finds that individual liberty is curtailed, he is out to battle it with his keen intellect.

So vast is the bulk and so keen is the insight that half a century of writing has made Earl Russell one of the greatest thinkers of England. His keen intellect has evolved a system of education in which all-sided development resulting in good citizenship is the aim for a child's progress. He believed that healthy minds went with healthy bodies. He did not conceive an entirely uncontrolled child. According to him, a child should be trained up to be a good citizen, knowing full well its civic responsibilities. Along with freedom, Russell emphasizes some observances like personal cleanliness, regular bedtime, etc. Ideal character depends upon vitality, courage, sensitiveness and intelligence.

> "What I suggest is that no one should learn how to obey and no one should attempt to command."

He also believed that Arithmetic was no test of a student's intelligence.

> "Arithmetic did nothing to cultivate it. . . . Universities should not only carry on pure learning and research, but also train people certain professions."

Thus admitting the need of vocational training he points out the advantages of liberal education against utilitarian education.

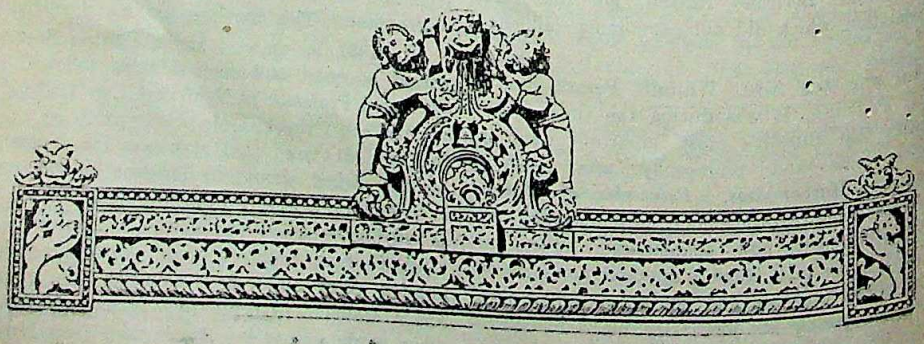
He had shocked the world by his views on marriage, sex and morals. Four fundamental trends can be found in his thinking on sex: better sex education, pre-marital sex-relations; freedom to have outside sexual relations for married couples and better facilities for divorce. Thus he strikes at the very root of the Christian idea of morality by advocating intercourse outside marriage.

His stupendous work in the field of philosophy proves beyond doubt the creed he professes—the creed of modern anaytical empiricism. His work "has given the whole philosophical enquiry a grand tidying up in the course of which, he has made some original discoveries of permanent importance.

His views have been attacked by staunch supporters of religion and morality. "I hope that every kind of religious belief will die out." says Russell. His *Western Philosophy* is a stupendous work full of originality, learning and clear-sightedness.

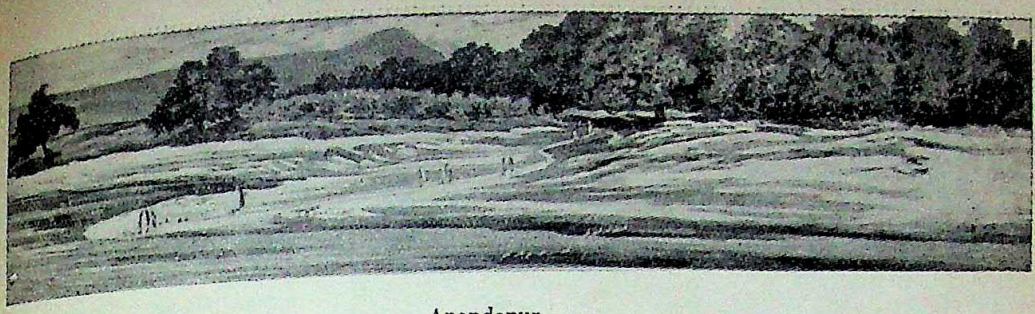
The fine and graceful style in which his ideas and his concrete examples are clothed, lends a literary charm to his otherwise philosophic stuff. His has extraordinary prose, like the prose of Dr. Radhakrishnan, carries wit and irony, fine images and deep thought. The classical economy of words and logical marshalling of thoughts are simply wonderful.

Suffice it to say that Bertrand Russell represents an attitude of scientific scepticism, which leads to objectivity, understanding and balanced judgment. His views on sex, society, mathematics, politics, etc., may not all have been accepted on all hands today, but English society, English customs and English outlook have undergone a subtle change which can be easily traced to the influence of Bertrand Russell, the white-thatched English aristocrat, who has been acclaimed as one of the greatest thinkers England has ever produced.



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Anandapur
By Ramendra Nath Chakravorty

FIFTEENTH ANNUAL EXHIBITION OF THE ALL-INDIA ACADEMY OF FINE ARTS, CALCUTTA

By RAMENDRA NATH CHAKRAVORTY

This year the Annual Exhibition of the Academy was opened by the renowned artist Sri Jamini Roy on December 16, 1950 amidst a huge gathering. Due to the sad demise of our beloved Deputy Prime Minister Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel it could not be opened formally in accordance with the programme pre-conceived by the Academy.

The chief characteristics of this year's exhibition are its all-India character and a judicious selection of exhibits from artists and sculptors of talent from all provinces and groups in Bombay, Madras, Delhi, Lucknow, Indore, Hyderabad, Bihar, Amritsar and from many other places including our local exhibits and exhibits from Santiniketan. Dr. Nandalal Bose,



Kanchanjangha
By Nandalal Bose

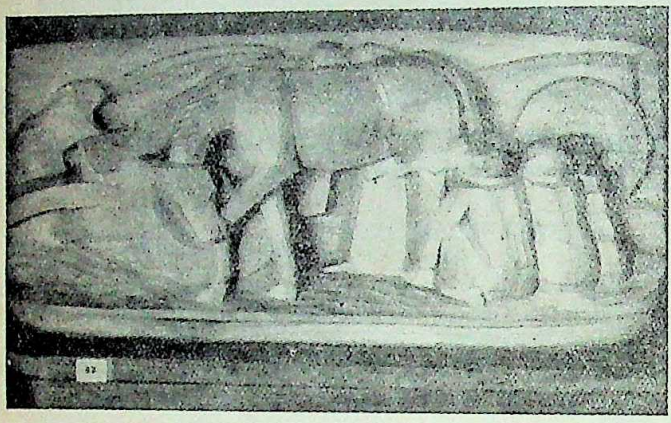


Dr. K. N. Katju
By Indumati Laghate

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after many years of absence , has appeared again and enriched the exhibition by sending four of his recent exhibits. From the exhibits selected and displayed it leaves not a shadow of doubt that the Academy has no 'ism' and stands for all groups—everybody may take it as his own organisation catering for the aesthetic requirements of the country.



Massaging the horse
By Dhanraj Bhagat

The mode of hanging and arrangements of exhibits is an art to be learnt and plays not an insignificant part in the success of an exhibition. The Academy authorities in their zeal of having an exhibition of an all-India character have not lost sight of this most important item—every exhibit has been hung in its proper place and surroundings under sufficient light and against white background without jeopardising the effects of its neighbour. This harmony in the arrangements of exhibits and their quality have attracted numerous visitors to the exhibition every day and elicited appreciation from all

All branches of art have been allotted a place in the Exhibition Hall with a representative selection from each group giving the general public an idea of the artistic development of this country, nay, of the different provinces as represented in the exhibition and the different artistic currents prevalent all over India. We had in the exhibition over 600 exhibits executed in various media on a variety of themes to suit the requirements of all. The number of visitors attracted to the exhibition every day has fully justified the aims and objects of the Academy.

Generally, in small exhibitions it pains one to ... a fashion prevalent among young artists of present ... 'groups' to start on an experimentation before ... have acquired any knowledge of the craft through ... disciplined training and it has almost been a fashion ... for those who have just been able to learn something ... to unlearn it quickly for the simple reason of finding ... out new expressions in art for ... quick publicity in the Press by ... means. This undesirable ambition ... for name and fame at this stage ... their career through such ... propaganda takes away the ... patience, and thus they lose ... interest for hard work which is ... essential for a strong foundation ... during their training period. Art ... cannot develop overnight and to be ... an artist one has to be a craftsman ... and a draftsman first. This truth ... should never be overlooked by any ... one who takes up this subject ... seriously. Another thing to be ... remembered is that our artists ... today are very much active in absorbing foreign influences in their ...

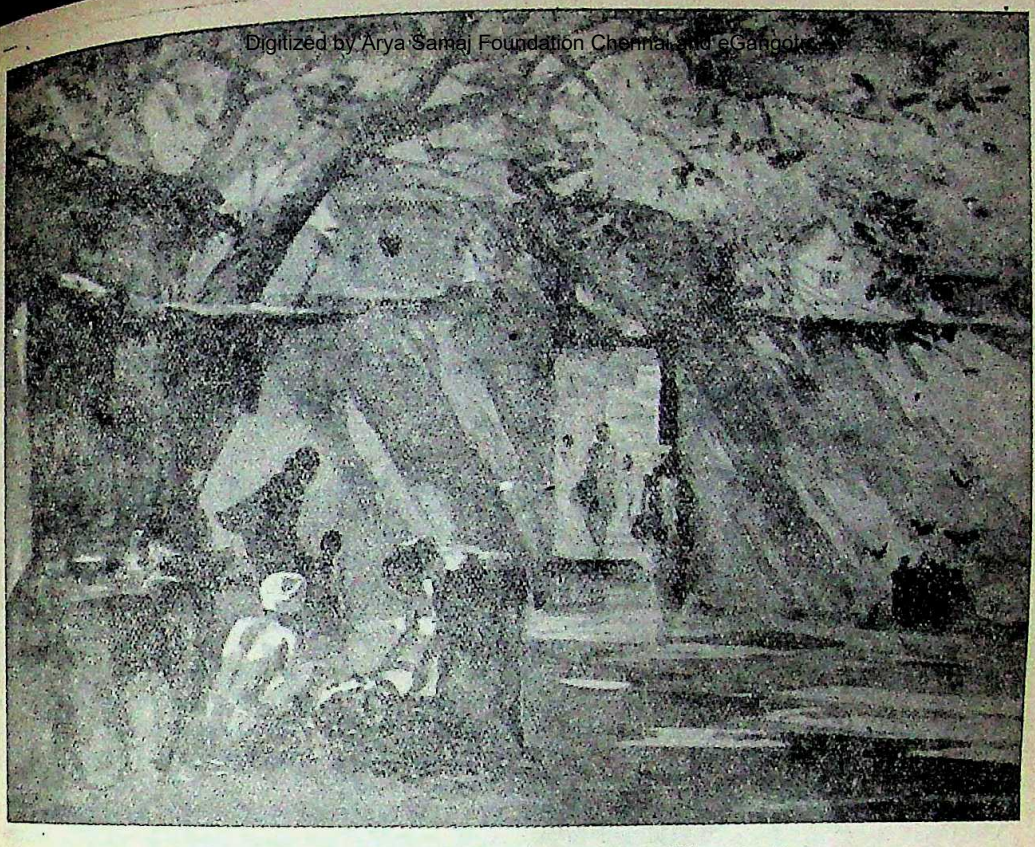


Hemanta
By Ramkinkar

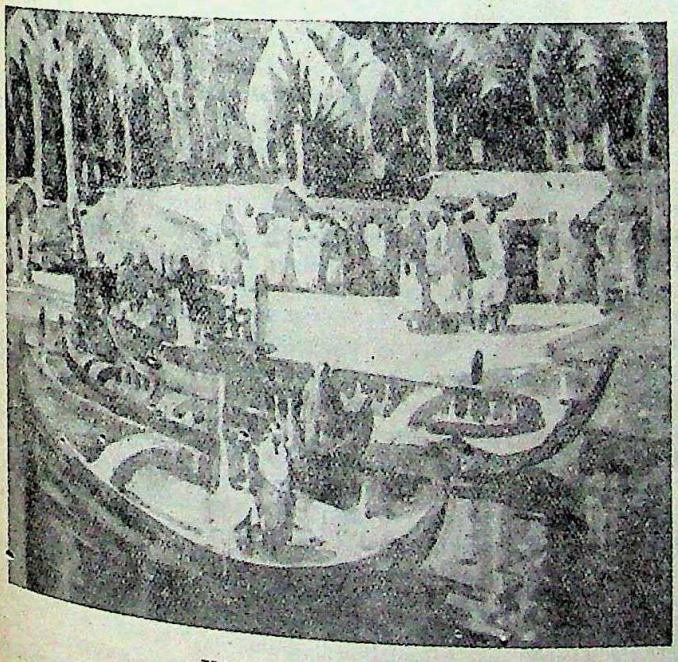
work and feel proud if they are able to do it, while on the other hand it seems they lack understanding of our own traditions and seldom like to study the superb specimens of art and sculpture scattered all over our country. We should not be misunderstood as ones against any progressive move. We fully realise what modern art movement has contributed to the world and it is also an established fact that the famous

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Vegetable market
By G. D. Paulraj



Village on the canal
By K. C. S. Paniker

modernists of today have found out their new expressions by constant practice and also by taking inspirations from the examples of the past. Dr. K. N. Katju, Governor of West Bengal, expressed the same opinion while awarding medals and prizes to the successful candidates at the Academy Banquet held on Friday, the 12th January, 1951. In course of his speech His Excellency said :

> "Young painters should try to draw for inspiration India's heritage and traditions, probably the richest that any nation possessed. It would almost be a tragedy if the young painters were to look to the West for inspiration. In fact, in every branch of national progress the people of India must not look too much to the West."

In this connection one sad thing must not escape our notice. Our artists who are toiling day and night towards the fulfilment of their their cherished object have

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not yet been granted the status due to them. Appreciation is the life-breath of art and when it is lacking, art is sure to suffer. It is, however, a discouraging fact that most of our artists for want of encouragement and support are compelled to take recourse to some sort of profession for meeting their daily necessities of life and this sort of diversion is not at all conducive to artistic development. It should be honestly felt that works of art should have a place at home. There should be schemes to beautify our public institutions and there should be a public demand for the spread of the objects of art at every walk of our life. These enterprises will not only make our homes and ... beautiful but will encourage development of ... merits of our country to a standard which was ... achieved by us in the past. From our heritage ... artistic tradition we should create the present to ... worthy of our National Government. True culture ... a nation can be judged by its art and literature ... regeneration of a nation can be effected through ... regeneration of its art.

The photographs of exhibits published in ... connection will give an idea of the standard of ... displayed in the Academy Exhibition.

———:O:———

THE SUPREME COURT OF THE UNITED STATES

By MAX LERNER

As the inscription over the entrance proclaims, the Nation's highest tribunal assures to the American people "Equal Justice Under the Law."

I

"The life of the law," wrote young Oliver Wendell Holmes, long before he became a famous justice on the United States Supreme Court, "has not been logic: it has been experience." Anyone familiar with the Supreme Court's history knows how truly Holmes was right. The Court is not a temple to cold and formal logical principles revealed from on high to a cult of prophets and priests. Its history is replete with quarrels and conflict, with trial-and-error fumbling by very human men. But in this history is distilled the social experience of a great democratic people.

The idea that the gleaming marble Supreme Court Building houses is more enduring than the building itself. The idea is simple—respect for a man's rights and freedoms under the law. It is also fragile, as every social heritage is fragile; for it can be undermined by an accumulating contempt either for freedom or for man's dignity, or it can be blown sky-high by the explosive power of human hatred. But in America so far it has lasted.

One day in the spring of 1949, the Supreme Court marshal had a visitor, an earnest little man with frayed trousers and cuffs. He had a well-worn folder full of papers, and was pulling them out eagerly. The little man had a grievance about some building lots, and there were men he wanted to bring to justice. How should he go about getting his case directly to the Court? The marshal explained there was no way of starting it in the Supreme Court. He had to start in a lower court, and then if it involved a Federal question, or a Constitutional problem of interpreting State or Federal powers, it might finally reach the Court. The man left, murmuring his intent to get the case there somehow.

Perhaps he was eccentric. But he was not ... and however unimportant he might be, the knowledge that the Supreme Court was there to protect his rights made him in one sense the equal of any man in the nation.

The knowledge that there is a highest tribunal to which even the lowliest and most abused can appeal makes every American feel more secure. The Supreme Court is not a tribunal for social uplift, and often the consequences of its decisions are tragic. But while it is concerned with establishing general rules that will apply to all cases, clearly and with justice, it is not blind to the social experience of the ordinary American people. Nor is it afraid to protect the lowly against the strong—even against the Government itself.

The quarter million people who visit the Supreme Court every year come for some visible sign that will confirm this sense of security they get from the Court. Probably few of these visitors realize how much of the power of the present Court is the result of a historical accident. The U.S. Constitution provided for three branches of the Government, but it did not specify explicitly that the Court's interpretation of the powers of the other two should be final and prevailing. But the Court was lucky in having a man of immense strength of mind, Chief Justice John Marshall, who almost 150 years ago asserted the doctrine of judicial supremacy, making the Court the final arbiter of the constitutionality of acts of the U.S. Congress, and made it enduring.

Visitors to the U.S. Supreme Court find a ... courtroom with heavy red velours draperies which ... like a backdrop in a stage setting against which a ... dramatic performance is enacted. Exactly on the hour at noon, the curtains part in the center and the Chief

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Justice and two others appear; at almost the same moment, on the left and right, the other justices enter in groups of three.

Everyone stands, the marshal intones "oyez oyez," the justices apply themselves to the briefs and papers before them while page boys scurry about bringing them lawbooks or carrying notes from one to another; the new members of the bar are presented for practice before the Court, the appellant's attorney begins his argument and has not gone very far in it before the members of the world's most powerful tribunal are tearing away at him and each other with questions, objections, and gibes.

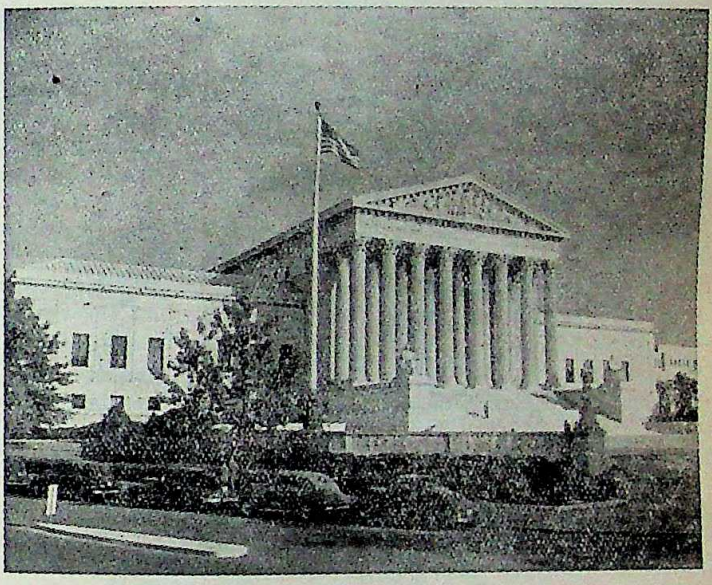
The ardent followers of the Court are there in the reserved pews—the lawyers and law students, the law secretaries and law clerks of the justices, the visiting dignitaries from business or law firms or trade unions and a sprinkling of Government officials. Their number swells when a big case is to be argued, involving much money or power, or a "hard case" involving hair-trigger questions of Constitutional meaning.

The rest of the audience is less knowing, but it forms a cross section of America. Here is a couple from the midwestern section of the United States, probably on their first Washington visit. Here is a gentle-faced Jewish mother with her son of college age. Here are a Negro, his young wife, and two small daughters. Here are two nuns in black robes, taking notes in little black books. Here is a row of girls on a holiday visit from a boarding school. Near them are the knotted hands and alert faces of two workmen, probably minor officials of a trade union. The audience strains to follow the technical language of the discussion, but most end by giving up the sense and remaining content with the magnificent outward show.

The Supreme Court has developed its fixed conventions. It receives no cases except after passing on petitions for review. The judges work on them during summer vacations, or whenever they can through the year, for the task of passing on them is ever present and exhausting. If three judges agree, the case is put on the calendar to be argued. The judges hear arguments for two weeks a month during the Court term (which begins the first Monday in October of each year and continues as long as the business before the Court requires, usually until about the first of June), then study the cases and write their opinions the other two weeks. They have a chance to study the lawyers' briefs before the arguments are heard. They come to court with questions in their minds, and some ply the lawyers with questions.

The Court gathers each Saturday for private conference on the cases before it. Saturdays are the days that test the strength and mettle of a Chief Justice, for he must hold down the dissents if possible and keep cases moving so that the schedule is not clogged.

In the voting the judge most recently appointed to the Court votes first—so as not to be overawed by his seniors—and the Chief Justice votes last.



The Supreme Court of the United States in Washington where decisions vital to the individual and the nation are made

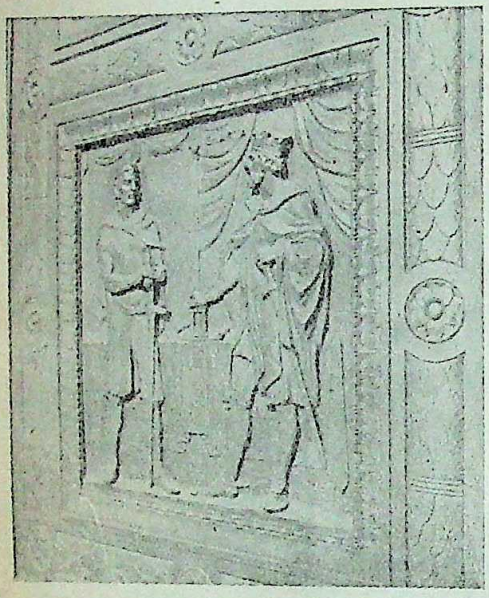
Actually, however, after the discussion by the others, the newest appointee knows pretty well what each vote will be, and, if he has kept score in his mind, he knows whether his vote will break a tie and make a majority. After the voting the Chief Justice assigns the drafting of the Court decision to a member of the majority whom he chooses. If he is not himself in the majority, it is assigned by the senior justice who is.

The last stage is complex and often prolonged. The judge reviews the opinion which has been assigned to him to work on, chooses the arguments he wants from the briefs or the discussions, reads the chief precedents that come closest to the case, and has his assistants digest others. Once the opinion is drafted, it goes to the Court printer, is set up in large type, with wide margins, and is circulated to the whole court. Each judge sends the draft back

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with brief or long marginal comment. The author of the draft then may decide to rewrite it and circulate it again. Sometimes the draft will win over a marginal voter, or lose one, shifting the majority and minority. Sometimes the drafting judge will himself change his mind in the process, and someone else is assigned.



This plaque in the door of the Supreme Court of the United States in Washington depicts the signing of the Magna Carta

At some point the other judges decide whether they will concur, or write separate concurring opinions, or write dissents. There may be more than one dissent written. The opinions are handed down on three Mondays a month. Each judge may choose to read his, or (what is more frequent) summarize it orally, sometimes putting in verbal asides not in the printed version. Once the opinion is released, the comments of editorials, columns, and law journals begin, and may continue for years, decades, or even centuries. The bound volumes of decisions are constantly thumbed, constantly argued over.

There is probably no comparable situation in the history of government where a body of men is subject to so close and exacting a scrutiny of their work over the generations—a scrutiny for logic, for consistency, for break or continuity with tradition, for personal creativeness, for social utility. This is what gives the Court its strength and prestige. More important than an army or a police is the knowledge that the U. S. Supreme Court has the hearts and minds of the people with it.

II

Every strong institution has its personal legend to back it up. In the case of the U. S. Supreme Court the legendary figure has become Oliver Wendell Holmes. A play has been done about him (*The Magnificent Yankee*), and a popular biography by Catherine Drinker Bowen (*Yankee from Olympus*). A vast novel by Carl Sandburg (*Remembrance Rock*) includes him as a main figure, and there are numerous less anecdotes. He had the advantage of dying very old, at 93, and he never lost either his sense of humor or his perspective. He went to Harvard University, at Cambridge in the northeastern State of Massachusetts, knew Ralph Waldo Emerson, the American essayist, poet and philosopher, at his father's table, fought in the American Civil War, and three times wounded.

Handsome, literary, and brilliant, Holmes' career from a law-school post to the Supreme Court seems inevitable. What made him great was that for all his background, and his basic economic conservatism he he'd the Court's function in a free society higher than his own preferences. He wanted the Court to leave a large margin of tolerance for the errors of social experiment, and for "free trade in ideas . . . in the competition of the market."

But the chief elements in the Holmes' popular legend center around his human qualities. He avoided reading heavy economic tomes in favor of French novels, or philosophy. He had a way with the ladies and an eye for pretty ones. Holmes stayed on the Court until almost the end, but even at the age of 90 he was alert, although feeble.

The average age of the members of Supreme Court now is just less than 60. Age is a factor in social views, but far from a decisive one. What is really decisive is the experience and training and background of each judge, and the intellectual temper of the period.

In the deepest sense, however, the life of a Supreme Court Justice is always a lonely one. It includes political chastity, and obedience to the tradition of isolation from controversy. This is especially hard for a Court made up like the present one, and accustomed to an active life in the midst of great affairs.

It is always hard to predict what will be either the direction or the destiny of this institution, which has outlived its detractors, disillusioned its enthusiasts, disappointed the cynics, and outwitted the self-assured predicters. Yet as we try to pierce the future, we can be certain of one thing about the U. S. Supreme Court. Nowhere in the world can one find a high judicial body which so truly represents the democratic principle in the sense that it comes from the ranks of the common people, yet so heroically makes the effort

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detachment from ordinary passions. Nowhere can one find a group so deeply committed to the proposition that the law must protect even the poorest and humblest with the same armor with which it invests the rich and the proud. Out of the struggles of our century the Court has emerged with an idea about modern America to which it clings tenaciously: that only a secure people can be free, and only a people which passionately cherishes its freedom can be great.—From *Holiday*.

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SINGARA—THE FRUIT

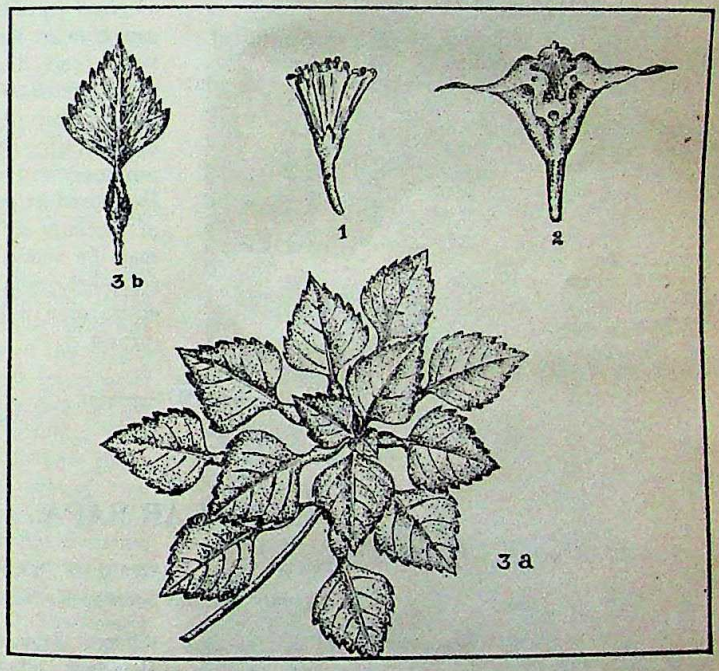
By MURARI PROSAD GUHA, M.A.

In early winter the fruit stalls begin to be filled up again, though mostly with fruits of foreign origin, but our *Singara* or *paniphal* though appears in the market during this time (November-December) is a fruit of our country and the other tropics.

This fruit derived its name *paniphal* or water-chestnut from its development in water and the angular horned shape of the fruit gives it the name *Singara*. Probably the hot *singaras* prepared from wheat floor and fried in ghee for our breakfast or evening tea which we relish throughout India, derived this name for its similarity in shape with this fruit, which in ancient India had a special place of its own. Our Anglicized countrymen started to despise everything Indian even the Indian fruits. But the shortages are reminding us of those true friends who never can forsake us.

Singara, botanically known as *Trapa bispinosa* Roxb., belongs to the family Onagraceae and is a floating herb found in *jheels*, ponds, tanks and lakes throughout India and Ceylon and also in tropical Africa and South-East Asia including Malaya. It is very often met with in the wayside ditches of the railway tracks in our country. There and in similar other water areas they are cultivated for the delicious fruit. And the cultivation of this plant in India is known from very ancient times; even *Ain-i-Akbari* (1590) mentioned levy of revenue on this crop and it clearly reveals the flourishing condition of it at that time.

The fruit is a bony four-angled indehiscent nut with a thick coat (pericarp) containing only one seed. On removing the coat the white fleshy kernel becomes visible and this is usually eaten raw. The kernel is hard, fleshy with high percentage of water and has a cooling effect on the stomach. Sometimes, after soaking overnight they are boiled in water and then made into a curry. Where this is grown, abundantly, the high starch content of the fruit is also utilized for the preparation of flour which is used in making *chapattis*. Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh and Bihar have got large areas under this crop, also Kashmir is famous



The Singara plant

(1) The white-petalled flower with four sepals is shown. (2) The fertilized mature fruit with two of the persistent sepals turned into spinescent horns. Through the beak at the top the radicle comes out during germination. (3a) A partial view of the arrangement of the leaves on the surface of water as seen from above is shown. (3b) The leaves are villous beneath which has been shown in a solitary leaf reversed. The petiole of the leaf has a spongy swelling near its apex

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from old times for the cultivation of *Singara*, and the best variety there is the *basmati* (after the rice of that name). In West Bengal there are small patches of cultivation and the supply to Calcutta is supplemented from Bihar and U.P. and the variety common in Calcutta is the deep-green two-horned *Patnai*. The total supply of *Singara* in Calcutta market from the different sources in Bengal (*viz.*, Das Nagar, Dum Dum, Rajarhat-Vishnupur, etc.) is approximately 2,500 mds. annually. The yield per acre water area being 12-15 maunds of raw fruit usually.

Cultivation of *Singara* has been neglected like other crops in our country. Planned cultivation and supply of planting material may pave a long way for the easing of the tension in the food front, as this fruit not only yields a large quantity of flour or fruit, when taken raw, but the food value is also very high contained in the fresh fruit or the flour as will be revealed from the following comparative table taken from the Health Bulletin No. 23:

	Singara (dry)	Wheat flour (atta) (whole)
Moisture	13.8 per cent	12.2 per cent
Protein	13.4 „ „	12.1 „ „
Fat (ether extracted)	0.8 „ „	1.7 „ „
Mineral matter	3.1 „ „	1.8 „ „
Carbohydrate	68.9 „ „	72.2 „ „
Calcium (Ca)	0.07 „ „	0.04 „ „
Phosphorus (P)	0.44 „ „	0.32 „ „
Iron (Fe) gms.	2.4 „ „	7.3 „ „
Calorific value per 100 gms.	336	353
Carotene (International Vitamin A units) per 100 gms.	Trace	
Calories per ounce	95	100

Usually at the end of January the fruits are scattered over the water of the *jheels*, etc., where they are to be planted and then pressed in the mud, where it germinates, the radicle (primary root) coming out through the short cylindric beak at the top of the fruit. The water should generally be shallow and about breast-high. Within a month after planting they start growing and soon cover the water surface. At the beginning of the monsoon they are transplanted, after thinning out the overcrowded areas. After the end of the monsoon the 4-merous flowers comes to age and their white petals can be seen from a distance floating on the surface of the water among the green leaves and in October the fruits set in. And the fruits are available in the market during November and December.

Singara can be grown with ease and without any special care and needs no manuring. These points are of great consideration to our poor cultivators and they can grow at least a small quantity of this fruit in their ponds and ditches and tanks. In West Bengal with some districts having more ditches and tanks than the number of homesteads, it is a matter of great consideration, specially because, it is also a problem province not only politically but from the points of food production as well. Nursery units may be started in specially suitable areas and supply from these areas may be made throughout the country in small but scattered units which in no time will cover up the entire area if conditions are favourable and if we are earnest.

———:O:———

THAKKAR BAPA

By S. R. VENKATARAMAN, B.A.B.L.,
Servants of India Society, Madras

Thakkar Bapa was a prominent member of the Servants of India Society for about thirty-seven years and its Vice-President during the last eleven years. His broad human sympathies led him into beneficent activities and his life was one of ceaseless and tireless striving to serve the under-privileged in society. Early in life, he engaged himself in promoting elementary education and forming co-operative societies among the working classes. Later, the promotion of the well-being of the Harijans, the Adibasis and women became a passion with him. He organised relief measures also to help the poor and the suffering and the victims of disasters caused by fire, flood, famine and earthquakes. In his last days, the cause of the displaced persons equally claimed his attention. Though the Servants of India Society since its inception was engaged in social ameliorative work in different fields, under the guidance of the late Mr. C. [illegible] Devadhar, whom Thakkar Bapa claimed as one of his Gurus, it was Thakkar Bapa who gave a new impetus and momentum to these activities, more by his own personal example than by his speeches, writings or exhortations. In connection with his work he travelled all over the sub-continent of India several times, most of it in third class crowded compartments, buses and bullock-carts, pack ponies, camels, boats and dandies, at an age when lesser spirits than his would have shuddered to travel under such conditions. His love for the backward and the under-privileged was so overpowering that he had no time to think of the hardships and privations involved in such journeys.

Thakkar Bapa is one of the three leaders of Sourashtra who [illegible] been the architects of modern India

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Mahatmaji fought and secured freedom for the country; Sardar succeeded in welding together the scattered units of India of different ideologies and varying levels of administration into one compact and integrated whole. Thakkar Bapa, the true social engineer, canalised the forces of patriotism generated by Pujya Gokhale and Gandhiji into channels calculated to promote the social, educational and economic progress of the backward section of the population.

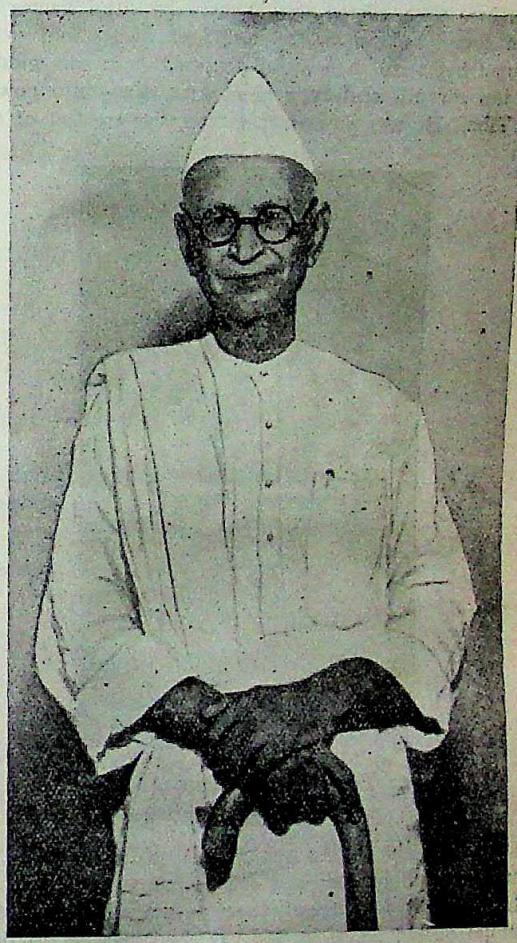
For, he was convinced that unless the backward sections of the population were also brought up to the level of the average citizen, the freedom we have won would not be safe for us.

Thakkar Bapa was eminently fitted in many ways for the work he had set before himself. Having become a widower early in life he had no encumbrances and no worldly ambitions. He was endowed with a good physique and robust health. Referring to his secret of his health in one of his letters written to me from Chorvad in Sourashtra where he was convalescing, Thakkar Bapa wrote as follows :

> "In my school up to the age of 16, I was not specially fond of any games, except those which were enforced in the school, that is only cricket. After the age of 20, when I was in service, and up to 43, I was constantly on outdoor service, and as such had to ride, walk long distances or do rough hard work. Moreover, my first wife was sickly and so Brahmacharya was compulsory. During my second married life which was short it was no married life. This is the only secret I can think of."

He combined with his good constitution a soft and tender heart which would not see the sufferings of people till something was done, and an indomitable will and determination not to rest till the sufferings of the people are alleviated. His transparent sincerity and integrity of character, his simple living and high thinking, his infinite capacity for taking pains and genius for planning and executing schemes of uplift work on an All-India basis, his scorn of a life of ease and comfort and love of hard work, all these had earned for him a unique place in the heart of a grateful people as the foremost humanitarian and social engineer of the age. In truth he ranks among the world's greatest humanitarians and social workers. What Wilberforce, Dr. Barnardo and Earl of Shaftesbury are to England, what Dr. Kagawa is to Japan, what Booker Washington is to the Negroes and Albert Schweitzer is to the Africans, that Thakkar Bapa is to India.

This is not a vain-glorious claim that we make for Thakkar Bapa. The fact that during the latter part of his life when most people would have gone into retirement, Thakkar Bapa took with enthusiasm the work of organising the Harijan Sevak Sangh in 1932 when he was 62 and the Kasturba Gandhi National Memorial Fund in 1943 when he was 74, especially when his hands were full with the work of the Bhil Seva Mandal and organising relief works in other parts of India, is a tribute to his passionate desire to spend himself in the service of the poor. Later, he was responsible for starting the Adim Jati Seva Sangh of which he himself became the Vice-President. Unlike many office-bearers whose connections with organisations were only nominal Thakkar Bapa's with everyone of the organisations with which he was connected were very intimate and vital. He knew all the details about the working of the organisations and directed their activities with zeal and firmness and expedition. Lesser men than Thakkar Bapa would have quailed under the burden of administering these associations with far-flung branches all over India needing his personal attention and touch in the execution of the programmes and feeding them with funds. In fact, Thakkar Bapa thrived on work and flourished on more work.



Thakkar Bapa
(Seventy-five years young)

Thakkar Bapa is no more. To mourn his death is not the way to pay our tribute to him. The best tribute to Thakkar Bapa's memory is that every admirer of Thakkar Bapa must become in his own life a miniature Thakkar Bapa in his chosen field of public work. May the tribe of Thakkar Bapa increase and thus may his work and memory be ever kept green.

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INFLUENCE OF INDIAN ART IN TIBET

By DASARATHI ROY

Before the introduction of Buddhism into Tibet, Bon was the religion of its people. It was a ritualistic religion. The followers of this religion worshipped spirits and devils. Rites were performed in gloomy caverns. The dark chambers and the altars on which sacrifices were offered were lighted by fitful flames of dim fire. The worshippers sacrificed beasts and even human beings to their awful deities. But in the middle of the seventh century a great king came into power in Tibet. He was Srong-tsan-gampo, the greatest of all

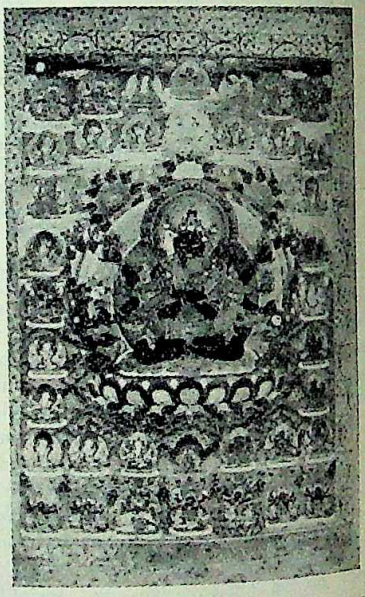


Saint Pimasambhaba or Guru Rimpoche, founder of Mahayana Buddhism, went from India to Tibet in the eighth century A.D. (A Tibetan Thanka)

the Tibetan kings. He was a great soldier as well as an able administrator, and the Tibetans regard him as the political founder of their country. Srong-tsan-gampo visited Nepal in 639 A.D., and his visit to that country was destined to influence the future development of Tibet. It was through the efforts of a daughter of Nepal that the transformation was brought about.

Amshuvarma, the then king of Nepal, had a very beautiful daughter, Princess Tri-tsun. The Tibetan king was fascinated by the beauty of this Nepali princess and he took her off as his bride to his capital at Lhasa. But the Tibetan king brought away from Nepal more than he knew, for it is said, Tri-tsun with the aid of a wonder-working begging bowl that once belonged

to Lord Buddha and helped by several images, introduced Buddhism into her husband's country. Soon after, Tri-tsun got the assistance, in this great task, of Wen-Cheng, the Chinese wife of Srong-tsan-gampo whom he had married in 641. But it was not Buddhism only that was introduced into Tibet. Nepal, then a dependent State and a part of the Tibetan empire of Srong-tsan-gampo, greatly influenced the life of the new Tibetan capital at Lhasa. Nepalese arts, which were essentially Indian in character, were eagerly



One of the ten forms of Goddess Kali (A Tibetan Thanka)

assimilated, and it was due to Queen Tri-tsun that the art of India has remained dominant in Tibetan craftsmanship.

The spread of Buddhism, which had its beginning in the time of King Srong-tsan-gampo, continued up to the twelfth century. During the course of these five hundred years many Indian Buddhist scholars came at the invitation of different Tibetan kings to Tibet and influenced that country with Indian religion and literature.

The introduction of Buddhism in Tibet coincided with the foundation of the Pala empire in Bengal. During the reign of the Pala kings from the eighth

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the twelfth century, we find the renaissance of Buddhism for the last time in India. Some of the Buddhist monasteries that were founded by the great kings of the Pala dynasty were the greatest centres of learning in India. The Buddhist monastery of Atantipur, founded by the first Pala king Gopala, and the universities of Bikramsila and Paharpur together with the already existing university of Nalanda, became the chief seats of Tantryana or Tantric Buddhism. Under the Pala kings, the Buddhist pantheon was enriched by various icons, and *asanas* and *mudras* made the figures beautiful. In the monastic establishments of the Pala period was created a religious art, rich and varied, and it was strongly influenced by Tantric inspiration. This art, comprising stone



"Galden Lhajyama" or the saint Sonkapa, founder of the Gelupka sect in Tibet (A Tibetan religious banner)

sculptures, moulded images and religious paintings, was distinguished by its perfect execution, and it was this art of India that entered Tibet. Some forms of art reached directly through Indian Buddhist monks who visited Tibet and some reached through Nepalese artists. The main themes of the Pala Art were the principal events of Lord Buddha's life; a host of Ishta-Devatas (tutelary deities) of Tantric Buddhism were also its subject. The statues and stone figures, cast images and painted religious banners of Tibet distinctly show this form of Indian art. The Tibetan metal images known as *Shar-ri* and the painted religious banners of Tibet known as *Thankas* have been deeply influenced by the Indian style of the Pala period. When the great Indian Tantric Buddhist monk Padmasambhaba went to Tibet at the invitation of Thri-eron-de-tsan, a worthy successor of Srong-tsan-gampo, he established there many monasteries which became famous seats of Tantric Buddhism. The most famous of the monasteries that were founded by Padmasambhaba is the Samye monastery. It was esta-



Prince Gautama Buddha. This statue in the Jokhang Monastery, the chief temple of Lhasa, is a specimen of Indian sculpture in Tibet

blished in 870 A.D. and is still the chief centre of Tantric Buddhism in Tibet. It is stated that the Saint



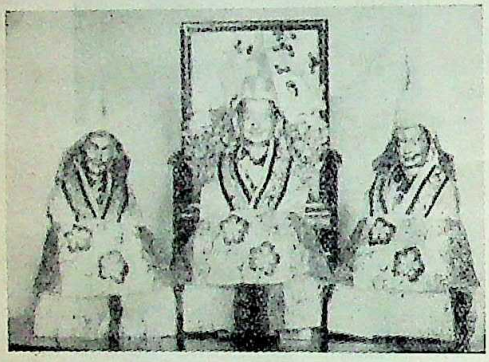
A Tibetan painted religious banner showing Lord Buddha with a thousand hands and a thousand eyes

Padmasambhaba having subdued the devils and evil spirits of Tibet compelled them to erect the Samye monastery. After the completion of the monastery Padmasambhaba found his wealth exhausted and

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the spirits and devils brought the Saint huge quantities of gold from the Malgro Lake and thus enabled him to present many Indian statues made of solid gold which are still to be found there. Atisha Shri Gnan Dipankara, the great Bengali Buddhist monk, went to Tibet in 1042 A.D. and he brought with him many cast images of the Pala period. The carved figures and cast images brought by Padmasambhaba and Atisha Sri Gnan Dipankara were the source of inspiration to the Tibetans who imitated the style in this sphere of art.



Tsongkapa with his two disciples. A fine specimen of Tibetan metal cast image after the Indian style

The *thankas* or the painted religious banners of Tibet are importation from India *via* Nepal. These *thankas* show the gods and the saints in conventional attitudes; episodes from their lives are also represented. Many of the *thankas* depict Tantric tutelary deities and Indian saints who had spread Buddhism in Tibet. These *thankas* are regarded so sacred by the Tibetans that when a Tibetan dies a *thanka* has to be painted for the occasion, depicting a saint on it and the saint so depicted is believed to intercede for the deceased when the departed soul stands before the judgement seat and to assure its rebirth in the human or even a higher world. The *thankas* are to be met with in every Tibetan monastery and in private chapels of the people.

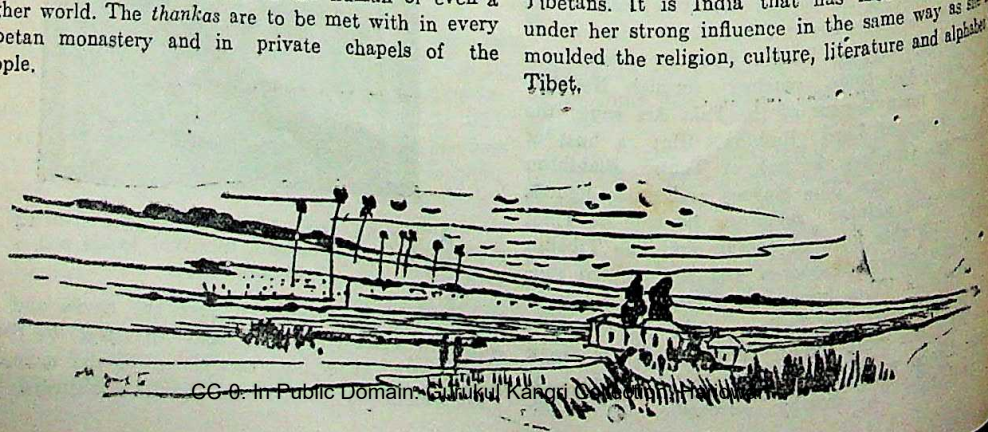
The art of miniature painting which was popular in India in the 11th and 12th centuries was imitated by the Tibetans. Illuminated manuscripts of Tibet are directly descended from this Indian art.

In the field of Tibetan architecture, Indian influence is quite evident. In building temples and monasteries the Tibetans followed the tradition of the Indian guild work. It is interesting to note that Drepung, the biggest monastery of Tibet, nay, of the whole world, was built after the fashion of the now-defunct famous Buddhist monastery Sridanga Kataka of Orissa.



A tutelary god of a Tantric order
(A Tibetan Thanka)

Tibet is the Land of Religion and her art is religious art which is a tributary of Indian art. Modern Tibetans are not aware of the Indian influence in their art and hence all metal images and paintings are called *Bal-Bris* or Nepalese art by the Tibetans. It is India that has moulded Tibetan art under her strong influence in the same way as she has moulded the religion, culture, literature and alphabet of Tibet.



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IN PRAISE OF ARTISTS

By Prof. O. C. GANGOLY

Having lived the greater part of my seventy summers in company with pictures and in intimate contact and communion with them, I have developed a mighty horror of talking in the presence of pictures. To do so, I verily believe, is an insult to artists and a blasphemy to Art.

To do little and to talk about it in amiable exaggeration is the business of politicians and statesmen.

To talk nothing and to do marvellous things and to set them down in the silent but eloquent language of form and colour is the business of the artists.

If there are exaggerations in these canvases they are exaggerations with a spiritual intention—to glorify and sublimate Truth in artistic emphasis. Except when *impatiently* listening to deputationists and agitators, our ministers and administrators incessantly indulge in the one-way traffic of words, words, and words, drowning their victims and burying the slender voice of Truth under the volley of their atom bombs.

But our poor but honest artists after recording and presenting the most valuable Truth of this life and of the other life in the heavens, in the speechless voice of their brushes, shut their mouths in life-long silence, listening with the patience of Job to the most harsh and unkind criticisms of their judges, their critics, their newspaper-men, their would-be buyers and, sometimes, their jealous brethren.

Rabindranath Tagore has recorded a happy homily on hard-hearted judges and harsher critics :

> "They know not how hard it is to master
> The brush and the colours,
> They condemn as jokes and funs
> Our tearful labours!"[1]

But the greatest artists never seek an immediate word of praise or appreciation, or a ready-made reward, prize, or gain, but are prepared to wait in pious resignation in the infinity of space and of time, for the advent of his *Samana-dharma*[2]—his spiritual twin, who may turn up from a far corner of the earth after the lapse of many centuries, for,

> "Time, indeed, is limitless and verily expansive
> is the lap of Mother Earth !"[3]

And, I verily believe that to many artists who have missed any of the rich prizes provided by our president, the lady bountiful or even a smiling glance of the judges or the critics *today*, richer prizes may be in store *tomorrow*, for, time is the best judge, as we know time has upset the wrong judgments of the best judges of Art, armed by the steel armour of their own prejudices, and, unable to see new ways of putting them into practice.

To the lucky exhibitors who have secured today shining medals and brilliant awards, I may perhaps offer a word of warning that these prizes may not be a ready passport to popular or universal recognition of their merits *tomorrow*. For, I have known many winners of prizes and certificates of merit who have pined away all their lives failing to secure purchasers for their pictures or popular appreciations of their works.

Yet these tentative, perhaps erroneous judgments and erratic awards of prizes have their values, for, they help to attract the attention of the general public, the potential patrons to real works of Art, and make many haters of pictures to become lovers of beautiful forms and colours. For, to the average man with no passion for beauty, and indifferent to the higher needs of life, this magnificent feast of form and colour provided by the president and the distinguished members of her committee offers a happy haven of refuge—a temporary paradise, where we forget the many miseries of our life, the irrationalities of the ration-shops and the soaring prices of our winter-cloths.

I am told that a very large number of our citizens have thronged into this corridor of convincing canvases to *learn by seeing*, to acquire knowledge without tears, for, many of these pictures can teach us things and offer lessons, which none of our teachers in schools and colleges can do, namely, to know and love all our brothers and sisters, to obliterate racial differences, to banish colour-bars, to chide away religious rancours, to tolerate music before mosques, and animal slaughters before temples, in short, to bring harmony and concord among the distracting discords of life and the many warring dogmas and doctrines, and, above all, to learn to worship the beauties of this earth, in the expansive canvases of God's landscapes, "for, what God paints in one day, humanity cannot paint throughout eternity."

And the role and career of all artists through the ages have been to catch and record a fraction of the fleeting beauty which eludes them in the creations of God.

For, as St. Thomas Acquinas has said, "Art imitates Nature in her manner of operation," that is to say, God in His manner of creation, in which He does not repeat Himself or exhibit deceptive illusions, in which the species of things are confused.

I hope, we have succeeded in persuading to come to this show a fraction of the large body of our half-educated and misguided youths, who

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1. ओरा त जाने ना तुलि आर रं कि कठिन वश् करा आमादेर काय, ओरा भावे—मष्करा ।
2. समान-धर्म्मा 3. कालोह्ययम् निरवधिः विपुला च पृथ्वी

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throng into the cinema-halls in vain search for beauty in spurious pictures and who injure their eyes and powers of vision, and, sometimes, damage their morals in incessantly looking at machine-made pictures and camera-made abominations. For, our scriptures enjoin:

> "Oh ye gods! give us the power to listen only to noble and auspicious words, to look with our eyes *only* on things of beauty and of sublimity."[4]

Photographers have all along attempted in vain to imitate Rembrandt effects and Holbeinesque lines and forms. With all the latest claims of colour-photographs and the perfection of the photographic lenses, the makers of cinema-pictures have failed and will continue to fail to catch a fraction of the qualities which our great artists, here, provide in their intriguing colour-schemes and in their mystic compositions of the harmony and melody of lines, mocking the efforts of the camera and the machine.

May the eyes of our artists ever continue to see visions and render the eternal and the invisible in terms of the visible.

And may our critics and *rupa-rasikas*, the sympathetic connoisseurs of Art, for ever continue to bow their heads before the masterpieces of our artists in worship and in adoration![*]

4. भद्रं कर्णेभिः शृणुयाम देवाः
भद्रं पश्येमाक्षभि-र्यजत्रा ।

[*] A lecture which was *not* delivered at the Dinner given by Lady Mookherjee, President of the Indian Academy of Art, Indian Museum at Calcutta on the 12th January, 1951.

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AMERICAN FOOD FOR INDIA

By J. J. SINGH

I am glad that the Government of India has asked the United States Government to help India in purchasing two million tons of food-grains on a long-term credit basis, besides what the Indian Government will be buying itself.

I say I am glad because my colleagues and I have felt for some time that the continued shortage of food, and such low rationing as ten to twelve ounces a day, for hundreds of millions of people, was bad for the health and morale of the people, as well as for the stability of the Government. We have all along felt that empty stomachs make easy victims to vicious propaganda, either of the extreme right or of the extreme left. And that, if help were needed to better the lot of millions of men, women and children, there was no reason why such help should not be asked for—at least as a lesser evil.

It will be recalled that at the time of Prime Minister Nehru's visit to the United States, in the months of October and November, 1949, talks were started that, perhaps, a barter arrangement could be made whereby India would get one million tons of food-grains and the United States would get mica, manganese, and some other raw materials from India. We all had hopes that this so-called barter deal would go through.

Months went by and reports started appearing in the Press that, because of various limitations and difficulties in increasing the production of mica, manganese, etc., and because of the danger to the general economy of India in pledging shipments of these vital materials for years in advance, the deal was off.

I went to Washington in January, 1950, to check up if a way could be found to get out of these difficulties and secure the very much needed food-grains for India. I found that there was enough favorable sentiment amongst some Senators and members of the House, that if a Bill had then been introduced in the Congress, to sell India a million tons of food-grains at half the market price and for a ten to fifteen years' credit, the Bill had a fair chance of passage. But inasmuch as this arrangement had to be contracted between two governments, non-governmental people like myself, or non-governmental organizations like the India League of America could come into the picture only if the Indian Government were agreeable to the proposition. So, I passed this information to the Indian Embassy officials in Washington and I believe, after consultations with the Government of India, they decided not to seek such aid through any congressional act. Naturally, I dropped everything.

After the Assam earthquakes, and reports of floods in Eastern Punjab and severe drought conditions in some parts of Bihar and Southern India, we were convinced that the food situation in India would worsen. In view of that, the India League of America called a special meeting with the object of activizing all avenues for getting assistance from this country.

We invited Mme. Vijayalakshmi Pandit, the Ambassador of India in Washington, to come to our meeting and give us authentic and the latest detailed information about the impending food crisis in India. Mme. Pandit accepted our invitation but, unfortunately, had to cancel it later on. However, I was requested to go to Washington to secure the necessary information.

I had long talks with a high Government of India official who was then visiting Washington, and an Indian Embassy official. Once again, I was discouraged from getting [illegible] moved in the United States

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Congress whereby India could buy food-grains here on a long-term credit basis and at very much reduced prices. As I recall it, their argument was that food shortages in India will continue to exist and that it was a "recurrent" problem. I was told that what India needed was tractors, fertilizers, tube-wells and other agricultural machinery with which arid land could be brought under cultivation and India could become self-sufficient in food. Once again, my colleagues and I had to drop this matter because, as I have stated above, without the assent of the Government of India, we, the non-governmental people, could not move in the matter.

So, now that the Government of India has made a definite request, we are at last at liberty to work on this question.

However, this time it is not going to be easy.

The sole object of writing this piece is to warn my countrymen not to be over-optimistic about getting these two million tons of food-grains. The reasons for my words of caution are as follows:

I understand that President Truman is in favor of making an outright grant of two million tons of food-grains instead of selling it to India on a long-term credit basis. That is most excellent. It is also excellent that Secretary of State, Dean Acheson, is in complete agreement with the President of the United States, and he and his colleagues of the State Department are fully aware of the food crisis in India and are most anxious to help India in averting serious famine conditions.

As a result of my recent talks in Washington, I have gathered that they all feel that, taking everything into consideration, a straight grant would be much better than any kind of loan or deal. In other words, the United States will have to spend approximately two hundred million dollars (almost 96 crores of rupees) for these two million tons of food-grains and make a present of it to India.

But there is something that our people in India have to understand. The fact that the Government of India has made the request, the fact that the "Administration," as represented in this case by the President, the Secretary of State, and the Secretary of Agriculture, are all in favor of giving this grant does not mean that it will be done.

We in India were for so long under a virtual dictatorship and got used to the *Hukam* of the British Viceroys that it is hard for us to realize that the President of the United States cannot issue any *Hukams*, in such cases.

Our people have to know a little more about the Constitution of the United States of America.

And, according to the Constitution, legislation will have to be moved in the Congress of the United States for this grant. The grant could come from already appropriated funds, such as that of the Economic Co-operation Administration (ECA), or a bill for a new appropriation will have to be moved. If the United States Congress, which means the Senate and the House of Representatives, does not pass this legislation, then there is nothing that the President of the United States or the Secretary of State or anyone else can do. This is something that our people must understand.

The chances of "India Aid" legislation passing in the present Congress are, at present, 50-50. It is possible that they may become better, but it is also possible that they may become worse. And, I am afraid, a lot will depend upon the foreign policy of India, especially with regard to Korea, aggression of Communist China, and India's role in the United Nations.

In the last Congress, passage of such a Bill would, in my opinion, have been a little easier. I think in the last Congress, especially if the Bill had been introduced in the early part of 1950, the consideration of the Bill would have been on a more humanitarian basis than on a political basis. But with the Korean war, where thousands of American boys have died and are dying, there would be very few Senators and Representatives who would think in terms of humanitarianism only.

Last week, when I was in Washington, I checked around and found that if an India Aid Bill is brought before the Congress, there will be an unprecedented debate on all issues relating to India. It will give chance to friends of India to say friendly things and to those who are inimical to India to attack India. There is no doubt in my mind that the question of Kashmir will be brought up. One of my Senator friends told me that we should be prepared for a washing of dirty linen on the floors of the Senate and the House. I told my friend that we were not afraid because India has nothing to hide.

In view of this, it has been considered advisable by the friends of India to do a little more "polling" of the Senate and the House before the Bill is even introduced. Because we are all agreed upon one thing—the Bill should not be introduced if it has little chance of passage.

As your readers are well aware, there is a great deal of criticism and disappointment at India's attitude towards Communist China. Some of the criticism is ill-tempered and not at all justifiable. But one has to understand and take into account the emotional state of mind that prevails in the United States today. One may say that this extreme emotionalism, bordering on to hysteria, is not warranted. But then again, we must face the fact that it is there. And it will be under these conditions that the members of Congress will act upon the Bill.

No one wishes to suggest that India should change its basic foreign policy or its belief in certain principles

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or act against its own national interests for the sake of two million tons of food-grains.

But we must remember that the United States, too, has similar rights. And it is natural to assume that if the majority of the members of the Congress would deem India's foreign policy as injurious to United States interests, then they will not be inclined to sell out two hundred million dollars.

I will give you an illustration: Last week in Washington, everywhere I went, Mme. Vijayalakshmi Pandit's interview over the television program called "Meet the Press" on December 31, was thrown at me. It is a very popular program and many Senators and Congressmen and State Department people and others had seen it. On this program, Mme. Pandit said that, in her opinion, "War was a greater threat to India than Communist domination in Asia." The inference drawn was that India would much rather be under Communist domination than be a party to a war. Then again, when asked whether crossing of the 38th Parallel by the Communist Chinese troops constituted an aggression, Mme. Pandit answered that the United Nations forces went beyond the 38th Parallel, too, and so the Chinese Communists have a "come-back," and they can say that it was no more an aggression for them to cross the 38th Parallel than when the United Nations forces went beyond it. The inference drawn in this case was that Mme. Pandit was equating the crossing of the United Nations forces and the crossing of the Communist Chinese forces. Now this may be the Government of India's policy—I would assume that Mme. Pandit, as Ambassador of India, would not make such a public declaration unless she were to say that it was in conformity with the Indian Government's point of view.

But then the question is: Is it reasonable to expect Americans, who do totally disagree with [illegible] attitude as expressed by Mme. Pandit, to give [illegible] large-scale aid to India?

I am told that a very high United States Government official, commenting on Mme. Pandit's television talk, said:

> "We cannot ask the Ambassador of India to say this or not to say that. She is perfectly at liberty to express any opinion she so wishes. But statements like this are making the job of the United States Government to get a Bill through very difficult, to say the least."

Another official is reported to have said:

> "Another statement like that from Mme. Pandit or some such policy statement from India, and the United States Government will have to reconsider whether the Bill should be introduced or not."

He added:

> "Not that we in the Government are disturbed about India's attitude because we know that, in the final analysis, India will be on the side of the democracies. But the question is, will the Senators and the Representatives feel that way? And it is they who will have to decide on the fate of the Bill."

Well, this is the story. And I have considered it my duty to bring it to the notice of the Indian public. Needless to add that the India League of America will strive hard and do all it can so that this very much needed aid is obtained from the United States.

New York, January 12, 1951.

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WHAT RANSOM FOR MANCHURIA?

By NORMAN CLEAVELAND

Member of U.S. Reparations Mission in Korea and Manchuria during 1946

THE fate of Manchuria is a warning to all the world, but particularly to Asia and Malaya, for in Manchuria the true nature of communism was exposed, both by the Soviets and their stooges, the Chinese Communists. Judging from the comments made in Singapore about Manchuria the Chinese Communists in Pekin are now dancing to the Kremlin tune just as were Chinese Communists in Manchuria during my visit in 1946.

Having travelled extensively in Manchuria and Korea during 1946 as a member of the United States Reparations Mission under the leadership of Ambassador Edwin W. Pauley who was President Truman's personal representative on reparations, I have irrefutable evidence that Soviet activities in Manchuria were the most destructive ever taken on Chinese territory by any European power. Not only were these Soviet activities the most destructive, but they were imperialistic in its most aggressive and sinister form.

I personally had several extended interviews with Communist leaders in Manchuria, including General Lin Piao and Li Li San. Li Li San was the predecessor of Mao Tse Tung as Communist leader of all China. I was particularly interested in talking to these men and other Communist leaders to determine whether their fundamental loyalties were to the Chinese people or whether they too were fanatic Communists of the type familiar in Europe and America, Communists who would betray their own country or even their own families to further the interests of the Kremlin. There were many in America during 1946 who pictured the Chinese Communists as merely agrarian reformers and not subject to control from Moscow.

After numerous prolonged discussions with Chinese Communists I was fully convinced that as far as the controlling leadership of the Communists was concerned the interests of the Kremlin were paramount; that deceit, treachery, and the ruthless use of violence were normal methods to serve their lust for personal power by advancing the interests of Moscow.

The Soviets entered Manchuria three days after the

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first atomic attack on Hiroshima and the day before the Japanese agreed to the Potsdam ultimatum. Five days later the Japanese formally surrendered. During these five days of technical hostilities the Soviets occupied the northern portion of Manchuria and met resistance at only a few points. When even the technical hostilities ceased the Soviets quickly occupied all of Manchuria with ample forces to deal with any emergency. For all practical purposes the Soviets did not control Manchuria until after the war was over.

They promptly undertook to dismantle and destroy the industrial capacity of the country. The Japanese had highly developed a well-rounded industrial economy in Manchuria based largely on the coal, iron, and other abundant natural resources. Manchurian industry played a major part in the Japanese war effort. The industrial capacity of Manchuria would have been invaluable in the rehabilitation of China after eight years of devastating war waged by the Japanese on Chinese territory. The Soviet destruction of Manchurian mines and industries has set back the industrial development of China at least a full generation and possibly a great deal more, for the Soviets now hold Manchuria for ransom from China with the eager connivance of the present rulers of China.

I received the first of many shocks in Manchuria upon my arrival at the Mukden airfield in early June of 1946, about two months after the major military forces of the U.S.S.R. had been withdrawn. Close by the airfield were the ruins of the Northeastern University. It was obvious that these ruins had once been handsome brick and reinforced concrete buildings and that the buildings and grounds generally would have been a credit to any community in the world. The full impact of what I saw did not strike me, however, until I became familiar with the terms of the Sino-Soviet Treaty of Friendship and Alliance, and associated agreements, which had been signed on August 14, 1945, the day before the Japanese formally surrendered and four days after they had accepted the Potsdam ultimatum to surrender. This treaty was announced to the world over the Moscow radio on August 23, 1945, by which time the destruction of Manchurian industry was under way. The preamble states that this treaty was being entered into in accordance with the spirit and principles of the Charter of the United Nations to establish "good neighbourly postwar collaboration" between the two countries.

I observed sessions of the United Nations from the public gallery during its organization in San Francisco in April 1945 and am familiar with the lofty idealism proclaimed during its organization. Even before the first atom bomb explosion the main hope for the future of mankind appeared to depend upon the wholehearted acceptance by the nations of the world of the ideals proclaimed in the Charter of the United Nations. The signatures on the organizational documents of this noble institution were hardly dry when the Sino-Soviet Treaty of Friendship and Alliance was signed in Moscow upon the conclusion of negotiations in which Marshal Stalin, Foreign Minister Molotov, Dr. T. V. Soong, and Wang Shih-Chieh had participated. The Treaty was signed by Molotov on behalf of the U.S.S.R. and Wang Shih-Chieh on behalf of China.

According to the terms of this treaty and associated agreements, the U.S.S.R. obtained a naval base at Port Arthur, 50 percent of the port facilities at Dairen, and joint control for 30 years of principal Manchurian railways. These and other concessions obtained by the U.S.S.R. would certainly be considered imperialism in a less enlightened age and when expressed in less idealistic terms, for these very agreements reaffirm the historic fact that Manchuria is an integral part of China.

In return for these very substantial concessions on Chinese territory, the Soviets had promised "good neighborly postwar collaboration." Article VI of this treaty stated :

> "The high contracting parties agree to render to each other *every possible economic assistance in the post-war period, with a view to facilitating and accelerating reconstruction* in both countries, and to contribute to the cause of world prosperity."
>
> A supplement to this treaty stated :
>
> 1. "In accordance with the spirit of the aforementioned treaties, and in order to put into effect its aim and purposes, the government of the U.S.S.R. agrees to render to China, moral support and aid in military supplies and other material resources; *such support and aid to be entirely given to the National Government of the Central Government of China.*"

The National Government of the Central Government of China was, of course, the government of Chiang Kai-shek.

As I was primarily concerned with making appraisals of mining machinery and installations I visited many remote districts. I remember distinctly the Fouhsin Coal Mines in the Province of Jehol. (These mines should not be confused with the Fusun Mines in the Province of Liaoning). The Fouhsin Mines are in an isolated area which had been intensely developed by the Japanese, until during the war it had grown into a community of about 200,000 persons, over 90 per cent of whom were Chinese. About 38,000 persons had been employed in the mines and the Japanese had built up a modern community. The fact that the total employment for all mines in Malaya at present is slightly over 50,000 persons gives an idea of the size of the Fouhsin Mines which during the war produced about 12,000 tons of coal daily.

Records disclose that the Soviet troops occupied Fouhsin about two weeks after the Japanese had surrendered and remained for about six months. Anyone with an appreciation for fine machinery would be appalled by the remains of the Fouhsin power plant, where four turbo-generators with a rated total capacity of 160,000 K.V.A. had been removed together with major portions of the steam boilers. The size of this plant, which supplied power for much of the industry in Southern Manchuria, can be appreciated when it is realized that it had a rated

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capacity of about twice the combined output of all power plants in Malaya at the present time.

The general chaos and evidence of crude and undisciplined handling of heavy equipment at the Fouhsin power plant clearly indicated that the machinery would have little more than scrap value upon arrival at its destination. Yet the replacement value of such equipment in the rehabilitation of China and the entire Orient would be many times its original cost.

Of course, without power, the underground mines at Fouhsin were flooded and fires, started by spontaneous combustion in coal above water level, raged out of control in a manner to make a mining man shudder. The destruction of productive capacity of coal and electricity were not the only revolting spectacles at Fouhsin. All the normal facilities of civilization had been devastated. I visited the ruins of a hospital and received reports by eyewitnesses as to its destruction. China is desperately short of medical facilities. Schools, libraries, religious and recreational facilities all shared a similar fate. At Fouhsin, as in most of Manchuria, the Soviets had taken over an orderly community with ample forces to have maintained law and order had they so desired. It was, however, evident that their purpose was to sow the seeds of violent social unrest and the general breakdown of law and order. When the Soviet forces retired from Fouhsin they took with them all available stores of foodstuffs.

The net effect of the Soviet post-war occupation of Fouhsin was to deprive an orderly, isolated community of its means of livelihood, its food supplies, its medical facilities and means of transport, and in addition, law and order were broken down and violent and destructive social unrest encouraged. All this after the Japanese surrender and not on the territory of an enemy, but on the territory of an ally with whom a Treaty of Friendship and Alliance had just been signed, a treaty promising good neighbourly collaboration for the rehabilitation and reconstruction of both countries.

The Soviets reported that the value of the machinery they removed from Manchuria amounted to only U.S. $80,000,000. This might be a fair appraisal based on scrap metal prices at Vladivostok where scrap metal has very little value. Our appraisal which was conservatively based on prewar costs placed the value of equipment removed and destroyed at U.S. $2,000,000,000. And of course the replacement value in the post-war period, and particularly its value in the rehabilitation of China, would be many times its cost.

Not all communities in Manchuria suffered as severely as Fouhsin. In some communities the Soviets removed only choice electrical equipment and machine tools. In such places it also was noted that looting by the local populace was on a much reduced scale. Nor was all the destruction we noticed caused by the Soviets and by looting mobs. There was some battle damage from fighting between the Chinese Nationalists and Chinese Communist forces.

Chinese Communist forces attacked the Peipiao Coal Mine a few days before I arrived and seriously damaged the mine power plant and hoisting machinery.

At Anshan the Japanese had built a major steel producing plant, which included seven blast furnaces. Five of these furnaces had been removed by the Soviet forces and shortly before our visit to Anshan, Chinese Communist forces in the area attacked and blew up the remaining blast furnaces, thus removing any possibility of rehabilitating the productive capacity of the plant. Besides removing the blast furnaces the Soviets had completely dismantled rolling mills, tube mills, and other steel producing equipment.

While in Harbin, the Communist headquarters of Manchuria at the time, I asked several Chinese Communist leaders why their troops were destroying basic industries which were so desperately needed by the Chinese people, regardless of whether the Nationalists or the Communists ruled China. The replies invariably were that the damage was being done by irresponsible local Communist leaders acting on their own initiative. The Communist troops I saw in Manchuria gave the impression of being particularly well trained, equipped, disciplined and not inclined to act without proper orders.

I arrived in Harbin with a party of six engineers to carry on our work of appraising Japanese assets. We had full information as to major Japanese assets and industrial plants in Harbin, obtained from Japanese sources. Our request to Communist officials to visit these Japanese plants were countered in all cases by the statement that they were now in the hands of private owners and that the civil authorities did not have the right to grant us permission to visit private property. However, they finally directed us to a Russian general who permitted us to visit one of the minor railway repair shops in Harbin and then provided most lavish entertainment. However, on the following morning we were able again to press the Communist authorities to be put in direct contact with the "owners" of the Japanese plants we wished to see. Finally, we learned that all plants which had not been dismantled were owned by a single company called. I. I. Tschurin and Company. It was not until after we left Communist territory that we were able to obtain the background and history of this organization and to learn how it came to control nearly all the industry in Harbin which had not been removed or destroyed. The Chinese Communists were very evasive as to details and were anxious only to assure us that everything was in order and, above all, that the Soviets were entirely blameless in the matter.

I. I. Tschurin and Company was originally organized to do business in Manchuria by Russian subjects at about the turn of the century. This firm was highly successful and by the time of the Japanese invasion in 1931 was the largest general agency concern in Manchuria, with branches in all the leading communities. Under the Japanese regime, however, they experienced difficulty and finally, the Hongkong and Shanghai Bank took over complete control of the company. Before leaving Harbin

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the outbreak of World War II, the manager closed the Hongkong and Shanghai Bank at Harbin and appointed a White Russian, named Ostrenko, to act as caretaker of the bank's premises and gave him a power-of-attorney to act in such matters.

Upon the arrival of Soviet forces in Harbin they concluded a deal with Ostrenko, taking over the Hongkong and Shanghai Bank's interest in I. I. Tschurin and Company by the payment of occupational currency which was printed in the U.S.S.R. for use in Manchuria. This currency, according to agreement, was redeemable by the Chinese Nationalist Government. I. I. Tschurin and Company and all its branches in Manchuria were thereafter placed under the management of a Soviet trading organization which was thoroughly financed with occupational currency, there being no shortage of paper in Russia at that time. The new management of I. I. Tschurin and Company, with the support of the Soviet forces, had little difficulty in persuading all concerned with the desirability of co-operating fully in the "sale" of factories and properties which had not been stripped or destroyed. In making these deals I. I. Tschurin and Company went through all the legal motions of making a *bona fide* transfer of title in accordance with good capitalistic procedure. Of course, the amount of occupational currency issued by the Soviets was vastly in excess of the amount agreed to by the Chinese Government; however, for purposes of negotiations in which I. I. Tschurin and Company were concerned the occupational money had full face value.

When the Chinese Nationalists occupied portions of Manchuria they promptly passed a law which invalidated deals made by I. I. Tschurin and Company. This law stated that no foreigner or foreign company could own property in China unless Chinese enjoyed reciprocal rights in the foreigner's own country. Thus, since Chinese could not own land in Russia, the Russians could not own property in China. However, in Communist-held areas of Manchuria, I found the Chinese Communist authorities actively condoning the actions of I. I. Tschurin and Company and doing their best to rationalize and justify them.

The Soviets having occupied Manchuria with large military forces for a period of nine months during 1945 and 1946, I made a particular effort to locate any constructive works they had left behind. Certainly any civilized people would have done so, particularly a people who proclaim themselves the inventors of nearly all modern conveniences as well as being champions of the under-privileged. However, the only constructive efforts I was able to find to mark the nine months of occupation of Manchuria by the Soviets were massive stone monuments. I saw them in Mukden, in Changchun, and in Harbin. These massive stone columns supported in Mukden a nearly full-scale replica of a Soviet tank, in Changchun a Soviet fighter plane, and in Harbin two heroic soldiers holding a Soviet star above their heads. These monuments bore massive inscriptions on bronze plates stating that they had been erected by the local people in gratitude for their liberation. Arising against a background of chaos and misery resulting from the destruction of the economic life of the land, these monuments were, in effect, tombstones of good faith and the legitimate hopes of the Chinese people after fighting a victorious war against Japan. The deception and terror these monuments reflect have blighted the lives of hundreds of millions of people in Asia. These monuments were not the works of war criminals but rather of peace criminals and the crimes were condoned and abetted by Chinese Communists who still seek to shield the criminals and make way for further crimes against China.

Early in 1950 it was reported that the Chinese Communists and the U.S.S.R. had signed a "Treaty of Friendship, Alliance and Mutual Assistance" dated February 14, 1950. In this treaty the Soviets promise to return "not later than the end of 1952" some of the concessions they have obtained in Manchuria under the Treaty of Friendship and Alliance of August 14, 1945. However, the Soviet Naval Base at Port Arthur still dominates the North China coast, the Soviets still control Dairen, Manchuria's main seaport, and Soviet control of Manchurian railways and I. I. Tschurin and Company apparently is still intact. They hold the whip hand in Chinese industrial and political development and China has been alienated from her normal commercial and cultural contacts with the West. It is obvious that China must pay a fearful ransom to redeem Manchuria "not later than the end of 1952."

The horrible price China may be forced to pay is evidenced by the grim fate of Northern Korea, another hostage of the Soviets. Like Manchuria, Korea—particularly North Korea—was highly developed industrially by the Japanese. Like Manchuria, Korean industry did not suffer war damage. In the post-war period Korea could have been one of the most fortunate countries in the Far East. But that was not to be. Violating all agreements concerning Korea, just as in Manchuria, the Soviets took action resulting in a division at the 38th parallel. The Soviets then proceeded to develop the war potential of North Korea and in due time turned it loose in savage aggression. The Soviets certainly knew what the results would be. The Soviets knew that half of Korea could not defeat the United States with the backing of the 53 other nations who endorsed the United Nations resolution to support South Korea. The Soviets certainly knew of the destructive capacity of the Super Forts (airplanes). They knew that the Korean war could have no other outcome except complete destruction of Korea's economy and terrific misery, suffering and loss of life to the Korean people. Certainly the Soviets have no greater regard for the welfare of the Chinese than they have for the Koreans. China too may be forced to pay the fearful ransom, for the Soviet stooges in Pekin are now behaving just as Soviet stooges behaved in North Korea.

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CENTRALIZATION—THE NEGATION OF DEMOCRACY

By MANKUMAR SEN

In theory Democracy has come to mean "government of the people, by the people and for the people." In other words it is the people with whom should lie the reins of adminsitration and it is the people's well-being —their physical, moral and intellectual development that should constitute the fundamental objective of such administration. Again, this Democratic Government should mean not only the governance of political affairs but the State's economic affairs too should, for all intents and purposes, vest in it. Rather it is in the latter sphere of economy that the people's choice should be more vocal, assertive and pronounced so that democracy in economy automatically leads the country to a full-fledged cultural democracy—to a state based on the fundamentals of social justice.

While almost everyone of us seems to comprehend the meaning and implications of political democracy our indifference to or ignorance of democracy's economic pre-requisites and consequences is rather sweeping. As a result modern democracies have become mere patchworks—attempting at a preposterous compromise between democracy in politics and dictatorship in economics. The sum and substance of such a mixture has been that what the masses of the people have earned in their right to cast votes and elect representatives is comparatively less than microscopic in relation to what they are made to lose every day and at every step in the sphere of the country's economy. This strange and unnatural 'adjustment' between two sharply contradictory forces—one recognizing the people's right to vote and the other denying their right to live in economic justice and equity—is inevitably leading the so-called democracies of today to rapid recession and class cleavage, and ultimately to bloody strifes and war. Truly speaking, there is yet to evolve a real democracy—politico-economic and cultural. As we have outlined above, nothing short of economic democracy—equilibrium of production and distribution can ensure cultural pursuits for the people. And without cultural pursuits human beings differ from beasts only in form.

The fact that even after the growth and development of democracies the world today has not been freed from the ravages of war, from the clutches of exploiters, from untold misery and seething discontent among the multi-millioned masses all over the world, should serve as a pointer and an eye-opener to the guardians of modern era who are rushing with break-neck speed to a machine-based and centralized civilization. But alas! they are either blind or helpless victims to an illusory propaganda!

Now, how is it that while there was powerful advocacy for democracy, the people were deprived of their economic and cultural rights? The evil is too deep and vast and baffling: we cannot unearth 'romantic' development, short of a calm, probing unprejudiced analysis. The process of this deprivation and disgraceful regression has been very scientific (or should we call unscientific?) so that the ignorant masses were hoodwinked and bluffed easily.

Those Happy Days

Until about two hundred years ago up to the advent of what has come to be known as the 'Industrial Revolution' the economic systems of the different countries of the world were considerably broad-based and decentralized. Particularly in the Orient it was all throughout a decentralized economy, pure and simple. The production was primarily by simple tools and implements which the ordinary people could afford to possess by their modest means. The production being centred round the private entrepreneur, it afforded ample scope for the culture and development of his artistic acumen, imagination and intellect. There being no magic of large-scale machinery as we see today the success of the trade and industry was mostly dependent on human energy and skill. As the satisfaction of the local demands was the objective of economic planning there was nothing like mass-production or over-production for profiteering which is the worst malady of the modern world. The economy was guided by a spirit of mutual co-operation—as for instance, the agriculturist used to offer his surplus produce to the artisans and in return he could get the necessary implements of production, viz., the plough, the spade, etc., from the artisan. Thus it was production by the masses and for the masses—and not mass production. This superstructure of a decentralized economy drew its inspiration and sustenance from the people. Conflicting forces and forces of exploitation and vested interests found very little scope to play their game and this rendered class struggle, class hatred and violent outbursts almost impossible. Maybe according to its modern definition we had less of civilization those days—but we had peace. There was peace in individual in the society and in the country and that again assured international peace or peace among nations of the world. And today?

The more broad-based the production, the more evenly and equitably distributed is the wealth of the country. The scope of unequal competition being almost zero, exploitation of one by the other, of the mute millions by a millionaire was absent. And who can deny that inequality breeds hatred, hatred begets violence and violence in its virulent form lands the

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nations in war? We have enough of progress today—yes—but that progress has denied us peace, has denied us the fundamental rights of man, has permanently sowed the seeds of war. If progress cannot bring about peace what it is worth for? Has it really any meaning?

Unlike modern economic systems in which units of production are centralized in a place known as the cities, the economy of those days centred round villages where lived and developed the predominantly larger part of the population. A different story we have today and hence also the difference in conclusion! This they say, is an age of science and machinery. The dual might of science and its achievements in machinery has brought about spectacular progress in the different sectors of our life but all this progress is more than nullified by the disgrace it has showered on humanity, the crushing blow it has administered to a balanced economy, the reign of desert and disease it has let loose in the peaceful and lively villages. Modern progress means poverty for the millions and unlimited plenty for the millionaires. This is a progress where man has gone mad after machine—has become a slave rather than a master of machine. So the rapid development of machine-progress is strangling all human elements, all moral and spiritual aids still more rapidly. This is why man has the least sympathy for man and the human world is being visited and revisited by devastating wars at the bid of a designing few. The aim and end of progress is peace. We say we have progress—also we mourn there is no peace anywhere. Is it not a strange phenomenon judging by the only criterion of progress, we have not marched a step forward from pre-historic barbarism!

Science and Inventions

The Industrial Revolution was preceded by various monumental inventions of science. These inventions largely stepped up production and strengthened organization on a wider scale. The invented large machineries in a great measure replaced small tools and implements now the production being on a mass-scale and not by the masses as before. Application of large machineries was no doubt costly, so it needed much outlay of capital. Formerly it was the satisfaction of local demands that determined the policy of production, now the huge capital investment necessitated production being carried to capacity with a view to minimising the average cost and maximising profit by export to still-unexplored countries. Not all the required raw materials being available within their own boundaries the owners and organisers of this revolutionary system of large-scale production were in frantic search for raw materials outside. Thus Great Britain landed in India; Japan and America in China, so on and so forth. The Jute Mill Industry of Great Britain was concentrated at Dundee for which raw jute was bought from the poor Indian peasants at the most uneconomic prices through an unholy alliance between the British traders in India—who had by now become masters of the land—and the jute factory owners in Dundee. It is to be noted that until before this necessity arising from Industrial Revolution, Britain had no occasion to infiltrate in Indian market and ultimately to secure reins of India's administration primarily for easy economic exploitation as in the above instance. Each and every country which became a victim to such centralized production intruded on the rights of other countries which were primarily the producers of raw materials so that its factory did not suffer from shortage of raw materials. And as an inevitable consequence of such intrusion, the intruding traders invariably became mighty rulers too. We need not treat in detail the stained history of how East India Company came to trade in India and ultimately became its ruler. Thus we see two distinct classes of countries today—one class being the producers of raw materials mainly, and the other class being the producers of industrial goods, the raw materials for which are in no small measure drawn from the former class. Again, the owners of these industries form a separate class—the class of exploiters—in their own countries. In this way class-conflict and country-conflict comes to pass frequently with bitter results. So we see what a vicious circle the centralized economy has created today. This is the basic disease of modern world. No superficial treatment either through full-throated slogans of world governments and world federation or through political adjustments and re-adjustments can cure this basic disease.

What is Our Position?

Over and above the profit-motive or the motive of a powerful few to exploit the millions the large-scale machineries have been adopted also as labour-saving devices. To a certain extent Britain, America and some other countries had the problem of labour shortage no doubt,—but what about India?

In a country where the unemployment of crores of people has become a tremendous and baffling problem, the application of labour-saving machines is murderous in so far as this will aggravate the problem of unemployment, far less lessen it. The factory-owners will tend to, as they are tending now, 'efficient' machines more and more and thereby drive the human labour out. Also the ordinary people of India have neither the power nor the desire to go Western-way. Ours is a land predominantly agricultural. The life-blood of this land is vested in its seven hundred thousand villages. From any reason and any conceivable approach, India's decision cannot but be decentralization. Let us pause and ponder.

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THE HEAVY CHEMICAL INDUSTRIES

By J. V. RAMANA, B.A., B.SC.,
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The Heavy Chemical Industries occupy a key position in a country's industrial economy and the economic regeneration of our country in particular depends to a large extent on our ability to turn the potentialities at our disposal to proper account. Industrialization is naturally followed by a rapid growth of the chemical industries which form the very basis of national defence. The two world wars have proved beyond doubt the importance of the chemical industries in the scheme of national defence and our country obviously cannot afford to neglect their development and jeopardise her newly won freedom. These heavy chemical industries are important not only for general economic development but for the development of other small-scale industries as well. The products of the heavy chemicals industry form the basic raw materials used in almost all other industries.

The Indian chemical industry has only been of recent growth. Chemical industries were unknown in the pre-war days in India, our requirements being met mostly by imports from abroad. Acute shortage of chemicals was felt for the first time during the early years of World War I as a result of the stoppage of imports. The demand of chemicals for defence purposes was also keenly felt and this led to the starting of a few chemical works mostly in the cities of Bombay and Calcutta. A few plants were set up for the manufacture of sulphuric acid and its allied products. The production of chemicals like Nitric Acid, Toluene, etc., used in the manufacture of explosives, also received immediate encouragement. The heavy chemicals industry however had a great impetus during the recent World War which led to the stabilization and rapid growth of the industry in our country.

The various chemical industries that need immediate development in India are the manufacture, for example, of mineral acids, paints and varnishes, drugs and medicines, dyestuffs, fine chemicals, photographic chemicals, fertilizers, plastics, glass, pharmaceuticals, rubber, enamels, and ceramics. As the industries happen to be too many, classification of the most important heavy chemicals may be made for the sake of convenience under three heads as (*a*) sulphuric acid and the products derived from it, (*b*) the caustic alkalis and soda ash and lastly (*c*) miscellaneous heavy chemicals like ammonia, bichromates, bleaching powder, etc.

(a) *Sulphuric acid* : Sulphuric acid is a vital basic chemical and its importance and utility in other industries has been universally recognized. The total consumption of this important acid in industry is supposed to denote in general the industrial prosperity of a country.

Sulphuric acid as such finds use in leather tanning, in textiles, in the production of explosives, in nonferrous metallurgy, and in filling the accumulators. The acid plays an equally important role in the manufacture of certain auxiliary chemicals such as:

(*i*) Ammonium sulphate and superphosphate used as fertilizers;
(*ii*) Hydrochloric and nitric acids used in the production of explosives;
(*iii*) Ferrous sulphate, magnesium sulphate and the bichromates used in textiles;
(*iv*) And aluminium sulphate and alums used in purification of water and in leather-tanning.

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contact process the maximum concentration is directly obtained after the oxidation of sulphur dioxide into the trioxide and its dissolution in water.

The annual production of the acid in our country is roughly estimated to be about 80,000 tons. The imports of the acid from abroad are very low owing to the difficulties in transportation, the high freight charges and also because of the hazardous nature of the acid. As a result of this the sulphuric acid industry enjoys a natural protection. Bengal stands first in the production of the acid and the production at other centres like the Punjab and Madras needs development at a later date when there is an improvement in the position of the raw materials.

The acid is used in other countries principally for the manufacture of fertilisers like ammonium sulphate and the superphosphates but unfortunately our total production of the acid is so low that it does not warrant its profitable use in the manufacture of fertilizers. In Soviet Russia, about three-fourths of the total quantity of the acid produced is directly made use of in the manufacture of fertilizers. In spite of our country being predominantly agricultural, only a small quantity of the acid produced is employed in its manufacture, obviously for reasons of economy and the acid thus conserved is utilized in the development of other auxiliary industries.

Hydrochloric acid, another important mineral acid like the sulphuric, finds a variety of uses in industry. It is employed in the manufacture of chlorides, such as the zinc chloride and ferric chloride and also in the textile industry.

The method of production of the acid in our country is by the decomposition of common salt with sulphuric acid. The sodium sulphate obtained as an important by-product is used in the preparation of glauber's salt and in the paper industry. The synthetic acid is also now-a-days produced by the direct combination of hydrogen and chlorine in the gaseous form, which are obtained as by-products in the electrolytic manufacture of caustic soda. This method is certain to have a bright future in our country because of the cheapness in the cost of production compared to the chemical process.

Nitric acid ranks in importance on a par with the sulphuric acid because of its extensive use in the manufacture of explosives and in fertilizers. The acid quite apart from its utility in the production of munitions is of considerable importance in the manufacture of diazodyes and aromatic nitro compounds.

The method of production of the acid as is adopted in India at present is by the decomposition of the sodium or potassium nitrate with sulphuric acid. The production of the acid is carried out by most of the sulphuric acid manufacturers. The catalytic method of production of the acid by the oxidation of ammonia has not been attempted yet on an industrial scale in our country and the method is bound to have a bright future if the fertilizer industry is developed on a large scale. This method has another distinct advantage of being quite independent of sulphuric acid of which we are in short supply. The production of the acid increased enormously during the war period because of its immediate need in the manufacture of munitions for defence purposes. The annual production is likely to increase to a considerable extent if the dyestuffs industry is established in our country, the possibilities of which are being explored by the Government of India.

(b) *The Caustic alkalies* : The manufacture of caustic alkalies and their allied products undoubtedly forms another important unit in the field of heavy chemical industries.

Sodium hydroxide or caustic soda as it is called is a chemical of very great importance and is an essential requisite for many other industries like textiles, paper, dyestuffs, soap manufacture, etc Caustic soda can be produced by two different processes, the electrolytic and the chemical methods, the raw material in the electrolytic method being pure common salt. The prominent manufacturers of this product in our country are the Mettur Chemicals, Mettur Dam, and the Tata Chemicals at Mithapur.

The electrolytic plant at Mettur Dam which started production of the alkali in 1941 has a production capacity of about five tons per day. The Tata Chemicals plant at Mithapur has an annual capacity of about 2000 tons, the process adopted being electrolytic. Bleaching powder is manufactured from the chlorine obtained as a by-product in the manufacture of caustic soda.

The indigenous manufacture of caustic soda was almost negligible before the World War II, in spite of the indispensable nature of the chemical in running other consumer industries. Most of our requirements of the alkali are met from foreign imports which are found to be quite cheap. As the packing and transportation of caustic soda do not present any difficulties as in the case of sulphuric acid, the imports are made cheap and as a result of this, indigenous production has been seriously handicapped. The Indian Tariff Board which examined the prospects of this industry in 1946 recommended protection to the local producers of caustic soda.

The imports of the alkali before the war were quite satisfactory, but the situation considerably deteriorated with the outbreak of hostilities and owing to the scarcity of supplies, some sort of control had to be enforced by the government, in order to conserve the stocks for defence purposes. The shortage of supplies during the war period pointed out the immediate need to make ourselves self-sufficient in our requirements of the alkali. The imports of the product are to be regulated by governmental control till we reach a position of self-sufficiency in the matter of production. The problem has to be tackled

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THE HEAVY CHEMICAL INDUSTRIES

By J. V. RAMANA, B.A., B.SC.,
Lecturer in Chemistry, Government College, Cuddapah

The Heavy Chemical Industries occupy a key position in a country's industrial economy and the economic regeneration of our country in particular depends to a large extent on our ability to turn the potentialities at our disposal to proper account. Industrialization is naturally followed by a rapid growth of the chemical industries which form the very basis of national defence. The two world wars have proved beyond doubt the importance of the chemical industries in the scheme of national defence and our country obviously cannot afford to neglect their development and jeopardise her newly won freedom. These heavy chemical industries are important not only for general economic development but for the development of other small-scale industries as well. The products of the heavy chemicals industry form the basic raw materials used in almost all other industries.

The Indian chemical industry has only been of recent growth. Chemical industries were unknown in the pre-war days in India, our requirements being met mostly by imports from abroad. Acute shortage of chemicals was felt for the first time during the early years of World War I as a result of the stoppage of imports. The demand of chemicals for defence purposes was also keenly felt and this led to the starting of a few chemical works mostly in the cities of Bombay and Calcutta. A few plants were set up for the manufacture of sulphuric acid and its allied products. The production of chemicals like Nitric Acid, Toluene, etc., used in the manufacture of explosives, also received immediate encouragement. The heavy chemicals industry however had a great impetus during the recent World War which led to the stabilization and rapid growth of the industry in our country.

The various chemical industries that need immediate development in India are the manufacture, for example, of mineral acids, paints and varnishes, drugs and medicines, dyestuffs, fine chemicals, photographic chemicals, fertilizers, plastics, glass, pharmaceuticals, rubber, enamels, and ceramics. As the industries happen to be too many, classification of the most important heavy chemicals may be made for the sake of convenience under three heads as (*a*) sulphuric acid and the products derived from it, (*b*) the caustic alkalis and soda ash and lastly (*c*) miscellaneous heavy chemicals like ammonia, bichromates, bleaching powder, etc.

(a) *Sulphuric acid* : Sulphuric acid is a vital basic chemical and its importance and utility in other industries has been universally recognized. The total consumption of this important acid in industry is supposed to denote in general the industrial prosperity of a country.

Sulphuric acid as such finds use in leather tanning, in textiles, in the production of explosives, in nonferrous metallurgy, and in filling the accumulators. The acid plays an equally important role in the manufacture of certain auxiliary chemicals such as :

(*i*) Ammonium sulphate and superphosphate used as fertilizers;
(*ii*) Hydrochloric and nitric acids used in the production of explosives;
(*iii*) Ferrous sulphate, magnesium sulphate and the bichromates used in textiles;
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by setting up more plants for the manufacture of the alkali, and if necessary, adequate steps should be taken by the government itself in installing a few plants for its manufacture.

Sodium carbonate commercially known as soda ash, is another indispensable raw material required in the development of a large number of other industries. Soda ash is consumed in large quantities in the textile industry where owing to the mild alkaline nature of the substance it is made use of for cleaning the fabrics and yarn. The glass and ceramics industry also consumes the substance to a large extent.

The Ammonia soda process or the Solvay's process is followed for the manufacture of soda ash and two plants are operating on this process in our country. As the cost of production of indigenous soda ash does not permit an economic working, imports are being made on a large scale to meet our demands, and the prospects of the industry appear to be rather gloomy.

(c) *Miscellaneous Heavy Chemicals*: A large number of chemicals like the bichromates of sodium and potassium, bleaching powder, glycerine, sodium thiosulphate, potassium chlorate, potassium permanganate, litharge, white lead, ammonia, etc., can be classified under this head but only a few will be dealt with in detail below.

The chromates of sodium and potassium are chemicals of outstanding importance and find a variety of uses in many industries. They are largely used in the leather industry for the chrome tanning of leather and in the manufacture of chrome colours or chrome pigments which find considerable use in the paint industry. Chromic acid is employed in the electroplating industry.

The chief raw material, the chrome iron ore of fairly good quality is available in Mysore and in Bihar. The other raw materials like lime and sulphuric acid are available in sufficient quantities to meet the requirements of this industry, soda ash alone being imported from abroad in view of the local production of it being negligible.

At present in our country there are about a dozen plants engaged in the manufacture of bichromates, the largest among them being the Cawnpore chemical works, Cawnpore, and the Buckingham and Carnatic Mills, Madras. As Madras and Kanpur happen to be centres of leather-tanning, location of more plants in these areas promises a bright future for the bichromate industry. The machinery required for the production of the bichromates can be easily manufactured in our own country and we can anticipate with some optimism that she would be quite independent of foreign supplies within a short time.

Another chemical of importance is ammonia, which finds considerable use in the refrigeration industry. It is used in the rubber industry for vulcanizing and in the manufacture of ammonium sulphate which finds extensive use as an artificial manure. It is also employed as a condensing agent in the plastic industry, which is still in an infant stage in our country and in the production of cuprammonium silk.

Anhydrous ammonia is produced on a very meagre scale, the local production being very small compared to our actual demands. Ammonia can be produced by several methods, the synthetic method of manufacture being the best and the most popular. It is high time that efforts were made for the installation of at least a few plants in some important industrial centres for the manufacture of synthetic ammonia. The recovery of ammonia from the coal-tar distillates undoubtedly is a very cheap process and can be successfully undertaken on a large scale to meet at least a part of our demands.

Bleaching powder and chlorine are chemicals of equal importance—the former being manufactured from the chlorine obtained as a by-product in the electrolytic manufacture of caustic soda. The chief Indian producers of bleaching powder are the Travancore Chemicals and the Mettur Chemicals. In our country bleaching powder is consumed to the extent of about 12,000 tons per annum, more than 50 per cent being used up by the paper mills and the rest being utilised in the textile industry and in the manufacture of other essential chemicals.

The Indian production of bleaching powder and chlorine is steadily going up and within a short time it would be quite sufficient to meet our entire requirements. If a few additional plants are installed for the production of caustic alkali, our country would definitely be in a sound position to meet all her requirements of chlorine for the pharmaceutical and other industries as well.

Our Indian chemical industry, as has been pointed out, is in a backward state, compared to the scientifically and industrially advanced nations of the West and is in need of urgent and immediate development. The two grave handicaps which seem to threaten the development of this industry in our country are the absence of technical manpower and the necessary industrial equipment. It would be only suicidal to depend for ever on technical assistance from outside for our industrial development and efforts should be made for the training of skilled personnel in our own country. All this requires a close co-operation between the men of science of the universities and the big industrialists in addition to government help. It is the paramount duty of industrialists and business magnates to extend their sympathy and co-operation to the national government in advancing the country's industrial progress. The government are doing their best in this direction in spite of the anaemic state of our finances and we can hope with some measure of confidence that the heavy chemical industries will have a bright future in our country.

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Book Reviews

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EDITOR, *The Modern Review*.

ENGLISH

BRITISH MALAYA: *An account of the origin and progress of British influence in Malaya. By Sir Frank Swettenham. Published by George Allen and Unwin, Ltd., London. Forty-nine illustrations and a map. Pp. 330. Price 21 shillings.*

Ever since the date of its first publication in 1906, *British Malaya* by Sir Frank Swettenham has been recognised as the standard work on the subject. This is due not only to the weight of the author's official experience extending over all the active years of his life-time, but also to his intrinsic qualities of clearness, honesty and sound judgment. In this revised edition of the work which has replaced the revised edition of 1929, the author tells once more the story of "how the first British Residents (in Malaya) performed their difficult task" and "how they evolved a scheme of administration never before tried with a people of different colour, language and religion inhabiting a tropical country" and of the progress secured for the Malay states by "the efforts of their British advisers working hand in hand with the Malay Rulers, their chiefs and their people" (Introduction, p. vii). It is only fair to state that the narrative has been told not only with full documentary evidence, but what is more, with remarkable independence and freedom from racial bias. To take a few examples, referring to John Crawfurd's vaunt of Albuquerque and his seven hundred Europeans storming "the walls and entrenchments" of Malacca "that were guarded by 30,000 barbarians" (p. 15), he says with withering sarcasm, "Unfortunately, it is more than probable that the 700 Europeans, the 30,000 barbarians and the walls and entrenchments were equally imaginary." On p. 37*f* he shows cunningly how the circumstances of the British acquisition of Penang in 1786 exhibited "the cowardice of the East India Company, ending in a breach of faith which sullied the British name" and paved the way for the horrors of the Siamese invasion of Kedah in 1821. Coming to recent times he rightly finds fault with the financial policy of the Federated Malay States which had led them "to create a very large establishment with the houses, passages, leave-pay and especially the pensions for a great number of highly paid Government officials" (p. 352) and that of Johore where, in spite of the abundant resources of the State, a great deal is lacking in the way of road construction, water-supply and sanitation" (p. 354). His criticism of the constitutions of 1909 and 1927 (pp. 358-9), so far as they go, are just and proper, *e.g.*, when he condemns the combination of the offices of Governor of a Crown Colony and President of a Federal Council of Protected States and the wholesale nomination of non-official members of the Council. The author's discerning and very full review (Ch. VII) of the character of the Malayas, their customs, arts, language and literature is derived, as he rightfully claims, from "close intimacy with every class of Malay society" extending over many years. One of the attractions of this book is the justice which it renders to the memory of one of Britain's greatest empire-builders in the East, Sir Stamford Raffles. Describing in full the history of the foundation of Singapore, the author justly says (p. 73), "In all this no British party and no British Government can claim to have taken any part except by grudgingly assenting to what had been done, almost without their knowledge, entirely against their wishes. The man to whom the credit belongs gave his talents and his life to achieve an end which he believed to be necessary to the prestige, the power and the trade of England in the Far East." To the Government of British India he pays a generous tribute for its ungrudging help to the Malay States throughout their later history (p. 287). Of great interest to Indian historical scholars is the author's statement (p. 13) about the Indian origin of the names Singapore and Tamasak as well as his less convincing derivation of the Malayas from a cross between South Indian immigrants to Sumatra and the local people, who "gradually worked their way to Java, Singapore and the Malaya Peninsula, to Borneo, Celebes and the other islands of the Archipelago and even to the Philippines, Sulu, the Caroline Islands and perhaps to Formosa" (p. 144).

On the whole, the book, while throwing a flood of light on the past history of Malay under British rule or influence, offers little help for shaping its future. The author is full of admiration for the administration which accounted for "the phenomenal progress and development of Malay from the year 1874 to the year 1941," and he is completely out of sympathy with the recent constitutional changes tending to whittle down the rulers' powers and to advance democratic self-government (Introduction, pp. x-xiii). He forgets that the administrative frame-work of the past which he justly admires, must give way to the changing world-forces of the present. To quote the poet's words: "The old order changeth, yielding place to new." The paper, print, get-up and illustrations are excellent.

U. N. GHOSHAL

SOCIALISM AND THE NATIONAL REVOLUTION: *By Acharya Narendra Deva, edited by Yusuf Meherally. Published by the Padma Publications Ltd., Bombay. 1946. Pp. 208+xvi. Price Rs. 5-8.*

The book under review is a representative collection from the speeches and writings in the years 1934 to 1946, of Acharya Narendra Deva, one of

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the leading figures of the erstwhile Congress Socialist Party, now the Socialist Party, of India. Here we find an explanation and justification of the emergence of a new political party within the Congress from the pen of one who took a leading part in its formation. We find here also his observations on the dynamic role of the Indian peasant in recent times in the Indian Revolution and a number of other burning questions, such as the Constituent Assembly, the States' people, the communal problem in India, India in the post-war world, the Cabinet Mission, etc. He finds the justification for the rise of the Congress Socialist Party within the Congress instead of as an independent party, because even then the main problem was the attainment of national independence and the Congress was the rallying point of all the revolutionary forces in the country. At the same time in the context of the new world situation with the deepening crisis of the capitalistic order of society he along with his comrades found an urgent need for a reorientation in the policy and aims of the Congress, for broadbasing it on the support of the Indian masses which could be won only by adopting an economic programme based on the socialisation of the means of production and elimination of exploitation. If the formation of the party was justified then, in the context of attainment of independence its continuance is still more justified if for no other reason at least for organising an effective opposition to the party in power. In view of the changed correlation of forces brought about by the quittance of the British, the old role of the Congress as the only fighting organisation has disappeared and a new alignment of political forces has become urgent if democracy is to function at all. The Socialist Party has since severed its connection with the Congress and is functioning as an independent party pledged to fight the first general election in a free India on its own independent programme. The strength and appeal of the party in the country will soon be tested by the verdict of the electorate at the next elections. In any event the views and observations of one of the doyens of a very significant movement, a lifelong and valiant fighter in the freedom struggle and one of the leaders of thought of modern India are worth careful study and sympathetic understanding. The publishers are, therefore, to be congratulated on presenting to the public this useful collection of speeches and writings which has been very timely indeed.

AKSHOY KUMAR GHOSAL

SAVARKAR AND HIS TIMES : *By Dhananjay Keer. Published by A. V. Keer, 77 Bhageshwar Bhuvan, Lady Hardinge Road, Bombay, 26. Pp. 421 with Index. Price Rs. 10.*

The biographies of Vinayak Damodar Savarkar have been many; this is the latest for English-language readers. To us in Bengal, this flaming sword of Maharashtra Nationalism has been as inspiration since 1910 when he burst over the world's attention as the author of the *First War of Indian Independence of 1857* as the "Sepoy Mutiny" has been revalued in the light of history brought to a focus by this young scholar and revolutionary leader. But his long imprisonment in the Andamans has made him a distant figure, and we are thankful to Sree Dhananjay Keer for his full length life-sketch of Vinayakrao.

We have to confess, however, that this writer suffers from the defects inseparable from the spirit of hero-worship that fails to pay proper regard to the historic setting of his hero. The superlatives that he has spread over the book are uncalled for; for, Vinayak Damodar Savarkar will shine all the brighter if the background of his times is adequately drawn. This Dhananjay Keer has failed to do. Not to speak of all-India perspectives, the new awakening in Maharashtra, a part and symbol of the Indian Renaissance with its light and shade, is very disappointingly dealt with. Vinayak Damodar Savarkar is no freak; he is heir to the makers of Maharashtra, of Ramdas Swami Shivaji's *guru*; of Ranade, of Chiplunkar, of Tilak, of Agarkar, of Gokhale during the British period. The struggles of these men to rouse their people to a sense of shame and ignominy of their dependent existence as a subject people explain much of what Vinayakrao has been and has done. Narasimha Chintamon Kelkar's biography of Balwant Gangadhar Tilak should have been an exemplar to Savarkar's latest biographer.

We can understand the causes of this inadequacy. The Indian Press in general have misrepresented Vinayak Damodar Savarkar as a communalist reactionary, vowed to the cause of Hindu orthodoxy. The Indian public has been studiously kept in the dark with regard to his activities as a reformer of social conduct. Chapter IX of this book (pp. 153-), entitled "Social Revolution" tells us the story of Vinayakrao worked mightily for the removal of touchability, for temple-entry for the *achhyuts* from 1924 to 1937, the years which saw him interned in Ratnagiri district, his political activities banned and his other activities restricted by the British bureaucracy. It shows Vinayakrao as a social revolutionary in line with the makers of modern India from Raja Mohun Roy downwards.

If the present volume helps to penetrate the veil of organized silence put up by political prejudice and narrowness, it will have served its purpose. To restore Vinayakrao to his legitimate place as a leader of thought and action in India during the last days of British rule is not an easy task. Many more biographies, more balanced, will be required for the necessary task.

S. C. D.

MY LIFE'S PARTNER : *A translation of Motilal Roy's Bengali book "Jivana-Sangini" by P. Mahalanobis. Prabartak Publishers, Calcutta. Pp. + iv. Price Rs. 5.*

The book depicts the heroic struggle of Chandernagar nationalist leader Motilal *Sangini* and the inspiration he derived from his life's partner who helped him to become what he is now. The story is interesting, as, beyond the personal life of the couple we are told something of the history of our national awakening and the Swadeshi Movement and the part played by Sri Aurobindo and others in it. The translation is good but it cannot satisfy us who can read the book in the original, where there is poetry mingled with history ; but in the English version we have only the history.

GURU GOVIND SINGH : *By Devendra Chatterjee. Published by the author from Chinsurah nagore. Illustrated. Price Re. 1-8*

The monograph is the English translation of Govind Singh (in Bengali) by Basanta Kumar Roy. Guru Govind is rightly regarded as one of the immortals of Indian history. He appeared on the scene at a very critical time in the history of the Sikhs and by lofty patriotism, martial ardour and religious zeal of the Guru breathed a new life into the Sikh community, transformed it into a martial nation and by doing laid the foundation of its future greatness. The monograph under review gives an account of the life and doings of the great Guru who is acknowledged

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the second founder of Sikhism. It is much to be regretted that the life and achievements of so grand a personality as Guru Govind should be treated in the manner in which it has been done in the present monograph. The style and the manner of presentation are equally unsatisfactory. The fault perhaps is not so much the translator's as the original author's. The monograph, however, gives an authentic account of the life and achievements of the last of the Sikh Gurus.

SUDHANSU BIMAL MOOKHERJI

SUN-BLOSSOMS : *By Nirodbaran. Published by Sri Aurobindo Circle, Bombay, Nair Hospital Compound, Bombay Central Station. Pp. i—iii+112. Price Rs. 4-8.*

Poetry is something akin to religion. Both poetry and religion draw their strength from and have their sustenance in emotional fervour. Nirodbaran's poetry cannot certainly be classified as religious: it is rather spiritual. But in the field of poetry what is spiritual and mystic is cognate to religion. The *Sun-blossoms* is a collection of about a century of poems essentially lyrical in tone. Intensity of passion which is a characteristic of lyric poetry is present there, but it is a very different kind of passion. Some of the poems are marked with tranquillity, some with a yearning for the beauty of the Infinite and some are a-glow with imagination, and though they bear a close resemblance to poems of love and nature they are really the expression of the poet's spiritual emotion.

Heart alone is not the seat of poetry. Poetry is not simply an expression of our feelings. A school of poetry has recently arisen which is concerned more with the Spirit than with external life. Sri Aurobindo is the source of inspiration of this Pondicherry school of poetry. A poet, philosopher and spiritual leader of a very high order, Sri Aurobindo's influence has created an atmosphere congenial for the art of poetry to thrive. But it is the personality and *sadhana* of the expounder of Divine Life rather than his poetry that have influenced this school of poets. And Nirodbaran's place is high among them. The underlying philosophy of devotion and self-surrender is a characteristic of this school. The quest after the remote begins after he hears the call of light :

O purple glory of Light, thy mystic call
Echoes in my heart as in a hollow cave.

He feels that He will reveal the secret Truth :

And life with golden wings of vision sail
Across the spirit's unnavigated seas.

And in "Moon-Flood" he prays :

Let thy silver silence pour
Wonder-rays of the moon
On my lonely sand-grey shore,
Suddenly jewel-strewn.

His imagination soars high and in "Haloed Face" he says :

Poised in an eagle-calm my thoughts flow
Over dark ranges of night
Burdened with the hues of some invisible glow
Of a sun-dripping light.

And he sings :

My burdened heart becomes a song
Drunk with the wine of sleep
Poured from the bodiless fire-throng
In caves of a luminous deep.

In "Silver Wonder" he observes :

A divine beauty wakes now everywhere;
Nature becomes a white
Altar of Grace, an everlasting prayer
Towards the Infinite.

With rapture Nirodbaran describes the awakening of the soul :

Till from fathomless depth awakes the soul
Into a rhythmic universe of Light,
And the two extremities of heaven and soul
Merge in the timeless heart of the Infinite.

In the Foreword to this volume Kishor H. [illegible] says : "The height and intensity of the poet's inspiration no doubt varies, but even at his lowest, he never forsakes the intuitive felicity of the [illegible] inspired word and vision." Though sometimes [illegible] the way, Nirodbaran's poetry is rich in imagery. It seldom slipshod, and the quality of his [illegible] sometimes exquisite. Above all, there is the true of poetry in the poems presented in this volume.

SAILENDRAKRISHNA [illegible]

KALI THE MOTHER : *By Sister Nivedita. Advaita Ashrama, Mayawati, Almora, Himalayas.*

Sister Nivedita delivered her famous lecture "Kali the Mother" on February 13, 1899 in Cal[illegible] There was much misconception about the goddess at that time in the mind of the educated Be[illegible] so much so that no one could be had to preside the meeting at which she made the speech. Ac[illegible] to Sir Jadunath Sarkar, "Nothing daunted, Ni[illegible] delivered her lecture in the meeting with[illegible] president. Kali, the Mother, she said, is the k[illegible] darkness, the punisher of evildoers. She represents necessary moral vigour and courage. *Nayam balhinena lavya*—the Supreme Soul cannot be [illegible] by the weak,—thus she showed a great lesson followed by future India, in the Kali worship."

From the caption of this small book one [illegible] led to believe that it is a reprint of the above le[illegible] But it is not so. In the publisher's Preface we come know that the book was printed in 1897 in En[illegible] for the enlightenment of the Westerners regarding Kali cult and Kali worship. But the fundamental regarding our "Kali the Mother" was the s[illegible] both. This is the first Indian reprint and contains following chapters: Concerning Symbols; The V[illegible] Siva; Two Saints of Kali; The Voice of the M[illegible] A Visit to Dukhineshwar; An Intercession; The [illegible] of Kali for a Western Baby. The poem on "Ka[illegible] Mother" by Swami Vivekananda is appropriately in the end. Though our idea about Kali has gone a tremendous change by now, yet the book be highly cherished by the modern Indian re[illegible] Advaita Ashrama has done a real service by pu[illegible] this book and making it easily available for the

JOGESH C. B[illegible]

ASTRONOMICAL EPHEMERIS FOR 1951 [illegible] *lished by Shree Jiwaji Observatory, Ujjain. Price*

Ujjain, the cultural centre of the Hindu [illegible] nomy, is keeping up its reputation by such p[illegible] tions as the one under review. Indian Standard has been used throughout. We have checked [illegible] the figures at random; and found them to be from printing mistakes. Calcutta astrologers [illegible] the table as the difference in latitude between cutta and Ujjain is less than half a degree.

J. M. D[illegible]

SANSKRIT

ATMABODHA: *By Swami Nikhilananda. Ramakrishna Math, Mylapore, Madras 4. Price*

SRIMAD-BHAGAVADGITA: *By Swami [illegible] eswarananda. Sri Ramakrishna Math, [illegible] Price Re.*

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The Ramakrishna Math of Mylapore is doing valuable work in disseminating Indian culture among people who have scanty knowledge of Sanskrit by publishing handsome editions of well-known Sanskrit texts on Hindu religion and philosophy accompanied by translations and annotations in English. The volumes under review which show how the work is being carried on fully justifies the object of the institution. The first volume is the Indian edition of its American proto-type with the addition of Sanskrit texts not given in the latter. It contains besides the text and annotated translation of the metrical Vedantic treatise *Atmabodha* of Sankaracharya, texts and metrical translations of some of the beautiful hymns addressed to different deities and attributed to the great philosopher. The *Anandalahari*, one of the sublimest hymns in Sanskrit, has not been included presumably on account of its length but we miss it very much. The introduction gives a short popular account of the main principles of Vedanta. The Preface in seeking to refute misconceptions regarding Sankara's philosophy asserts that 'the liberated man engages in service to humanity (p. xiii).' A similar hint is given in the attractive description of the liberated man in the Introduction (p. 148). We do not know how far the suggestion is borne out by authoritative texts or orthodox interpretation thereof.

The second volume gives the text and translation of the *Srimadbhagavadgita* and the translation of the well-known commentary of the same by Sridhara Swami which was not so long available to the English reader. Literal translation of a Sanskrit commentary which occasionally incorporates or simply analyses the words of the text it interprets is a very difficult job. To distinguish the words of the text from those of the commentary the words of the translation of the text have been put in italics in the present volume. A more helpful and better course, it seems, would have been to use the original words of the text to be followed by the translation of the statements of the commentary.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

BENGALI

YOGABALE ROGA-AROGYA : *By Swami Shivananda Saraswati. Published by Umachal Prakasani, 68/1/2K Raja Dinendra Street, Calcutta 6. Pp. 317. Price Rs. 5.*

The author of the book under review is already known to the Bengali readers by his two previous publications on yogic exercises. This book, as the title signifies, deals with the cure of various acute and chronic diseases by the practice of yogic poses and breathing exercises. It is divided into five chapters of which the first contains a short account of physiology and pathology according to yogic science and Ayurveda. The second chapter gives descriptions, causes, symptoms and dietetics of as many as 62 serious diseases, such as dyspepsia, acidity, dysentery, jaundice, constipation, leprosy, goitre, spermatorrhoea, pleurisy and others. About two-thirds of the whole book is occupied by this chapter. the description of diseases given in this book is so elaborate that it should more rightly be called a medical book than a yogic manual. In the third chapter yogic asanas, mudras and pranayamas are briefly stated just as in his previous two books on yogic exercises. This repetition, being redundant, reduces the importance of the present book. The fourth chapter discusses the good and evil effects of medicine and the last deals with unhealthy sexual life as well as ideal conjugal life. Sexual matters have been often indulgently treated as attractiveness and appeal to a vulgarity. But vulgarity should be avoided as far as practicable in a book of yogic therapy.

Swami Kuvalayananda of Bombay, who is the chief disciple of the famous Bengali Yogi Madhavdas of Malsar, is the modern pioneer of yogic science. His scientific investigations in yogic asanas and pranayama published in his quarterly *Yoga Mimamsa* and his two books *Asanas* and *Pranayama*, have attracted the attention of the modern world. On the basis of his unprecedented researches *yogic asanas* are now practised as physical and curative exercises in several provinces of India and even in the far distant Yale University of U.S.A. It is a thousand pities that Swami Shivananda does not acknowledge his indebtedness or even makes a passing mention of Swami Kuvalayanada, in this or other two books. My Bengali manual of yogic exercises in two parts contains a portrait and a life-sketch of the great yogi Madhavdas. The illustrations of the yogic poses given in this book are printed on ordinary paper, and not on art paper. Thus they are very indistinct and consequently useless to the readers. In order to be attractive to the modern mind a book on yoga should be both scriptural and scientific. But the present book has hardly come up to that standard. Without the help of an expert this book will not be useful to the readers in the application of yogic therapy. At the end of the book the author strongly accuses of plagiarism Sri Buddhadev Bose, the well-known Bengali athlete.

SWAMI JAGADISWARANANDA

HINDI

SANYUKTA PRANTA KI APRADHI JATIYAN: *By Prakash Narayan Saksena. Published by U. P. Discharged Prisoners Aid Society, Old Post Office, Lucknow. Pp. 235. Price Rs. 3-8.*

A historical and sociological account of the criminal tribes in U. P., written with exceptional sympathy and sufficiency of information. It is a pioneer work, well worth emulating by probationary officers in the other provinces. G. M.

GUJARATI

DHARMATMA GOKHLE : *By Gandhiji. Navajivan Prakasan Mandir, Ahmedabad. February, 1950. Price nine annas.*

A collection of nine articles written by Gandhiji from 1912 to 1928, on Gokhale whom Gandhiji had proclaimed from many a platform as his political *guru*. The simple and sincere tribute paid by Gandhiji is touching indeed, and many a trait can be found common to both. Shri Kishorilal Mashruwala fittingly prefaces the selection with an anecdote about Gokhale, which shows the man and his technique, and he quotes verses from the Upanishads to point out how in Gokhale and Gandhi, *guru* and *chela* (master and disciple), had been evenly matched, and to exclaim how blessed was Gokhale to find disciples like "Gandhi, Shastri and Thakkar"! The publication is opportune and it may pave the way for planning the centenary of Gokhale's birth in a suitable manner.

P. R. SEN

ITA KAVYO ((and all others excepting Ratan) : *By Chandravadan C. Mehta, B.A. Published by the Bharati Sahitya Sangha, Ltd., Ahmedabad. 1948. Illustrated jacket. Thick card-board. Pp. 175. Price Rs. 2-8.*

So far as *Ita Kavyo* are concerned the first edition that came out in 1933 is exhaustive and this is the second edition. The other poems are selections from the production of Mr. Mehta's everflowing pen and keep up the name he has made of writing feeling and impressive verses. Each poem has its own charm,

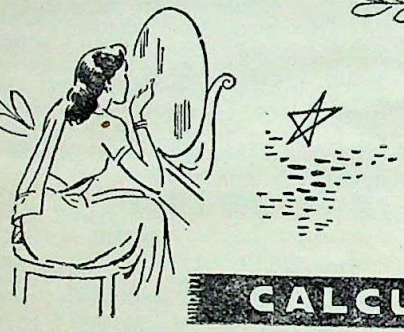
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INDIAN PERIODICALS

Need of Revolution in the System of Education

The nation cannot get rid of mental slavery without the push of a revolutionary change in the Indian educational system. Prof. Indra Vidyavachaspati writes in *The Hindustan Review* :

The chief objects of the educational system started in India by the English Government in the beginning of the 19th century can be clearly seen in the words of Lord Macaulay, the chief protagonist of English Education, and other English writers and rulers. Those objects were as follows :

(a) To create in India a class of educated Indians who could be Indians only in appearance but in thought and way of living, English.

(b) To prepare such men who may be appointed to subordinate Government posts.

(c) To spread the precious literature of the West in place of what the English considered to be worthless and trivial literature of India.

(d) To carry out these objects, the educational system started in India had five special features:

(i) Hindi and Sanskrit were boycotted and English was given the first place in education.

(ii) English was made the medium of instruction.

(iii) While preparing text books on subjects such as History, it was kept in view that in them the ancient Indians be maligned, and modern Europe be praised in every way.

(iv) Thus while Western education was imparted to the prosperous and higher classes of society, the 99 percent people of the country were left in utter ignorance, and if any thing was done for them at all, it was next to nothing.

(v) The Pathshalas meant to spread knowledge among the common people stopped functioning either because they were ignored or because they were deliberately closed.

The consequence of this scheme and other such schemes was that in a few years while the majority of Indians were left illiterate, a handful of Indians having got English education and adopted English ways and mentality, ceased to be Indians except by birth and became the chief props of the British rule.

For several years this process of denationalisation of Indians by the British Government went on uninterruptedly.

Gradually, thanks to internal reforms and international situation, the sentiment of nationalisation began to rise in the country and along with it, the attention of a few educated Indians began to be drawn to the pitiable plight of Indian education. In course of time, several reformers inspired by the national sentiments began to start such institutions in which arrangement was made to teach Western knowledge along with Indian language, Indian culture and Indian science. Moreover, thoughtful patriots like Gopal Krishna Gokhale drew the attention of the Government and of the people towards the education of the masses.

The national agitation continuously went on gaining strength, and consequently the desire for national education became more and more acute throughout the land.

Eventually all these factors began to affect the steel frame bureaucracy, and after setting up several committees and commissions, a few modifications here and there were made in the system of education started in the time of Lord Macaulay. But one thing can be said with certainty and established by statistics, that in spite of all the aforesaid opposition, the British Government continued till 15th August 1947 fundamentally the same system of education in India which they had initiated a 100 years back. We have to admit with regret that, though the English have gone, yet the stamp of mental slavery to which we were ceaselessly subjected for a hundred years, still exists. The speeches, writings and the example of Mahatma Gandhi have inculcated the lesson of nationalism and due to its influence some change is visible on the surface, but if we look beneath, we discover love of English ways in the educated Indian. He believes that our own language lacks the power to express the sentiments of the heart which the English language possesses. He is persuaded that dhoti and shirt may be suitable for social functions, yet for efficient work what is needed is either bush-shirt or achkan. He believes that by discussing ancient India or Indian culture our country will fall in the estimation of the foreigners and if that happened, we shall be nowhere. Our body is clad in khaddar, no doubt, but Western sentiment and English language dominate our minds powerfully as before.

The People in the Workshop

Writing from first-hand experience of factory, R. M. Fox observes in an article in *The Aryan Path* that democratic principles should be applied to industry, in the interest of democracy itself no less than in the workers' interest :

The factory is the forcing ground for a view of life that excludes beauty, freedom and compassion. In my pre-war study of industrialism I wrote :

"The factory standard, if it is not corrected, may, succeed in spreading a horrible blight over life as it has already done over the industrial towns. If the advance of a rigid, unlovely utilitarianism goes on it may be that stern justice will be meted out to those lovers of beauty who failed to protest when degrading conditions were meted out to others. Just as people become reconciled to living and working in squalor—of body and spirit—so they come to accept this as the normal and proper condition and, as unconscious victims, become the apostles of ugliness, imposing it by sheer mass weight upon their fellows."

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The history of the war and post-war years has underlined the truth of these words. The world is still facing the threat of totalitarian standards. When the mass of industrial workers are geared to the factory plant they are no longer considered as individuals. They figure as part of the industrial unit, an item of labour cost. In such a setting, human dignity ceases to have meaning.

One great weakness of liberal thought is that it has dodged the application of democratic principles to industry and has taken refuge in political abstractions. Democratic practice must apply to the everyday lives of the people in the workshop if it is to mean anything to them.

How can this be done? One way to start is to insist on a greater variety of occupation in the workshop and a greater degree of responsibility for every worker in the conduct of industry. It is a relatively simple matter to train workers to do different kinds of work. The farm labourer, without the aid of wonderful machines, is able to manage a whole range of jobs. It is, of course, much easier to chain each worker down to some simple repetitive process. In general the factory worker is sacrificed to office systems.

Besides variety of work, more responsibility and a share in workshop control—through works-councils—is another antidote to totalitarianism. To imagine that men can be subservient tools in the workshop and independent, alert, responsible citizens in the world outside is to imagine a vain thing.

Is the evil inherent in the very nature of industrialism? The medieval guildists who have urged going back to handicrafts have argued that this is so. But they are mistaken. Modern industry is the means of increasing mastery over the forces of nature in the service of man. But man must be the central consideration. Industrialists have declared proudly that modern industry is based on power. It is also based on men and it is not wisdom to ignore this. The core of the problem is to give to the industrial workers that scope which their intelligence, their aptitudes and their needs demand. Until this is done there will be social explosions.

Some years ago I listened to the Indian poet, Rabindranath Tagore, speaking in Oxford on "The Message of the Forest." In beautiful words which he knew so well how to command, he contrasted the emphasis on spiritual resources in Eastern philosophy with the slick, enamelled, superficial outlook of Western civilization. He urged that to balance humanity we must not only have the technical knowledge and mechanical skill of the West but also the *feeling for life* shared by the simple and the learned in those places where industrial civilization had not stamped the spirit of man into the mud.

Writers must always stand for the free human spirit. This is a stand which should be taken in the East and in the West. They must insist that, in industrialized countries, the workshop should serve as a working model of democracy. Those writers and thinkers who ignore the workshop and its problems, while pleading for a freer world, should realize that they are leaving out of account large areas of modern life which can exert the greatest amount of mass pressure for good or for ill. The workshop is the kernel of all our social problems. Once the relation of the individual to his means of livelihood is put on a proper foundation, we should be within reach of solving those social questions which throw up, like distorting mirrors, images of the mal-adjustments existing in modern industry today.

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A Forgotten City of Bengal

Natabar Datta, writes in *The Calcutta Municipal Gazette* :

Saptagram was the capital of Bengal in the Hindu and Muhammadan periods and was the residence of the Kings of the country. The city was 16 miles in area and consisted of seven Wards (villages) *viz.*, Triveni, Debanandapur, Shibpur, Shankhapur, Bansabati (Bansberia), Vashudebpur, and Krishnapur. It has a unique place in the history of Bengal and it had once the same position as Calcutta occupies in the present era. It was the principal port and chief commercial centre of Bengal of the Hindu and Muhammadan periods. Its name and fame has been elaborately mentioned in the ancient literatures of Bengal as well as that of India, *viz.*, the Mahabharata, Ramayana, Shrimad-Bhagabatam, Skanda-Puranam, Manasha-Mangal, Kavikankan-Chandi, Chaitanya-Bhagabata, Chaitanya-Charitamrita, Bhakti-Ratnakar, Tabaqati-i-Nasiri by Minhaj, etc., etc.

The City in History

The name and fame of Saptagram has been mentioned by many eminent historians of this country and abroad and by the authors of the old days.

The Roman historian Pliny, in the middle of the 1st Century A.D., in his book *Historia Naturalis* (translated by Philemon) mentioned Triveni which was a Ward of Saptagram.

Riazu-S-Salatin, by Ghulam Hossain Salim, translated from the original Persian by Maulavi Abdus Salam (1902) page 48, states :

"Sarkar Satgaon comprised a small portion to the west of Hughly, whilst a large portion comprised the modern districts of the 24-Parganas to Kapadak river (Kapotaksha), western Nadia, south-western Murshidabad and extending to Hatiabagh (Hatiagarh) below Diamond Harbour." To this Sarkar Province belonged the Mohal Kalkata (Calcutta) which together with two other Mahals (sub-divisions) paid in 1582 A.D., a land revenue of Rs. 23,405.

In *Lekh Mallika*, an old Bengali manuscript, it has been stated that "There was a Samaj (Association) of Benias at Mahasthan. In the town of Sakarma, Gour, Garveswar Datta was the merchant in chief. Those Benias used to go for trade, by voyage in big vessels filled with merchandise, to Lanka (Ceylon), etc., through Gour and Saptagram."

Other References

The celebrated Chinese traveller Hiuan Tsang, who visited India in the seventh century A.D., wrote in his diary : "After performing the *Navaratri* festival (Sharadiya Durga Puja), on the Bijoya-Dasami day (the tenth day of full moon) the Hindu traders used to set out for trade with merchandise, by land and voyage. These Indian traders used to carry their merchandise to Greece, Somaliland, Kushadwipa, Shankhadwipa, Java, etc., for trade. They also used to carry muslin, pearl, sugar, etc., for sale and brought ivory, crystal, gold, black-wood wares, etc., to India."

In the Ramayana, by Krittibasa Ojha (1385 A.D.), it has been stated that Saptagram was a famous and peerless city and a place of great sanctity and pilgrimage of the Hindus, as sacred as Prayaga (Allahabad).

Raghunandan Bhattachariee (fifteenth century A.D.), the Hindu law-maker, in his famous book *Prayaschitta-Tattwa* quoted a *sloka* from the Maha-Bharata : "On the south of Pradumnyanagar (present Pandua) and on the north of the river Saraswati the village Triveni was a Ward of Saptagram. The junction of the three rivers, the Ganges, Jamuna and Saraswati, is called Dakshin-Prayaga and is as sacred as Uttar-Prayaga (present Allahabad). The three rivers, Ganga, Jamuna and Saraswati, joined at Uttar-Prayaga (Allahabad) and separated themselves at Triveni (District Hughly, Bengal)."

Saptagram is mentioned in the old Vaishnava work *Chaitanya-Bhagabat* written by Brindabandas Thakur (sixteenth century A.D.), a contemporary of Shri Chaitanya Mahaprabhu. Kavikankan Mukundaram Chakravarti, in his notable book *Chandi* (16th century A.D.), describing the voyage of Dhanapati Sadagar, states that Saptagram was a great centre of trade and commerce. The merchants from Kalinga, Trailanga, Karnat, Guzarat, Malaya, Lanka (Ceylon), etc., used to bring their merchandise for sale in the mart of Saptagram, it was also a place of great sanctity and pilgrimage for the Hindus.

Portuguese in Satgaon..

J. De Barros, a Portuguese traveller visited Saptagram in 1516 A.D. and mentioned the place in his book *Da Asia* and put the name of Saptagram as "Satiga" in his map as published in 1517 A.D. (Vide *Asiatic Society Journal*, Vol. LXI, Part I, page 298).

The renowned traveller Caesar de Frederic, in 1565 A.D., mentioned Saptagram as "Satagaon" in his diary and described it as a large city.

In 1530 A.D., the Portuguese anchored their first merchant vessels at Saptagram and were amazed to find the splendour of commerce at Saptagram and named Saptagram as "Porto Piqueno."

During the Pathan period (fifteenth century A.D.) Saptagram was called Hossainabad after the name of Allauddin Hossain Shah, the Nawab of Bengal. (Vide *Catalogue of Coins* in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, Vol. II, Part II, page 172).

Encyclopædia Britannica, 9th Edition, Vol. XIII, page 148, states: "In the early period of the Mahammadan rule, Saptagram was the seat of the Governors of lower Bengal and a mint town. It was also a place of great commercial importance."

In 1526 A.D. a mosque was established by Seikh Jamaluddin Amuli, at Saptagram, during the reign of Naseruddin Nasratshah, Nawab of Bengal (1497 A.D.).

The first Church established in Bengal, by the Portuguese, was at Hughly, in the 4th quarter of the sixteenth century A.D. (1580), with the permission of Akbar Badshah. In Akbar's time Satgaon (Saptagram) was known as Balghak Kahana, the "house of revolt."

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The first Englishman who visited Saptagram, was Ralph Fitch, in 1586 A.D. He was astonished on seeing the riches of Saptagram. He wrote in his diary : "When I reached Saptagram. I saw hundreds of vessels full of merchandise, of which one hundred and eighty vessels came from Agra alone and most of them were with 24 and 26 oars."

A Flourishing Port

Saptagram was a flourishing port on the river Saraswati, where ships from China, Malaya, Java, Siam, Ceylon, Persia, Egypt, Italy, etc., brought their merchandise for sale in the mart of Saptagram. In the first Century A.D. the Hindus exported perals, fine muslin, silk, betel, lac, rice, sugar, etc., for sale in European countries (*Vide* McCrindle's *Ancient India*) as described by Ptolemy. Once (about 40 years ago) I saw myself a big iron anchor tied with iron chain, half buried in the bed of the river Saraswati. The river Saraswati is at present a narrow stream (8 feet wide).

Formerly, it flowed to the west of Saptagram, meeting the river Bhagirathi on the north at Triveni, District Hughly, and on the south at Sankrail (near Botanical Gardens), District Howrah, through Battor, Andul, etc.

The place of the Vaishya King Singhabahu, a contemporary of the Lord Buddha, was on the bank of the river Saraswati at Singhagarh (at present Singur, District Hughly). His son Bijoy Singha invaded and conquered Lanka in 500 B.C., and named it after his name as Singhal (Ceylon).

It is also understood that two Hindu Kings ruled over Saptagram in the old days, *viz.*, the Vaishya King Rajya Bardhan and Raja Satrujit. The place of the Hindu King Pundrabardhan, was at Pandua, a few miles to the north of Saptagram.

Its Industries

Saptagram was famous for (hand-made) [illegible] industry in the old days up to the 1st quarter of the seventeenth century A.D., which was exported to places far and near, and also famous for yellow silk and 'Balapose'—(warm wrapper).

Ramusio states that though the Port was reduced (to Hughly), about ten thousand houses still existed in Saptagram even in the 4th quarter of the seventeenth century and there were seven hundred betel shops.

A market price-list of the capital Saptagram in 1350 A.D., as mentioned by Ibn Batuta ran as follows :

25 ratal rice or 80 ratal paddy—1 Dirhm (silver mohar); 1 ratal sesame oil—2 Dirhm (½ Dinar); 1 ratal cow-ghee—4 Dirhm (¼ dinar); one milch cow 3 Dinar; 8 fowl or 15 pigeons—1 Dirhm; 1 full grown sheep—2 Dirhm; 1 ratal sugar—4 Dirhm; 30 yds fine muslin cloth—2 Dinar; one beautiful and young female slave—1 gold mohar. [1 Ratal—1¾ seers, 1 Dirhm—2as. 6p. (ten pice), 1 Dinar (silver mohar)—Re. 1, 1 Gold mohar—Rs. 20].

Ijuddin Mahaia Azmul Mulk, Governor of Saptagram, established a mint at Saptagram in 1328 A.D. (Vide *List of Coins*, Vol. II, page 69, by Nelson Wright). Saptagram was a big Pargana extending from Nadia (included) to Bay of Bengal.

Relics of an Old Capital

Saptagram was the Royal Port of Bengal and famous for the splendour of its commerce. Traders from all parts of India and foreign countries used to visit Saptagram. Its wealth and commercial importance date as far back as the time of the Hindu and Mohammadan periods. It was so even at the beginning of the English period and was recognised by the different ruling chiefs of the day. The silting of the river Saraswati brought about its ruin, but the time-honoured name and fame are there coming down from generation to generation and held in great respect both by the Hindus and the Muhammadans alike, as examplified by the temple of Shri Shri Uddharan Datta Thakur (a great saint and companion of the great Lord Shri Gouranga and Nityananda Prabhu) who flourished in the [illegible] century A.D., and another at Krishnapur, the birth-place of the great devotee Srila Ragu Nath Das Goswami, one of the six Goswamis, the chosen disciples of the great Lord Shri Chaitanya Mahaprabhu. There are also ancient Muhammadan relics, and the relics of the old capital, fort and port demarcated with [illegible]

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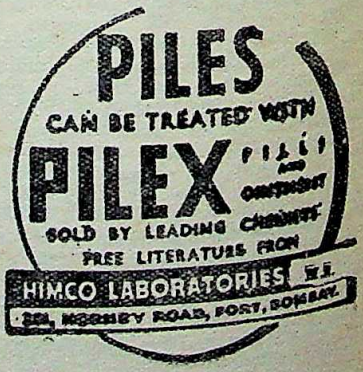
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tablets by Lord Curzon, Viceroy and Governor-General of India. It was undoubtedly one of the seats of culture and learning also. Uddharan Datta was a big trader, merchant, Court-Banker and a person of enormous wealth. He had several mercantile vessels. He opened *langarkhana* for the famine-stricken people, on the bank of the river Saraswati, where 10 to 12 thousand persons were fed daily for a considerable period.

CENTRE OF VAISHNAVA CULTURE

The name of Saptagram is a household word to people in many districts of Bengal. Unfortunately much of its history is lost owing to the disappearance of the city on account of silting of the river Saraswati. The towns of Hughly, Chinsurah, Chandernagore, Srirampur, etc., practically rose out of the ashes of Saptagram, which though destroyed physically is yet one of the spiritual centres of the great Vaishnava culture and religion of Bengal. Thousands of pilgrims visit their respective shrines every year.

There are still two mounds of ruins at Saptagram, one is the ruin of a fort and the other the ruin of a temple of Kali. They are situated side by side on the eastern bank of the river Saraswati.

The length of the mound of the Fort is about 400 yds. and the height is about 25 feet, the top of the mound being now used for cultivation. Local people told me (about thirty years ago) that an iron cannon was found, some time previously, when p'oughing the land (at the top of the mound of the fort).

On the mound of the ruins of the temple there is an old banian tree at its top. Local tradition has it that sailors and crewmen used to tie iron chains, ropes of ships and vessels, round the trunk of the tree. A local old man of 80 told me that he heard from his grandfather the same tale. This quarter, where the mound stands, is called *Dingir Ghat, i.e.*, the mooring place for anchoring vessels, boats, ships. The height of this mound is about 25 feet and the top is about 20 sq. feet. The above two mounds were discovered by me about twenty years ago. It was also brought to the notice of the Archæological Department and those mounds were inspected by the Archæological Survey Department in 1939.

Foreign travellers, who learn about the glory of the ancient Saptagram from history, do not know where the place is now situated, as at present the time-honoured, glorious and famous Saptagram is entirely engulfed in jungle, situated on the side of the Grand Trunk Road, District Hughly. Saptagram is only 27 miles from the Howrah railway station and 2 and 3 miles from the Bandel and Hughly railway stations. The nearest railway station of Saptagram is Adi-Saptagram.

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FOREIGN PERIODICALS

An Indian Examines Nehru

By Dr. Taraknath Das

No one who has followed the conduct of India in the Korean crisis, and in relation to Communist China generally, can doubt that the personality and political nature of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, its Prime Minister, are of direct significance for America. Aside from India's specific weight in the Asian equation, there is the fact that so many influential American liberals have adopted Nehru as their own, and endowed him with the colors of their own ardent and extravagant hopes.

Perhaps it was to be expected that certain liberals, yearning for a messiah to redeem a brutally illiberal world—preferably a messiah in some distant land, removed from too much probing—should have picked on the Indian leader. Like Nehru himself, they crave to escape unpleasant realities. They have need for an idyllic middle ground between the capitalist democracy they have rejected and the Communist monstrosity that has, in effect, rejected them. The Pandit Nehru, wearing Gandhi's mantle of spirituality, seems to fill the bill. Here, they proclaim eagerly, as an Eastern prophet with a Western mind, non-Communist without being anti-Communist; in short, a leader to mediate between the contending worlds.

It is well that Americans should examine the Prime Minister, not in sentimental ecstasy but quite calmly. No less than Nehru's countrymen, they must try to ascertain whether the man, for all his humanism and mental attainments, is really the chosen of destiny to lead Asia and through Asia the world; whether an Indian government in his image can serve as stabilizer and conciliator in this period of grim totalitarian threats.

Clearly, Pandit Nehru is a man of exceptional intellect and literary gifts, a cultured gentleman with a winning personality. He has assimilated the best in both India's culture and that of the West. He is a cosmopolitan idealist, often dreaming of beauty in nature and sublimity in man. He has made sacrifices for human freedom, suffering long confinements in Indian prisons. He is a staunch supporter of human rights, the principles of which are elaborately set forth in the Constitution of the Indian Republic. There is greatness in the man that has brought him the adoration of the Indian masses and respect in the outside world.

In sum, it is impossible to question Nehru's idealism and sincerity. What can and should be questioned, precisely because his views and behaviour are so critical in the scales of events, is the effectiveness of Nehru's actions. In appraising him as a statesman, one is reminded of the celebrated dictum of Hegel: "To be good is not enough; one must be effectively good." Has Nehru's goodness been effective? Before attempting an answer, let us look at his background.

The original home of his ancestors was in beautiful Kashmir, and they were Brahmins. About 1716, one of Nehru's forebears moved to Delhi, and after the Sepoy Mutiny of 1857, the family moved to Allahabad, where it was there that Jawaharlal Nehru was born on November 11, 1889, in a rich, Westernized lawyer's home.

His father, the late Pandit Motilal Nehru, was in the early twenties of this century, according to his own admired the English and their ways" and in politics was a "moderate nationalist." Jawaharlal, raised and tutored in an anglicized home, did not attend Indian schools and had a "lonely childhood." At sixteen, he was sent to Harrow in England. Two years later he entered Cambridge and specialized in science; later he became a barrister. On returning home in 1912 he followed his father's profession at Allahabad for a time.

British persecution of Indian nationalists and their sympathizers during the First World War brought about a change in the elder Nehru, "who was drifting away from the orthodox moderate position in politics." It pushed the son even further in the direction of passionate nationalism. At one time Nehru was inclined to join the extreme left-wing of the movement—the underground revolutionists—but instead he came under the influence of Mahatma Gandhi, who was then preaching non-violent non-co-operation as the means for Indian freedom. In 1916, Nehru was married and spent some months in Kashmir, his ancestral home for which he has a great and romantic attachment. From then until Gandhi's assassination in 1948, Nehru's political life was deeply affected by his master and guide. The rest is current history.

Speaking before the Congress of the United States on October 13, 1949, Nehru defined the goal of his country's foreign policy: "Where freedom is menaced or justice threatened, or where aggression takes place we cannot and we shall not be neutral . . ."

Without for a moment doubting that he means this, one can doubt that his guidance of Indian policy in the Korean crisis has been consistent with this principle. Freedom and justice were not merely threatened but cynically violated; aggression has been

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open and massive. But India, in substance if not in form, has been neutral. She joined the majority in the first United Nations denunciation of the North Korean assault. But almost immediately Nehru struck out on a policy of his own, seeking to act as mediator. In effect he pleaded that the Kremlin be paid off with a security council seat for Soviet China for calling off its military banditry in Korea.

Naturally, he was applauded by Stalin and the Communist world. As always in these years, the illusion of a mediating force operated to the advantage of the men without illusions in Moscow. But the United States firmly rejected the plan, and Nehru's hope of acting as a "third force" failed. His subsequent conduct was marked by similar inconsistency.

To understand Nehru's strange role in the Korean affair, one must know the strength of his conviction that India is destined to serve as a balance-wheel in world politics. One must realize also his profound belief that co-operation between India and China—even a puppet China manipulated for larger Communist purposes—is essential to the future of his continent. Nehru visualizes India as the leader of an Asiatic bloc aligned with neither the pro- nor anti-Soviet forces.

That vision rests on the same kind of refusal to acknowledge the true character of imperialist Communism that is endemic in "liberal" circles the world over, and is at bottom a species of wishful thinking. The core of the fallacy, of course, is in its assumption that the choice is between two blocs with equal moral claims on the allegiance of mankind. Despite verbal finessing, it takes a stance of substantial impartiality as between freedom and slavery, between democracy and its opposite. The very premise of a third force is that the other two are equally "right," or perhaps equally wrong, and that the desirable condition is somewhere midway between them. No matter how it may be rationalized, it is a position that accepts totalitarian horror as valid and aims to give it permanence.

Nehru and those for whom he speaks in all countries, the United States included, fail to recognize that while the Soviet bloc is under iron discipline, the so-called American bloc is a voluntary alliance of the loosest sort. With respect to China, they are obliged to convince themselves, in defiance of the evidence and common sense, that Mao Tse-tung's regime is a free agent rather than an extension of Stalinist power. To maintain their equivocal position they must close their ears and minds to explicit statements on the issue by leaders of the Soviet bloc. Said Mao Tse-tung on July 1, 1949 :

"To sit on the fence is impossible; a third road does not exist . . . Not only in China, but also in the world, without exception, one either leans to the side of imperialism"—Communist slang for democracy —"or to the side of socialism. Neutrality is a mere camouflage and a third road does not exist."

But the self-hypnosis of a Nehru would seem to be proof against such candor. Even while he was toiling to obtain world-wide recognition for Mao's regime, the *New China News Agency,* speaking for Communist China, rewarded him with juicy insults : "British and American imperialism and their running dog, Pandit Nehru. . . ."

A certain measure of sympathy for Soviet Russia will be found among the leaders of nearly all Asiatic movements to end colonialism. During the first decade of its power, Soviet Russia energetically fomented revolutions in Asia, to enhance its own influence on that continent and to harass the great colonial nations which opposed the Bolshevik regime. To the young Nehru, Moscow's propaganda of freedom for "oppressed colonial peoples" spelled hope; Moscow seemed to him a genuine friend. Thirty years later, and in stubborn disregard of Soviet conduct in both Europe and Asia, he has not wholly freed himself of these youthful impressions.

Going abroad for the first time after the completion of his British education, Nehru came to Geneva in 1926. He observed the forces in and outside the League of Nations which might help the cause of Indian independence. Soviet Russia seemed the chief of these, closely seconded by Germany. The two countries were collaborating against the Allied Powers

A True Pathetic Story



Dear Brother, I am neither a Doctor nor a Vaid, but I am the son of a respectable millionaire I fell a prey to various diseases in my prime of youth. I secretly tried so many medicines of well-known venereal disease expert doctors but of no use. On the other hand, my parents were bent upon to get me married when I was not fit for it. I therefore ran away from home to Kashmir and decided to end my life. One day by the grace of Almighty God, I met an old Mahatma who gave me some medicine for internal use and oil for massage, the use of which gave me new life and made me Heman within seven days. But according to the directions of the Mahatma I had to complete full course of fifteen days. At the time of departing the Mahatma gave me a prescription, taking an oath from me that I will place my services for the welfare of mankind. I therefore, according to my promise offer the medicine and oil to the persons suffering from loss of Debility, general weekness, nervous breakdown and private diseases, so that they may rejuvenate themselves and enjoy prime of youth even in old age. The medicine can be taken in any season. Price 7 days course :— Kashmiri Pills Rs 2-12. Kashmiri Massage Oil Rs. 2-8. The readers are requested to help me in making it known to all their friends by showing this paper and serve the mankind. Correspondence in English only.

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at this time; support of revolutionary trends in India and other Asiatic colonies fitted well into their self-interests.

It was in Berlin, with the support of Moscow, that the idea of a Congress of Oppressed Nationalities originated. It took place in Brussels early in February, 1927. Nehru played a prominent part in it, and it was to play a prominent part in his life. For it molded his future views and political relationships, some of which hardened to the point of dogma and obsession. It is not too much to say that India's ambivalent attitudes in the U. N. in 1950-51 stemmed directly from Jawaharlal Nehru's first experience in international politics in Belgium a quarter of a century earlier.

The Soviets pulled the leading strings in that Brussels congress. That Nehru was aware of this, and complacent about it, is explicit in his writings. That he did not fully grasp or rightly appraise the significance of the Soviet role is all too clear. In his *Autobiography*, in 1936, he wrote :

"There were many labour organizations represented and several well-known men who had played a leading part in European labour struggles for a generation, and they took an important part in the proceedings."

Then Nehru added : "They came not as Communists but as representatives of trade union or similar organizations." Communists, in other words, in trade union and other non-Communist disguises.

The techniques of Communist infiltration had been perfected by 1926. The League Against Imperialism that grew out of the Brussels gathering was one of the earliest "front" organizations devised by the Communist International to befuddle world opinion and exploit decent liberal instincts. It was the lineal forerunner of the whole array of camouflaged Muscovite organizations which have promoted the Kremlin's program.

Nehru himself notes how important a part in organizing the Congress was taken by "the Chinese belonging to the left wing of the Kuomintang, co-operating with Communists and near-Communists." With the frankness of a clean conscience he tells how the Brussels meeting and subsequent committee meetings of the League helped him understand the inner conflicts of labor in the West : a circumlocution for the Moscow drive to capture organized labor. And his allegiance was substantially on Moscow's side : "As between the labor worlds of the Second International and the Third International, my sympathies were for the latter. . . . *I turned inevitably with good will towards Communism, for, whatever its faults, it was at least not imperialistic.*"

Three decades ago many people, the writer included, honestly hoped that the collapse of Tsardom was a great step towards a more democratic era. But how, in the light of the history of the last five years, can anyone continue to be blind to the brashly imperialist character of Soviet Russia ? Yet Nehru, to judge by his actions—like so many American liberals—still clings to the early illusions.

As a natural sequel to his involvement in the "front" League, and possibly to bring revolutionary India and the Soviets closer together, Nehru, his father and sister visited Moscow in November, 1927, during the celebration of the tenth anniversary of the Soviet regime. In summing up his impressions, he admitted his dislike of Soviet violence, regimentation and suppression of freedom of thought. But in the classic style of the confused fellow-traveler he explained that, after all, the violence was in the interests of a new and better future : "In the balance, therefore, I was all in favor of Russia and the prescnce and example of the Soviets was a bright and heartening phenomenon in a dark and dismal world."

The anti-American bias that so often obtrudes in Nehru's thinking is, in a sense, the obverse of his pro-Soviet fixations. The picture of America that emerges from his associations with Kremlin propagandists was naturally distorted. To this day he seems far more fearful of American capitalism than he is of the rampant Red imperialism right on his frontiers.

Oddly enough, Nehru's distrust of the United States has a dual origin. It derives in part also from the early British influence. During the seven formative years of his sojourn at Harrow and Cambridge he came into close contact with the then fashionable derogation of America. That youthful prejudice might have been dissipated, but the Soviet influence came along to fix it in his psychology.

The fact remains that Nehru and other Asian leaders never seemed to suspect that the primary objective of Soviet policy was to create a Communist force to be used in spreading Soviet imperialism at any cost. This tendency to evade the harsh facts of *real-politik* is at the root, too, of Nehru's concept of India as a third force. He does not distinguish sharply enough between the inherent differences, in moral terms and in terms of political freedom, between the other two forces. Nor does he seem to realize that a hungry India, an India which produces less than two million tons of steel annually, an India which has many and vast internal problems to solve, cannot become the mediating force in a world where political influence is measured by physical power.

In line with his ideal of Asian solidarity, the government preceded even Britain in recognizing Communist China. He was eager to demonstrate that, despite India's opposition to Communism at home, it could maintain friendly relations with its abroad. He must naturally have expected, by way of a *quid pro quo*, that Red China and Soviet Russia would cease to aid and encourage Indian Communists in their subversive activities; that Tibet would not be molested; that outstanding Chinese-Tibetan questions would be answered by peaceful negotiation.

The disillusionment he has been forced to



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is a prime example of historic irony. Comrade Mao's invasion of Tibet came to Nehru as a violent shock. Soviet China made a mockery of its solemn promises on this score. When Nehru's ambassador in Peiping protested, he was advised, in effect, to mind his own business and not interfere with what Communist China regards as its private sphere. The comforting idea, based on wishful thinking, that Mao was independent of Stalin and that Chinese purposes took precedence over Communist world strategy was exploded.

Pandit Nehru, it should be understood in America, had fallen into the tragic error so industriously promoted here by Owen Lattimore, Edgar Snow, Frederick Vanderbilt Field and their confreres. He considered Mao basically a Chinese nationalist pursuing agrarian reforms in China, who had come to power through popular consent. This attractive picture, though it survived the Korean episode, was wrecked by the Tibetan aggression. As M. R. Masani, a member of the Indian Parliament from Nehru's own Congress party, has just written :

"By its one stroke in Tibet, the Chinese Communists have cut Asia in two, and have awakened us from that illusory dream of an Asian third force which some of us have held. There is now a free Asia and a *slave Asia*."—*The New Leader*, Dec. 11, 1950.

Whether Mr. Masani's political chief has been thoroughly awakened, to the point of renouncing his third-force dreams, remains to be seen.

The threat to India in Mao's march into Tibet is clear. External encouragement of the subversive activities of Indian Communists in Assam, West Bengal, United Province, Hyderabad and South India may be expected to force the Government of India to adopt more vigorous repressive measures against Indian Communists. These, in their turn, will expose India to the danger of civil wars in various parts of the country, as was the case in China during the early days of the Communists' effort to organize their own army and state.

Nehru will have to make one of two choices, each of which would force him to follow a more rigid and consistent line than he has hitherto adopted. Under attack from the left, he would either have to seek the support of the right wing of his Congress Party and other rightist groups and close collaboration with the United States, or he would have to woo the Soviets and the Chinese Communists. In the latter case, Nehru might find himself leading India towards partnership in a Soviet Russian-Chinese-Indian combination in world politics which would facilitate the Communization of all Asia.

If Nehru tries to adopt any such policy, he will meet with opposition from the right wing of his own party—opposition so vigorous that it may topple him from his position as Prime Minister and Foreign Minister. Recent events have proved that Nehru is no longer the undisputed ruler of the Congress Party, Although Mr. Tandon, the present president of the Congress Party, is opposed to Nehru's foreign and domestic policies, he was elected by an overwhelming majority this September. Even leading members of the Congress Party in Nehru's cabinet will be likely to oppose him if he seeks closer collaboration with Soviet Russia and Communist China.

He is also threatened by defections if he fails to solve India's difficulties with Pakistan over the Hindu refugees and over the future of Kashmir. While such domestic Indian questions may seem remote to an American reader, they are of importance at least to the extent that they throw light on Nehru's essential character.

It is not too well known in this country how many millions of persons—at least ten million Hindus and five or six million Moslems—have been tragically affected by the partition of India. Nor is there any understanding here of the fact that more thoughtful Indians have begun to believe that the partition was neither necessary nor basically beneficial. In destroying the economic unity of the subcontinent, it has left India with a shortage of food and raw materials, and imposed on both India and Pakistan the burden of large standing armies.

On all these issues, which are at the heart of India's internal difficulties, Nehru has played the same vacillating, unrealistic, sentimental role as in his conduct of foreign affairs. Here, too, he has been incapable of taking decisive action and has sought always to avoid conflicts at any cost. He has made compromise after compromise with principles he advocates in theory and, despite his high ideals, can be—and is—rightly accused of being an inveterate appeaser.

Nehru had originally been opposed to partition but when the Moslem League threatened "rivers of blood" and the British Government added the weight of its support, Nehru became one of the chief architects of the division. He rationalized his reversal by asserting that partition alone could save India from internal strife. A clearer-eyed prophet—one who is effective as well as good—might well have foreseen the vast

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refugee problem and the communal massacres that followed directly upon partition.

Nehru is known to be particularly eager to have Kashmir remain an integral part of India, and indeed the government of Kashmir had legally and officially joined the Indian union. Yet when the Pakistan army invaded Kashmir in 1947 and the Indian army was ready and clearly able to drive out the invading forces, it was Nehru who insisted on a cease-fire. It was one more expression of his apparent deficiency on realism.

In the economic area he has been no less inconsistent—one is tempted to say confused. Committing himself on vague socialist grounds to nationalization of India's heavy industry, Nehru succeeded in discouraging much-needed investment of foreign capital. At the same time, ironically, his government has failed to control the enormous profits made by rapacious Indian industrialists, many of whom engage in black marketing.

Americans who have watched Nehru's admixture of idealism and poor judgment without benefit of romantic glasses are sometimes reminded, not unnaturally, of Henry A. Wallace. It is said, in fact, that Nehru is a great admirer of the former Vice-President, and of the pro-Soviet policy Wallace so vigorously espoused. During his American visit, Nehru went out of his way to confer at length with Wallace, apparently to obtain his views on world affairs.

Wallace has now altered his stand on Soviet imperialism and Red China. Will Nehru, too, see the light? Can he summon up a new clarity, a new realism, to replace his vague good intentions? Can he stop India from drifting towards internal chaos and from external combination with the very forces cated to its destruction as a truly independent Can he yet make India—geopolitically so signific Asia and the globe—a true bulwark of world and Asian independence?

If the answers for which mankind, and especially, are waiting should be in the negat Nehru may ultimately join the company of Masaryk and others who toyed with the delusion third-force appeasements of the unappeasable Po Without denying him any portion of the admir to which he is entitled for his goodness, Am would be well advised never to lose sight of chronic lack of effectiveness.

The sad truth is that Nehru's foreign policies so far been liabilities to the cause of freedom world peace. With India's borders menaced by Communist invasion of Tibet, with Peiping follow Moscow orders in refusing to accept the "cease-fire Korea" resolution advanced by India and other nations, it is tempting to credit strong rumors Nehru is revising his policies and moving towards operation with the United States. Let us hope that rumors are true, and not a mirage of wishful thinking on our part.—*The New American Mercury*, Februar 1951.

Note : Dr. Taraknath Das has been an exile fr India for about thirty years. In this article, Dr. D has made assumptions which differ in many respe from the views of people who are in close touch w India.—Ed., *M. R.*



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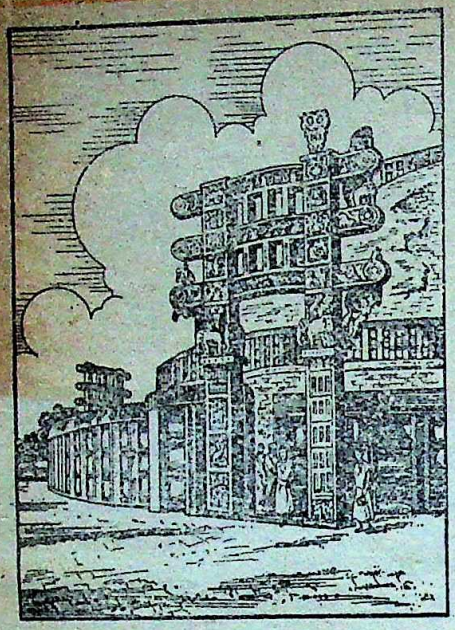
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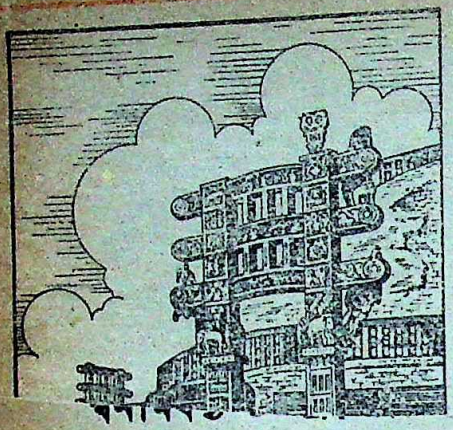
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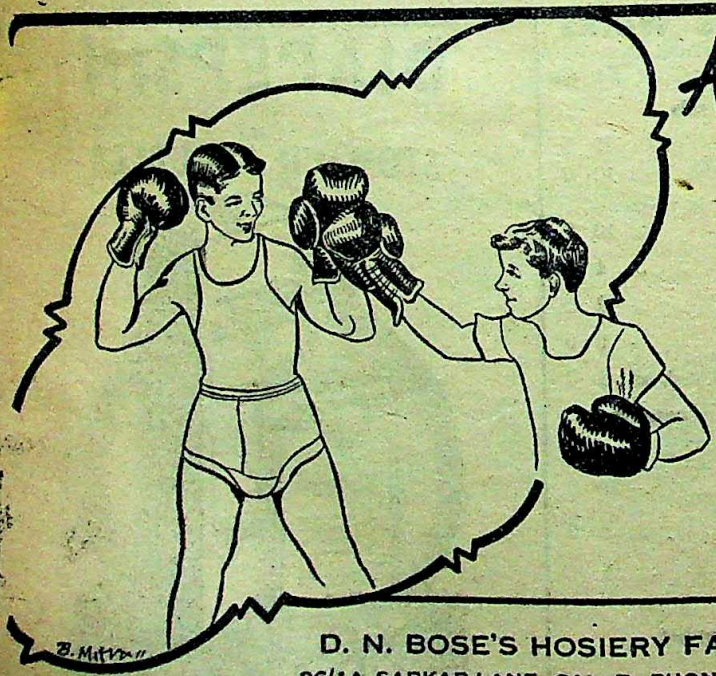
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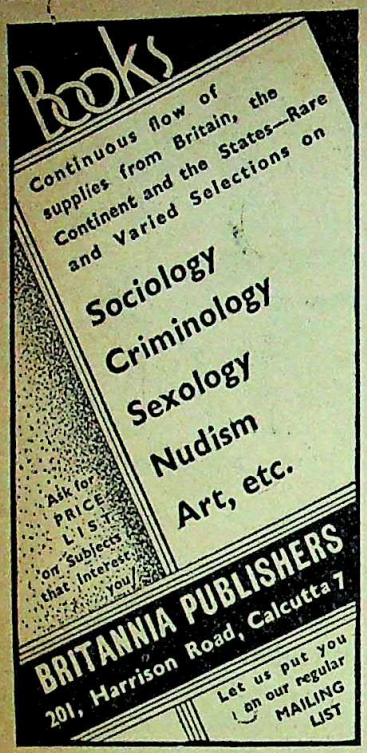
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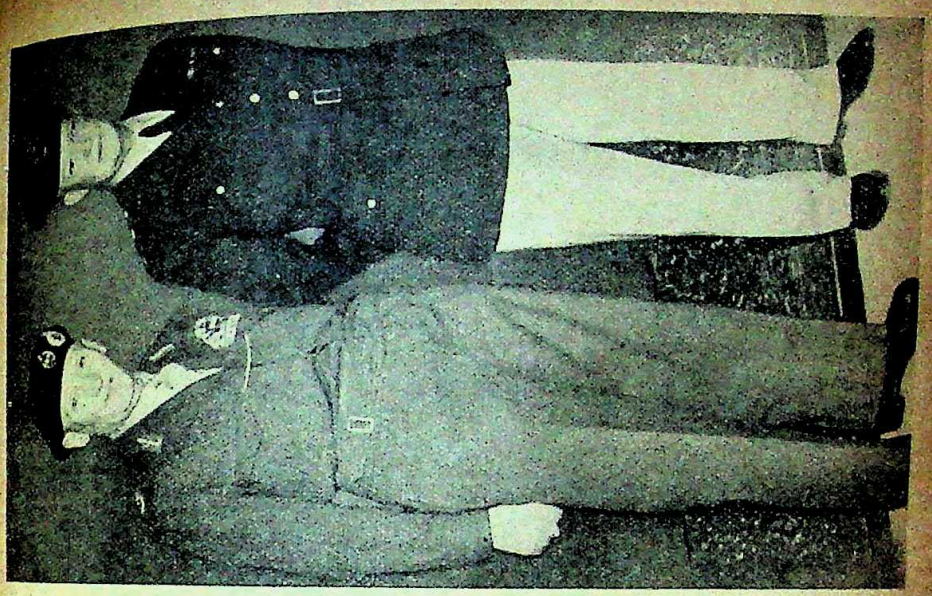
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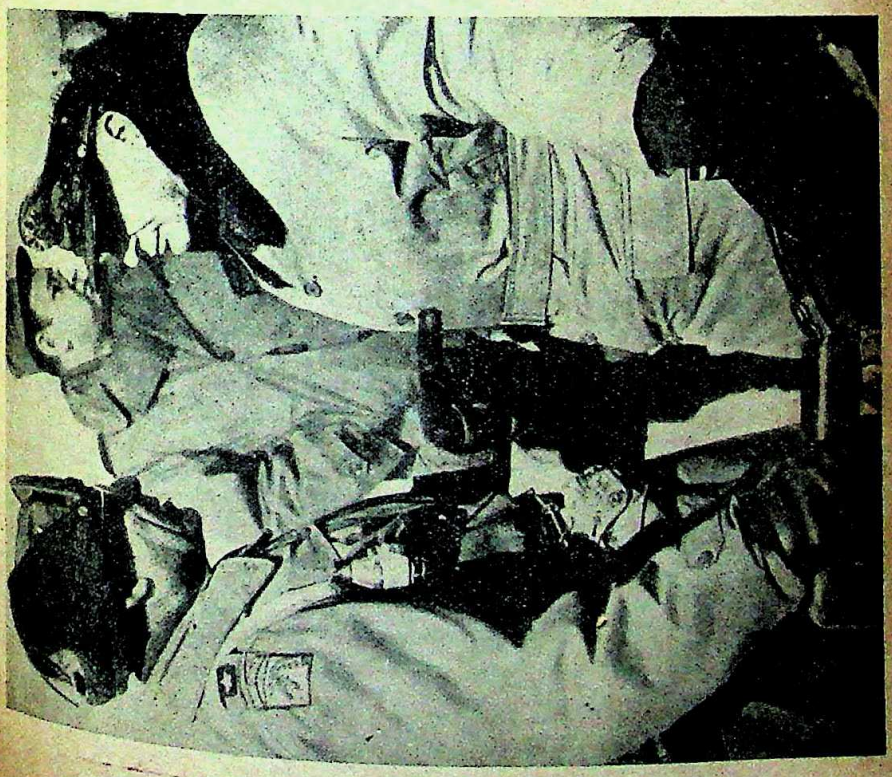
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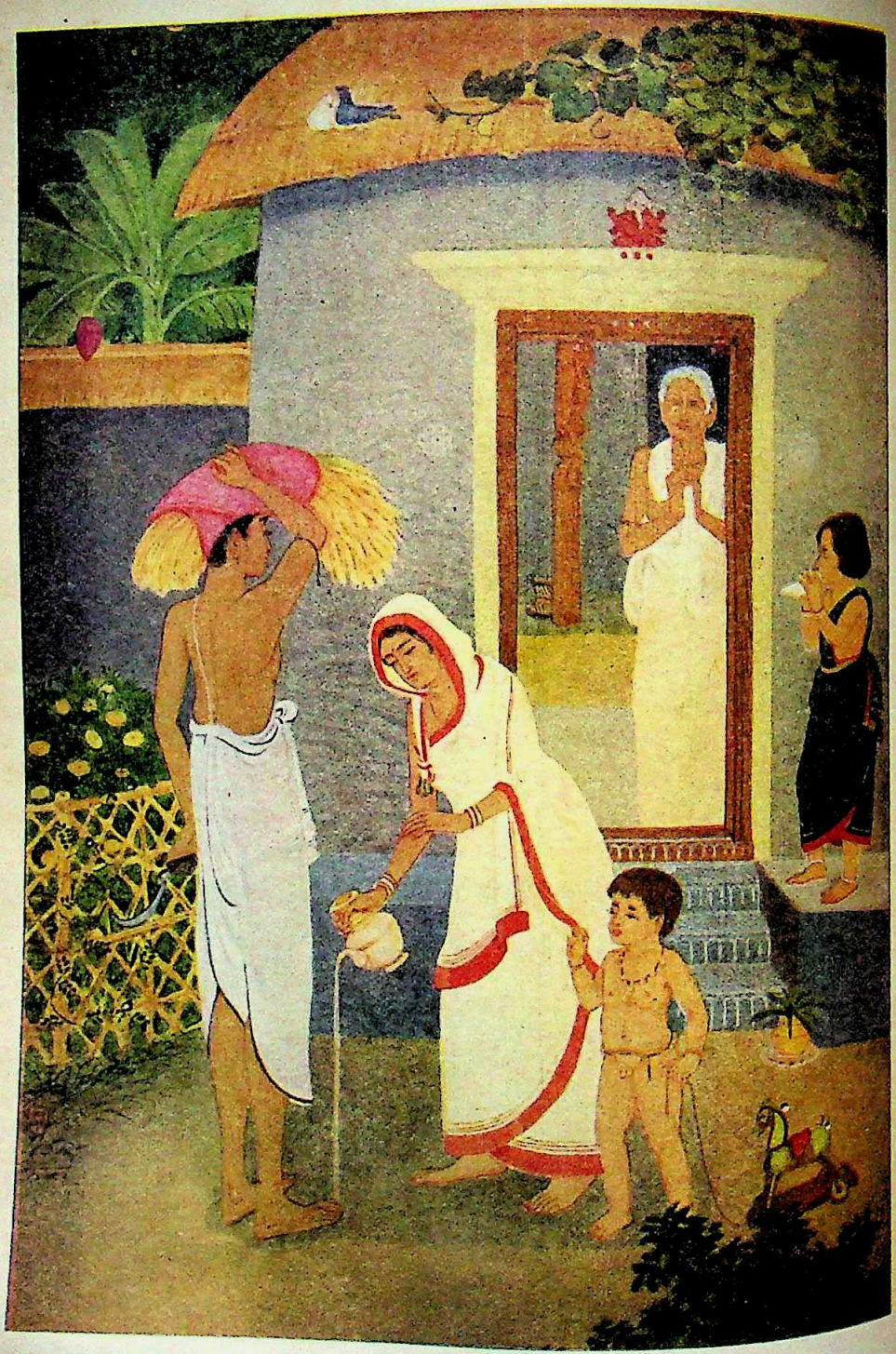
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THE MODERN REVIEW

MAY 1951

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NOTES

Visva-Bharati University

The "Parishat" (General Assembly) of Visva-Bharati has after due consideration authorized its "Karmi Samiti" to take all necessary steps to effect the changes necessary to raise the Visva-Bharati to a Central University. There have been apprehensions that under the temptation of State patronage, the Visva-Bharati may lose the distinctive features imparted to it by its founder, the Poet. The Prime Minister of India who also happens to be the Acharya (Chancellor) of Visva-Bharati has, however, tried to remove these apprehensions, by a message to the "Parishat" assembled in session on April 22 last, by saying that

"I have to inform you that the Government have introduced a Bill in Parliament with the object of endowing the status of a Central University to the Visva-Bharati. It is our special wish that Santiniketan will not be a mere replica of other Universities, but will carry on its work on the lines laid down by Gurudeva.

"I am happy at this new development in the life of Santiniketan, and in trust that this will give it more opportunities of service, I send all my good wishes on this occasion."

This tardy and somewhat meagre recognition by the Centre of what Rabindranath's vision of the Visva-Bharati meant, is a happy augury. It means that we have not as yet totally forgotten our ideals and our ethical background. But all the same, this Bill, even if it be passed soon and implemented to the fullest extent, will not fulfil all that for which Gurudeva gave his uttermost, in endeavour and in worldly treasure.

In a few days' time we shall be celebrating his ninety-first birthday. But do we as yet realize what we had gained by him and what we have lost in his passing? The nation was fortunate in that it had at its forefront one of the greatest of thinkers of all time. during its most crucial days of trial while in bondage. And to-day at the darkest hour of our destiny, when from all sides we are beset with grave perils, we sadly feel the absence of that superman with his clarity of judgment.

The curse of mediocrity is on us. And nowhere is that so manifest as in the field of education. This Visva-Bharati Bill as it is sponsored seems to us to be the attempt of pygmies to build a memorial to a Titan whose stature they were unable to measure. Where are the provisions to see that proper men and fit measures be arranged so as to stop the drift into oblivion with which the Visva-Bharati is threatened? For this Bill might stave off economic bankruptcy for the time being but who is there and what machinery has he got to clear the channels that are clogged and restore the flow of the fountain of inspiration? As the Bill stands it looks to us as if it were an attempt to restore an edifice of archaeological importance.

For an University to function to the utmost of its scope, the most essential factor is inspiration, and not merely cold cash. And for that inspiration the Teacher, *the Acharya*, must be there, with full powers to choose his associates for the administration of the institution and the instruction of its alumni. Pandit Nehru, if he really desires that the most cherished dreams of Gurudeva come to flower, must find the

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proper men to be put in charge and having done so must assure them that he and his colleagues are there, all the time, to help and advise.

Rabindranath's dream of the Visva-Bharati was that of a fountain-head of Inspiration, where all that were thirsty might drink and be refreshed, regardless of colour, creed or nationality. The dream was that of a Valley of Peace where laughing and dancing children may attain the vigour of youth, with fertile brains, noble ideas and tireless energy, so that when they leave they might face all trials, tranquil in mind, stout and assured of heart, and with an intellect polished and sharpened like a shining weapon at the cultural armoury of the Visva-Bharati. Untold wealth alone would not transform this vision into reality unless the men are there who have not only the appreciation but also the capacity to give it shape.

Lady Abala Bose

In her 87th year the wife of Acharya Jagadis Chandra Bose has departed from this world. She had been waiting for this release for more than thirteen years since November 23, 1937, the day on which her Acharya, in more senses than one, had preceded her to the realm of the spirit.

The country will mourn her loss. For, it snaps asunder the links that bound in natural piety more than three generations of men and women. Her father was Durga Mohan Das, one of the founders of the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj, and a stalwart supporter of female emancipation. Durga Mohan and his generations represented the constructive phase of India's Renaissance that was the product of the impact of the West on the East. Abala Das and her generation were thrown into the full tide of this emancipation, and she was initiated into the national service under the spacious eyes of men like Shibnath Shastri, Ananda Mohan Bose.

The imprint of that time had persisted in her life for well over seventy years. She went to Madras for medical education. Her happy marriage to a dreamer and a scientist introduced her into life's many-sided activities of which she chose education of women as her special field. And the history of this education is coincident with her growing life, ever gathering new experiences and new skills as she travelled for decades all over the world in the company of her husband.

She was keenly sensitive to the influences of the times, and represented the dynamic phase of India's womanhood which recalled to many the times of the Upanishadic seekers of Truth—men and women. We had it from her own lips how she came to know Margaret Noble, better known as Sister Nivedita of Ramakrishna-Vivekananda. This Irish woman re-educated herself into a leader of Indian womanhood, holding fast to the ancient moorings and stretching forth their hands to hold in their grasp and utilize for life's enrichment all that the modern age with sciences and arts could give.

Her first work in the uplift of women was Brahmo Girls' School, of which her father was of the founders. During her regime as Secretary forged ahead, and its present high status is mostly to her guidance and drive. The success of this institution has been an inspiration to the present leaders the women's movement in Bengal. Today we witness women boldly coming forward to take up burden and responsibility of their own education.

Abala Bose lived to see the fulfilment of the factory steps that from her youth upwards she had initiated and herself initiated through the various institutions that she had helped to found. The last these was the Nari Siksha Samiti founded in Under its parental care has grown up the Vidyasa Bani Bhawan, a widows' home, where board lodging is rendered free to the inmates. Then the Mahila Shilpa Bhawan, an industrial sch founded in 1926 to impart education in the crafts arts which women could carry on during the interv of their domestic life. Education of village girls has been a special pre-occupation with the Samiti sin 1924. The Nari Siksha Samiti diverted her energy to rural education which in 1937 gained an extend purpose—the education of rural women in mother-cra and home industries. This scheme is being financ by the interest of a Fund left by Acharya Jagad Chandra, worth one lakh of rupees. It bears the nam of Sister Nivedita. The Bani Bhawan Training Sch rounds off the activities of the Samiti which h pioneered in Bengal many an activity intended make women's life richer and more purposeful.

This record would be an inadequate representation of a historic life if an attempt be not made to indica the individual instincts and accomplishments whi Abala Bose developed to re-mould herself as a Hin wife. And herein was shaped her life's fulfilment in th it got fused in the dreams and aspirations of her scient and seer husband. But for her constant ministrati Acharya Jagadis could not have reached the summ that he did. It was inspiring to watch the mutu action and reaction of two natures almost making single personality—one in thought, one in aspiratio one in activity, one in counsel, one in hopes fulfil and one in disappointments shared, in common. became difficult to separate these two. After husband's death, life lost all meaning for her, except for the fulfilment of her mission for the betterme of the status of the helpless amongst her own sex, also for watching with a loving care over the resear institute founded by Acharya Jagadish Bose. With t she passed her long wait. On 24th April, 1951, th waiting ended. May her soul attain peace in the co pany of her dear and near ones who had crossed barrier of the apparent and taken to the realm of t reality. *Shantih Shantih Shantih!*

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Food from U.S.A.

It is sickening to have to watch the spirit in which the whole business of food supply to India is being discussed in the U. S. A. Congress. The Nehru Government must share a part of this charge. India's Prime Minister knows his America or ought to. His proposal made during his 1949 September-October tour through the States was a frank "barter" offer to exchange U.S.A. foodgrains for certain essential raw materials for her industries which India can supply—manganese, mica, jute and tea, for instance. Instead of frankly accepting or rejecting it, the U.S.A. Administration sat over it.

Then certain good people in the States, moved by reports of food scarcity in India, took the initiative in influencing their President to move the Congress for making available to India two million tons of food-grains for immediate despatch in order to halt famine in our country. It started a tragi-comedy for the edification of the world. The following news cabled by *Press Trust of India* and *Reuter News Agency* reveals a part of it:

"Washington, March 20.—The Bill to make India a gift of 2,000,000 tons of food-grains is meeting increased opposition in the U. S. Legislature.

"Congressmen favouring the 'gift' said today the Opposition had stiffened to the extent that there was now only an 'even' chance of legislation being approved.

"Sponsors of the Bill met in conference this afternoon. It was reported that

1. An attempt would be made to bring the Bill, at present held up by the House Rules Committee, to the House floor immediately after the Easter holidays. The Rules Committee has not formally voted, but sentiment is against making a gift.

2. The sponsors would make no compromise but would retain the 'gift' provision of the bill.

3. The Democratic leadership would attempt to overcome the inaction of the Rules Committee, although there was no indication how they would do it.

4. It could be expected that the House might not approve the Bill, and that, at best, it would offer to 'loan' to India the food-grains.

Representative Thomas Morgan (Democrat-Pennsylvania), a sponsor of the Bill, said: 'The opinion is that the Bill has only a fifty-fifty chance at best'."

But this impasse had been preceded by a propaganda against India, an idea about which can be had from the following, widely circulated through the American continent:

"The Nehru Government intensified India's food shortage by its isolationist efforts to become independent of Pakistan (or anywhere else) for cotton and jute," says Mr. Henry Hazlitt in an article under the caption, "How to Cause A Famine," published in the *Newsweek* of March 5, 1951.

"This programme,' said President Truman, in asking Congress to give the Indian Government 75,000,000 bushels of grain, 'does not constitute a precedent for continuing to provide food to India on a grant basis or for providing similar aid for other countries.' But it does, of course, constitute precisely such a precedent. We cannot do less in future for India or any other country without being accused of less generosity or plain discrimination.

"Famine and starvation should, of course, always be prevented or relieved when humanly possible. But we must also ask, what caused it, whose duty it is to relieve it, and what steps are essential to prevent its recurrence.

"It has gradually, precedent by precedent, become the assumption of most foreigners and most American Fair Dealers that when any real or imagined deficiency of anything whatever exists anywhere on earth, it must be made good primarily, if not solely, at the expense of the American taxpayer. Yet even the Indian Government did not ask us for more than a long-term loan to enable it to buy this grain. Given reasonable prudence, it could easily have repaid such a loan. Why did Mr. Truman recommend a gift?

"The process will be this. America will give the grain. But the average Indian (nearly 85 per cent of the Indian people are illiterate) will probably never know this. For, the gift will be to the Nehru Government, and the Nehru Government will sell the grain to India's hungry. Moreover, the Nehru Government will be allowed to keep for statist schemes even the 'counterpart funds' it gets for selling what we give.

"Just as Mr. Truman ascribed the Yugoslavian food shortage solely to 'the drought,' so he now ascribes the Indian famine solely to 'natural disasters —earthquakes, floods, droughts and plagues of locusts.' Yet the famine has at least been intensified, if not principally caused, by the economic policies of the Nehru Government:

1. "The Nehru Government is a 'planning' government, a Socialist government. Like all such governments it has embarked on a grandiose 'industrialisation' programme. This means that it has diverted land, labour, and capital from agricultural to industrial production. This has directly reduced India's production of food. Mr. Truman apparently approves of this compulsory diversion. For he wants to compel American tax-payers to subsidize it. It is explicitly because he wishes the Nehru Government to have the funds to continue this long-range economic development programme, that he thinks American and not Indian tax-payers should be asked to pay for the present Indian food deficiency.

2. "Specially, the Nehru Government intensified India's food shortage by its isolationist efforts to become independent of Pakistan (or anywhere else) for cotton and jute. It ordered a reduction in grain-growing acreage to increase cotton and jute acreage.

3. "The Nehru Government has not permitted free markets in agriculture. It has put price ceilings on grain. These have, as always, discouraged and reduced the production and sale of grain. The Government has restored to force Government procurement of grain from peasant growers. Our Government is asking American taxpayers to suffer from these policies and is not suggesting any change in them. Therefore the food shortage is likely to recur.

4. "The argument that India can not pay [illegible] for grain because it has only

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'limited foreign exchange reserves' and an 'unfavourable balance of payments' is economic nonsense. These conditions are the result of the Nehru Government's own exchange control measures. It has made dollars scarce in the same way as it has made foodstuffs scarce—by putting artificial price ceilings on them.

"In this grain discussion the whole emphasis has been on distribution. But in the long run nothing can save India or the world from poverty and famine but greater production. And there is wilful blindness to the fact that government 'planning' price-fixing and Socialism inevitably discourage, reduce and disrupt production."

Our readers will understand the full import of such lying and malicious propaganda against a friendly country. A detailed reply should be given by our Government in a dignified manner and we on our side should learn to recognize the American with his mask off. It is a sorry business.

China's Rice Offer to India

The *Observer* discusses what it calls "Peking's bid for popularity with the people of India." This—although it ignores the Indian Government's pleas for peace in Korea—cannot be overlooked as a new and disturbing factor in Asian politics. Of the 1,000,000 tons of rice offered by China to relieve famine in Bihar, Peking Radio announces that 22,300 tons have already reached Calcutta and a further 11,500 should be there in a few days.

The same agency gave prominence yesterday to the formation in Calcutta of an India-China Friendship Association said to be enthusiastically supported by 'prominent scientists, writers, artists, professors and important political leaders from different parties.'

"This familiar move," says the *Observer*, "is presumably intended to strengthen the Communists in the coming Indian elections."

India is now in desperate need for foreign food and she has expressed her willingness to accept food from any source if no political strings were attached to it. Nobody prevented the U.S.A. to act quickly and firmly to despatch food to India. If China seized the opportunity, certainly she cannot be blamed.

Food Supply to Bihar

Almost all the States of the Indian Union have been crying themselves hoarse over their food deficits, Bihar not the least. Allegations have been made by Bihar ministers and the Press that their people are being discriminated against by the Centre, that death due to starvation has been active to which the Centre has been indifferent. The Centre's Food Minister and his chief advisers have denied these charges, after touring the affected areas. They have been forced to issue a Press statement in course of which they say:

"According to the figures available in the Union Food Ministry, following the failure of rains in Bihar last September, the State's quota of foodgrains for 1950 was progressively raised from 40,000 tons to 1,40,000 tons. For the current year, Bihar's quota has been fixed at six lakh tons, highest for any State except Bombay. The allocation for January 1951 is 36,000 tons of foodgrains, and it is likely that an equal quantity will be allotted for February as well.

Official sources here, however, recognise that allotments of foodgrains are not sufficient unless there is a prompt movement of the quantity allotted. Special steps have, therefore, been taken to ensure the quick movement of foodgrains.

In view of the necessity for transhipment from broad-gauge to meter-gauge, movements to North Bihar are usually subject to quotas.

It is, however, stated that by curtailing non-essential traffic food movements into North Bihar from the Punjab *via*., certain routes have been made free both on trade as well as Government account. Traffic from Calcutta is being moved at the rate of 900 tons a day."

We hope that this assurance will satisfy the Rashtrapati's own State. A lakh tons of food-grains 3000 tons from Calcutta alone, are being moved into Bihar to meet the emergency which threatens Bihar.

Cooch Behar

Police firing on hunger-marchers in Cooch Behar resulting in six deaths, including a boy of seven and two girls of 16 and 18, and serious injury to many is another sad instance of how the food position is being bungled.

The following press note was issued by the West Bengal Government after the incident of April 20:

"For some time past, there has been a steep rise in the prices of rice and paddy in Cooch Behar. Steps had been taken by the local authorities to introduce modified rationing and arrange market operations to keep down the prices and rush supplies from outside to relieve the situation.

"On April 19, however, hunger-marches were organised in Cooch Behar town by members of the Hindu Mahasabha, Forward Bloc, R.S.P.I. and others. One such procession demanding the introduction of full-scale rationing went to the Deputy Commissioner's office. The Deputy Commissioner met the representatives of the processionists and explained to them the measures taken by him to bring down the price of rice and meet the general food situation obtaining in Cooch Behar. Five of the processionists, however, declared their intention to resort to hunger-strike and squatted in front of the Deputy Commissioner's office. The organisers of the procession at the same time declared their intention to observe a *hartal* and organised further hunger-marches on April 20 in sympathy with the hunger-strikers.

"On April 20, a procession of about 1,500 persons including some women and children was again taken out to the Deputy Commissioner's office during office hours. The processionists surrounded the Deputy Commissioner, who tried to explain to them the steps taken by Government to meet the food situation, and remonstrated with the Deputy Commissioner for a long time. The hunger-strikers continued their fast in front of the Deputy Commissioner's office and were joined by two others on April 20.

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"To prevent breaches of the peace, the Deputy Commissioner issued orders under Sec. 144 Cr.P.C. in the office area to be in force for a fortnight and banned the use of loudspeakers in the municipal area. On April 21 in the morning another hunger-march was organised and after passing through different areas this procession broke into the prohibited area in defiance of the order under Sec. 144. The assembly was declared unlawful and warned to disperse. But the processionists started severely brickbatting the police. Some acid bulbs were also thrown at them. This resulted in injury to four police officers and twenty men, some seriously. Two police constables were overpowered by the mob, severely injured and thrown into nearby tank.

"The Deputy Commissioner, the Additional Deputy Commissioner and the Sub-Divisional Officer were also manhandled by the riotous crowd. The car of the Deputy Commissioner was set on fire and another police vehicle badly damaged. As the mob which had been reinforced in the meanwhile and was quite over two thousand further pushed in and the situation became out of control, the police after due and repeated warnings had to open fire to disperse the mob.

"Government regret to announce that as a result of firing five persons are reported to have died. Thirty-three persons are also reported to have been injured in the incident. The situation is being closely watched and further reports are awaited. The Divisional Commissioner is proceeding to Cooch Behar."

On April 23, the Central Food Ministry are understood to have expressed their surprise at the abnormal rise in the price of rice in Cooch Behar in view of the present stock position in West Bengal. The stock position is stated to be not too unsatisfactory. On the same day, West Bengal Food Minister told pressmen that "considering the population of Cooch Behar and the production of rice he found no reasons for the abnormal rise in price of rice, the district being almost a self-sufficient one. He felt that Cooch Behar being a district predominantly of large producers there had been hoarding leading to the present abnormal rise in prices there." From the account of rise in prices given by the Food Minister, it appears that cause or no cause prices continued to move steadily up while the food department stood by as silent and disinterested spectators. The Food Minister continued:

"The present population of Cooch Behar is 6,60,000 out of which 99,000 are refugees. The production of rice last year was 1,33,000 tons and this year 1,28,000 tons. The requirement of the people at the rate of 4 maunds and 26 seers per capita per annum comes to 1,16,000 tons. The net quantity available this year for consumption after deduction allowed for seeds and wastage comes to 1,15,000 tons. The net deficit is thus only one thousand tons.

"The district of Cooch Behar is almost self-sufficient. But owing to the fact that it is a district predominantly of large producers there has been hoarding in consequence of which supply in the market has been meagre. Government have lifted 48,000 maunds of rice out of 1,50,000 maunds of rice by issue of directives. Rice was given under modified rationing to about 20,000 people of Cooch Behar and Dinhata at 1 seer 8 chattaks per adult head per week at Rs. 16-14 per maund.

"Besides these, marketing operations were resorted to some markets where rice was sold at Rs. 16-14 to keep down the soaring prices of rice. Instructions have now been issued to bring a larger number of people under modified rationing. Government have ordered the release of 41,000 maunds of rice, now in Government stock in Cooch Behar, for release through modified rationing and for open sale in some of the markets. In addition, fresh stocks of rice amounting to 2,000 maunds and in another lot 5,000 maunds have been sent to Cooch Behar in March and in the middle of the current month respectively. The rise in prices showed an upward tendency by the end of February.

"The following are the prices of rice, according to Government reports, now ruling in different Sub-Divisions of Cooch Behar:

Place	*Date*	*Price*
Cooch Behar	April 11	Rs. 37 0 0
,,	,, 18	,, 47 8 0
Dinhata	,, 11	,, 50 0 0
,,	,, 18	,, 55 0 0
Mathabhanga	,, 11	,, 35 0 0
,,	,, 18	,, 65 0 0
Tufangunge	,, 11	,, 40 0 0
,,	,, 18	,, 50 0 0
Meckligunge	,, 11	,, 40 0 0
,,	,, 18	,, 45 0 0

In his next press statement on April 27, the Food Minister gave the number of people brought under modified rationing as follows: Cooch Behar Sadar 36,332, Dinhata 13,333, Mathabhanga 2,441, Tufangunge 796 and Meckligunge 437. He informed that stock in hand in Cooch Behar was 45,000 maunds of paddy and 12,000 maunds of rice. The weekly offtake from the stock was 2,000 maunds, *i.e.*, they had 28 weeks' food in hand to start modified rationing as soon as signs of unrest began to be seen. From the Food Minister's statement it appears how small the problem was which could have been solved with a little bit of tact, courage and foresight without resulting in a loss of six costly lives.

But the whole matter has been reported differently by Sri Surendra Nath Lahiri, Secretary of the Cooch Behar District Congress Committee. He is a Congressman and his statement published by the *Ananda Bazar Patrika*, on April 28, deserves close and very serious attention by the Government. Mr. Lahiri states:

"In view of the very bad food situation in the district of Cooch Behar, I went to Calcutta on March 31. There the member to the West Bengal Legislature from Cooch Behar, the President of our District Congress Committee and myself met the Ministers and arranged to bring the Parliamentary Secretary of the Food Department here. On April 10, the Parliamentary Secretary promised to an all-party gathering that modified rationing would be introduced in Sadar, Tufangunge and Dinhata Sub-divisions from April 16. He also assured of outside supply of rice. On April 17, we sent a telegram to the Chief Minister with copy to the Food Minister stating in it that rice was selling at Rs. 70 at Sitai-

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in Dinhata and Rs. 55 at Cooch Behar town; people were getting furious, hunger march might begin, introduction of modified rationing requested.

"On April 19, five young men started hunger-strike on the verandah of the Deputy Commissioner's bungalow. On April 20 two more youths joined the hunger-strike and there was complete *hartal* in the town. Hunger-marchers again came out. Finding the situation serious, the President of the Sadar Subdivision Congress Committee requested the Deputy Commissioner to convene an all-party conference. Accordingly, the conference was held on that day at 3 p.m. in the D.C.'s office. Rationing was demanded but with no effect.

"In the morning of April 21, telegrams were again sent to the Chief Minister, Food Minister and the President of the Provincial Congress Committee. In it we stated, 'Food situation extremely serious. The promise of the Parliamentary Secretary for the introduction of rationing has not been fulfilled. As a result, hunger strike has begun. Hunger-marching continues. Yesterday there has been complete *hartal*, which may continue further. Position of Congress precarious. Outside food needed. Rationing must be introduced immediately. Wire decision.' On the same morning at 9 o'clock, the President of the Sadar Subdivision Congress Committee and myself went to the D.C. and requested him to realise the gravity of the situation and not to do anything which might infuriate the people. We also requested him to declare that rationing had been introduced from that day. We assured him to go to Calcutta on April 23 and we wanted 15 days' time for solving the food problem. We also told him that till we met him in the evening nothing should be done from the Government side which might be felt by the people to be undesirable or provocative. If that were done, the situation would go out of control. I wanted temporary rationing for pacifying the people and ascertaining their views. Local authorities turned a deaf ear to my proposals. The result was the sad incident. I shall explain them in detail at the time of enquiry.

"Immediately after the incident, telegrams were sent to the Prime Minister of India, Chief Minister of West Bengal and President of the West Bengal Congress Committee. After the firing I followed the dead and the injured to the hospital and stayed there till 2-45 p.m. At 3 p.m. I convened an emergency meeting of the District Congress Committee. A resolution was adopted condemning unwarranted firing on peaceful hunger-marchers and the unreasonable and inhuman steps the local authorities had taken. In the resolution, their act was described as barbarous. It also demanded the presence of the Chief Minister on the spot. Copies of the resolution were sent to Prime Minister of India, Chief Minister of West Bengal, Police Minister, West Bengal Congress President, Chief Whip of the Congress Party, General Secretary of the A.-I.C.C., Food Minister, etc.

"In the afternoon I joined the public meeting but I with my workers was not allowed to speak. When we were there, the D.C. sent an urgent message to the President of the Subdivisional Congress to meet him at his office. In reply it was stated that as he had, in spite of serious and earnest requests, taken no steps to stop this dastardly firing it was not possible to meet him without consulting the members of the Committee. On April 22 the D.C.'s permission was sought so that two non-official doctors might be present at the post-mortem examinations of the victims of firing. In another letter, it was brought to his notice that the A.-I.R. had broadcast a news that 24 policemen had been injured by brickbats and acid bulbs and the D.C.'s permission sought for examining these policemen by non-official doctors. Both the letters remained unreplied.

"On April 22, we met the Divisional Commissioner and asked for a non-official enquiry and requested him to place the local administration in new hands because the people did not feel safe under the present local authorities. He regretted his inability to accede to the demand for non-official enquiry and said that he would himself conduct the enquiry."

The state of administration revealed in the statement quoted above, if it be correct, has been shown to be staggeringly inefficient. The Central Home Minister has promised a statement on the Cooch Behar incident. Needless to say the matter deserves urgent and serious attention and very firm action.

Indian Communists

On the 10th of March last Indian Union's Home Minister, Shri Chakravarti Rajagopalachari, re-iterated the Government's policy with regard to the Communists of Indian parentage who have been dancing to the tune of Moscow passed through Bucharest, the capital of Rumania, the Cominform's new propaganda centre. The Home Minister is a man of peace who has passed the major portion of his life as a lawyer, and the last 30 years as a votary of non-violence. But when he has had to share the responsibility of State he has risen equal to the occasion and always dealt with anti-social elements as they deserved.

In 1947, the Communists had observed some sort of a benevolent neutrality towards the Indian Government headed by Sri Jawaharlal Nehru. But in the beginning of 1948, a change came over the spirit of their activities. At a secret meeting of their Politi Bureau they resolved to switch back to their instinctive policy of sabotage of national effort in the new set-up of a Free India as they had done during the war years since 1941 when they co-operated with Lord Linlithgow in putting down our Liberation Movement. Communists from East Asia, specially from Burma and Malaya, were said to have taken part in this Conference. The result became apparent when the Communists opened their offensive operations in Telengana, on the Indo-Hyderabad border, exploiting peasant grievances for their own purposes.

They turned their attention next to Assam where conditions of infiltration from over Burma were easier and the "tribals" are an easier group to dupe. Of both these fields of their own choice, they stand discredited today. But they have ever been on the look-out for social sores whereon they can settle and drive their poison in. From their hide-outs, their leadership has been issuing directives to their followers. Some

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of these Sri Chakravarty Rajagopalachari has summarized. We publish these below as published in the daily press:

"Three leading Indian Communists have issued to their comrades a statement on September 23, 1950, explaining the Communist Party's policy. It is categorically stated therein that the party should put the peasant movement progressively on the rails of armed struggle, and that in agrarian relations, they should, by mass mobilisation and direct action as in Telengana, create armed forces in the rural areas and strong bases for their operation. It was further categorically stated therein that there is no question of liquidating Telengana, but that on the contrary it was a question of raising the movement in the rest of the country to the level of Telengana.

"The Politburo of the Communist Party of India issued a policy statement on November 15, 1950 in the following terms:

'Finally, it is necessary to clearly grasp the truth that the armed struggle has become the principal form of struggle in the present agrarian revolutionary stage that our national liberation movement has grown to'.

"It was added that simultaneously they should adopt and co-ordinate all other conceivable forms of struggle, such as economic and political strikes, demonstrations, agricultural labour and tenant struggles, signature collections for peace-pledge, election contests and so on."

Sri Rajagopalachari then quoted a special circular issued by the Central Committee of the party in regard to Telengana. The circular read:

"The Central Committee notes that certain statements are being made demanding the withdrawal of the heroic struggle of Telengana people led by the Communist Party against their age-long oppressors, with arms in hand for land and liberty. The Central Committee wishes the party ranks to note that such statements will be disruptive of Telengana struggle, the harbinger of the people's democratic revolution in India, which the enemy is trying to drown in blood. The Central Committee stresses upon all party members and people to defend Telengana with all the means at their debated.'

Sri Rajagopalachari said:

"An important foreign Communist who was invited to advise the Indian Communist Party, gave the following opinion on December, 1950: 'It is the task of the Communist Party to skilfully utilise the stand of the Nehru Government on questions like Korea, atom bomb, etc. Regarding armed struggle, as we have stated in our letter, we do not deny that ultimately the revolution in India will and must take the form of armed struggle. It is hardly to be debated.

"It is thus clear that we cannot accept declarations and challenges but must await facts and whether crime reported from Telengana, Madras and Assam and elsewhere shows substantial decrease."

These directives prove, if any proof were necessary in view of the birth and growth of World Communism, that Indian Communists are out on an armed fight with which there can be no compromise. India's Home Minister has indicated the policy that he would be following. His words were soft but forth-right. And coming as these do from him, we feel that the Indian *intelligentsia* who have developed a sneaking fondness for this malign influence on peace and goodwill among men will revise their attitude. Secretly helping the Communists and keeping themselves studiously within the law is a thin pretence that can no longer help either themselves or their people. There come times when neutrality becomes a crime. One such has come over to us. And we must mobilize all our resources, moral and material, to fight and defeat and annihilate this evil force.

The leaders of Indian Communists, the majority of them, belonged to the class of "educated discontent." Without their help this pest could not have bred in such profusion. That help cut away, the malignant growth will be sterilized and die. Only then can conditions return which will enable our people to build up the life of their dreams and aspirations.

Students' Brutality and Indiscipline

Dr. Kanhaiya Lal Garg, Principal, Barasheni Degree College, Aligarh University, was fatally assaulted on the evening of the 6th April last while going back to his house after the examinations. He was the Superintendent of examinations of the U.P. Board and Agra University, and it is alleged that he was a victim of the students' fury because of his conscientious discharge of duties at the centre.

This tragedy should serve as an eye-opener to the Government and a pointer to the climax of indiscipline among students. This educationist died at the post of duty, and so it is the bounden duty of the Government to make ample provision for the support of his young widow and small children.

Such a promising career was cut short for he was only 35; and his abrupt end in ghastly circumstances has sent a thrill of horror and indignation among principals, teachers and educationists.

Some years ago, Narayan Chanda, an "invigilator" of examinations under the Calcutta University, was murdered at the instance of a Muslim candidate who was caught while using unfair means and asked to go out. He threatened Narayan Chanda, and helped carry out his threat by having him murdered. He escaped because there was Muslim League Mnistry then in power, the young man having influential relatives.

In the Aligarh case there appears to be no communal bias to inspire the cowardly deed. But the evil has gone beyond mere communal. During the recent Matriculation examination held at Calcutta, the Rector of the Bhowanipur Mitra Institution was threatened; and it was carried out, though fortunately not effectively as at Aligarh. The evil has become one to be tackled by the State. Only the sternest of measures can halt the downward tendency amongst our students. And the State can do its duty if Society is as stern in its determination to stamp out youthful brutality.

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A Constitution for Pakistan

The proposal for a proper constitution for Pakistan has been hanging fire for about three years. True to its Objective Resolution, the rulers of Pakistan could not but give it an Islamic character. But from these opinions between the modern-educated Pakistanis and the upholders of traditional Islam have differed and differed rather violently. The late Moulana Sabbir Ahmed was the leader of the latter, and after his death his fellow-workers and followers have taken up the task.

From Karachi came the news on February 1 last that "35 prominent Ulemas of Pakistan, who gathered in Karachi recently, have formulated a draft enumerating what, according to them, should constitute the "fundamental principles of an Islamic constitution."

The draft, which has been submitted to the Constituent Assembly Secretariat, categorically states that "the recommendations made by the Basic Principles Committee and the Committee on Fundamental rights are not in accord with the principles of Islam."

The conference, originally called to outline a detailed Islamic Constitution, could not proceed further to achieve this objective because the President of the Constituent Assembly refused to hand over to them a copy of the recommendations of the Board of Talimat-e-Islamic of the Constituent Assembly.

The conference decided to invite proposals from all persons interested in Islamic thought and to meet again shortly to consider those proposals and draw up a detailed constitution. Some of the fundamental principles recommended by the conference are:

(1) The law of the land shall be based on the Quran and Sunnah.

(2) The State shall be based not on geographical, racial, linguistic or any other materialistic concepts, but on the principles and objectives of the Islamic scheme of life.

(3) It shall be incumbent upon the State to uphold the right and suppress the wrong as postulated in the Quran and Sunnah.

(4) It shall be the responsibility of Government to guarantee the provision of basic human necessities to all citizens, irrespective of religion or race, who are temporarily or permanently incapable of earning their livelihood due to un-employment, sickness or other reasons.

(5) Citizens shall be entitled to all the rights conferred on them by the Islamic law.

(6) The non-Muslim citizens of the State shall, within the limits of the law, have complete freedom of religion and worship, mode of life, culture and religious education.

(7) All obligations assumed by the State within the limits of the Shariat towards the non-Muslim citizens shall be fully honoured.

(8) No citizen shall be awarded any punishment on any charge without being given full opportunity of defence and without the decision of a court.

(9) Head of the State must be a male Muslim in whose piety, ability and soundness of judgment the people or their elected representatives have confidence.

(10) The body empowered to elect the head of the State shall also be empowered to remove him by a majority of votes.

(11) No interpretation of the Constitution, which is in conflict with the provisions of the Quran or Sunnah shall be valid."

There are enough controversial issues in this scheme to cause headache to the present rulers of our neighbouring State, specially Clauses (5), (6), (7) and (9) as these will not enable them to pose before the world as progressives. We have yet to know how the womanhood of Pakistan react to Clause (9). About non-Muslims the duties assumed are hard to fulfil in the prevailing atmosphere of Pakistan.

Indo-Pakistan Permit Regulations

A stern warning that if Pakistan persisted in continuing its stringent regulations regarding grant of permits to Indian nationals to visit Pakistan, the Government of India shall have to revise their permit system, was administered by the Minister of State for Rehabilitation in the Indian Parliament. Sri Jain stated that "international relations are based on reciprocal basis and we must do something to make Pakistan realise that they must behave in a civilised manner." Demand for reciprocal treatment with Pakistan has been long and continuously insistent, but the Government of India has so far preferred to follow a one-way traffic with them in an impossible effort to win the love of Pakistan. A realistic policy with desired firmness pursued from the beginning would have gone a great way to avoid a number of losses, complications and humiliations.

The occasion for Sri Jain administering this warning was provided by Mr. Hussain Imam, who made most astounding statements in Parliament today speaking on the Evacuee Property Bill that Pakistan treated her minorities better than the Government of India treated their minorities in regard to evacuee property law, grant of permits, etc.

The remarks of Mr. Imam drew righteous indignation from several members including Pandit Thakurdas Bhargava, Sri R. K. Sidhwa, Pandit Hridayanath Kunzru, Sardar Bhopinder Singh Mann, Sri A. C. Guha and others who emphasised how Government of India had shown greatest forbearance in the matter of evacuee property despite Pakistan Government's wanton and appropriatory actions in this regard. They pointedly referred to the Rehabilitation Bill of Pakistan corresponding to which there was no law contemplated yet in India.

Sri Jain chastised Mr. Imam for the incorrect and distorted statements made by him and quoted chapter

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and verse to show how minorities in India had been in every respect treated most fairly and generously as compared to the treatment that minorities received in Pakistan.

Referring to the issue of permits, Sri Jain stated that six weeks' notice was required for obtaining permits to visit Pakistan whereas permits for visiting India were issued within half an hour to 36 hours of application. Income-tax clearance certificates were demanded by Pakistan from temporary visitors, whereas Government of India did not require any such certificates. Medical certificates were insisted on by Pakistan from Indian nationals intending to visit ailing relations in Pakistan and there was no laxing of these provisions even on humanitarian considerations. "Could the application of the stringent permit system of Pakistan be compared by any means with the liberal permit system of India?"—he asked.

Replying to the debate, the Minister of State for Rehabilitation said that while listening to the speech of Mr. Imam he had begun to wonder whether he (Mr. Imam) was speaking as a responsible member of the Parliament and an Indian national or whether somebody had briefed him on behalf of Pakistan.

A Member: "He is himself a Pakistani."

Sri Jain said Mr. Imam had apparently attempted to advocate the cause of Indian Muslims but it would be better if Indian Muslims did not have such advocates. All the statements of Mr. Imam were incorrect and made "purposefully or based on wrong information."

The Rehabilitation Minister said that, was it Mr. Imam's contention that a company's shares were held either by Muslims or Hindus and not by both? If the latter was the case, apart from the legal interpretation, would it be the intention of the Government to declare Hindus' property as evacuee property?

Sri Jain said that Government had two courses open. By virtue of being the holders of the majority of the shares they could apply and get the articles of association amended to vest the management in their hands.

This they had attempted to do in the case of the Umbernath Mills. But the High Court had come in the way and they found the Law was defective. Therefore Government had come before the House for amending the Law. It did not mean that the rights of the minority shareholders would be affected. Government would either manage the company themselves or allot it to some refugees. In either case a profit would be obtained and the minority shareholders would get their dividend.

Pakistan had been doing this, not through Law but illegally, whereas the Government of India wanted to do it legally. Mr. Hussain Imam wanted the Government to look at the Pakistan Law and not into the practice there. That might be good logic for him and men of his thinking but the amendment brought forward by Government was a perfectly good amendment both in law and in morality.

Referring to the working of the Evacuee Property Law, Sri Ajit Prasad Jain reiterated that the Custodian had clearly laid down that where a property was owned by more than one person and where all the persons were not evacuees only the share of the evacuee should be taken over. He challenged Mr. Imam to point out a single case where the contrary happened.

Sri Jain said that Mr. Imam had mentioned the case of one person who had exchanged his property in Pakistan with that in India. The instance had taken place but the property exchanged in India was not an evacuee property. If Mr. Hussain Imam wanted to exchange his property—and he was not an evacuee—with the property left behind by someone in Pakistan and declared as evacuee property, nobody stood in the way. Did Mr. Hussain Imam want the Government of India to enact that no Muslim in India should be able to sell his property? Every Muslim in the country was free to sell or mortgage or otherwise dispose of his property and "I am not ashamed of it and I am proud of it," Sri Jain said.

Sri Jain said that he had mentioned the Umbernath Mills case only as an example. The amendment was not being brought forward only to deal with that case. The amendment had been brought forward in pursuance of the agreement with Pakistan last June. The agreement did not contemplate the present amendment but Pakistan went back on her word.

Sri Jain said: "If Pakistan is willing to declare all shares in joint stock companies as non-evacuee property, I will accept it and declare every share in India as non-evacuee shares. Let my friend Mr. Hussain Imam, who has so ably advocated the cause of Pakistan to the detriment of India, persuade his clients, and I am prepared to abide by the undertaking I have given here. Mr. Imam may have given an opportunity to the Pakistan papers to splash his speech, but he has not rendered any service to India or to the Indian nation."

Referring to Mr. Imam's contention that the Evacuee property law in Pakistan applied only to 20 per cent of the minorities, whereas in India it applied to 70 per cent, Sri Jain said the law was a territorial law. The very fact that in the areas to which the Indian law applied, a large number of Muslims lived was evidence of the fact that Muslims in India had confidence in the country and were not leaving the country. In Pakistan, the law applied only to 20 per cent of the minorities because the rest had left. If Pakistan followed its present policy, in fact, the law there would apply only to zero per cent of the minorities.

Sri Jain said as regards evacuee property in India, he was not prepared to allow any private exchanges. He had allowed it only in one case. In that case the

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actual exchanges had taken place already and possession had been obtained. Only the formalities had remained and so he had given permission.

The Rehabilitation Minister then dealt with Mr. Imam's allegations that the permit system in India was very stringent and that the permit system did not apply to 60 per cent of the population of Pakistan whereas it did in India. Sri Jain said that Mr. Imam's statement was "completely incorrect." Any Muslim in India could go to East Bengal and any Muslim living in East Bengal could come to West Bengal. A Muslim living in Pakistan could not come to India through the eastern border without a permit and the *vice versa* was true. As far as East Bengal was concerned, the permit system did not apply to 100 per cent of the population. Even Mr. Imam was at liberty to go there and come back.

In regard to the permit system for West Pakistan whereas temporary permits for visit to India could be obtained and had actually been issued in many cases at half an hour to 36 hours' notice, in the case of visits to West Pakistan, the permit would have to be applied for six weeks in advance. "Does this show there is greater harshness on our side?"—Sri Jain asked. Again, while a simple "no sanction" certificate was enough for a Muslim to go to Pakistan and return to India, in the case of Pakistan an identity certificate and a return permit was required. The Pakistan High Commissioner in India had no power even to extend a return permit.

Sri Jain said that recently a Muslim from Sitapur had come to him for help. His son had been suffering from T.B. and he had received pathetic letters to go to Pakistan. But when he applied for a permit he was told to come back after some weeks. The gentleman had come to him for help but he had been helpless. He had, however, interceded with the Pakistan High Commissioner to take pity on the man and issue a permit even if he was not authorised. The High Commissioner had done so.

Sri Jain also referred to the introduction of the system of Income Tax clearance certificate introduced by Pakistan as a result of which no Hindu or Muslim could leave Pakistan without producing that certificate, even if he had gone to Pakistan only for a day. The previous arrangement between the two Governments was that a person going there for about 20 days or two months in a year should not be asked to produce such a certificate. But Pakistan had gone back on this. This was causing harassment to everybody. Sri Jain said that the way in which the certificates could be obtained in Pakistan had "better not be said." Again, Pakistan did not permit Indian traders to go beyond Lahore.

Sri Jain said: "Let me assure the House that if Pakistan persists in its present practice, we shall have to stiffen our permit law (hear, hear). In international matter, let it be understood, things have to be done on a reciprocal basis. If Pakistan does not behave properly, we shall have to do something to make them realise and behave in a civilised fashion.

The Rehabilitation Minister said that during the debate Mr. Imam had tried to challenge the fact that a permanent permit had been issued to his wife. Sri Jain said he could produce the permit issued to Mr. Imam's wife. Mr. Imam wanted that not only should his wife be given a permanent permit to return to India, but also wanted an assurance that her property would be restored to her. "It is not for love that he wants to bring his wife but because of her property. I am not going to give any assurance and the question will be considered on merits and when his wife comes back to India."

Sign and Symbol of Frustration

Jugantar, daily of Calcutta, has featured the news that Janab Abul Hashim resigned his "special" seat in the West Bengal Assembly on the 20th April last and has decided to settle down in East Bengal where his wife and children have been in residence since February, 1950, when Muslim League policy started to make Hindu life, honour and property insecure. The Nehru-Liaquat Ali Pact threw oil over the troubled waters. But men like Janab Hashim after giving it a trial for 12 months have felt that it was not sufficient for their own "Pakistani" purposes. So as one of the League stalwarts who had been directly concerned with the "Direct Action" animalism of August 16, 1946, he has gone.

At the same time it seems strange that this should happen. Abul Hashim is the son of the late Abdul Kashim, a disciple of Surendranath Banerjea with his robust nationalism before the "two-nations" theory was raised. Burdwan Muslims specially were free from this poison. Janab Hashim somehow fell off this parental political faith, and did his worst to spread the poison that has made millions of men, women and children outcasts in their own homelands, "refugees" from and to West and East India. The staff report in the *Jugantar* carried some pathos into this scene of a politician departing from his native land for good. It reports that the Muslim League leader compared his own case with that of Sakuntala who felt a pang for every creeper that she had watered, for every tree that she had helped grow. Such is the native land's attraction.

Janab Abul Hashim was asked for a parting message. All that he could say was that the "many forces" that have hitherto enabled Bengalis to stand up amid the conflicts and competitions of modern life will stand them in good stead. He repeated a few words of Gandhiji which conveyed the idea—"The 15th of August was not the last word in India's history." He appeared to build his own future and that of his people on these words.

We devote this editorial space to Janab Abul Hashim's

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experiences because he has a representative character, which he described in words of particular significance. Others, specially foreigners, have been more explicit in their views. The latest has been Mr. Norman Thomas, Socialist leader in the U.S.A. whose views will be found in the Bombay news, dated March 21 last:

"The modern tendency of attempting to solve political issues through partition was very much to be regretted," said Mr. Norman Thomas, the American Socialist leader, at a Press Conference here today.

"Maybe there is no alternative, but I find all partitions hard to take. However, I hope partition will be ended by a federalisation of India and Pakistan or by some sort of autonomous relation. This will prove to be in the interests of both the nations and all concerned. The question must be settled without war."

In reply to a direct question whether or not Pakistan has brought happiness to the people concerned, he is repeated as saying after "a little pause":

"This artificial division has not brought any Bengali nearer to peace and a brighter future; this the public of Bengal has realized at long last."

Oil Nationalisation Move in Iran

The *Economist* (April 21) discusses at length the implications of the oil "nationalisation" move in Iran and the confusion created by the disturbances in Abadan. It also analyses the sobering effect of Mr. Herbert Morrison's speech of April 13.

The *Economist* writes: "His (Mr. Morrison's) firm statement to the House on April 13, when it was clear that British lives were in grave danger and the Abadan oil refinery was slowing down to a standstill, made its mark in Teheran. The forces of order were strengthened and those who started the campaign for the nationalisation of the petroleum industry found themselves in a riotous alliance with the Communist-led Tudeh Party, associated with violence and strikes, and moving uneasily at the heart of a new centre of international tension.

"Mr. Morrison clarified the issues immediately; by his obvious determination to defend this country's most valuable asset overseas, and by his implied warning that negotiations about petroleum cannot take place under threat of mob violence, he separated the problem of maintaining order from the problem of the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company—which is to negotiate with Teheran some way of dealing with the demand for what is called 'nationalisation'."

The *Economist* points out that only a small proportion of Persians took an active part in the rioting. Mostly they were made up of the usual Communist agitators—"to whom the whole oil dispute has been a glorious opportunity." Fortunately, the Persian police and troops brought the affair under control although, it asserts, "no one can be sure that another emergency might not cause a total collapse."

Dealing specifically with the nationalisation issue, the *Economist* continues: "The fact has to be faced that 'nationalisation' means, as at present stated, nothing more or less than expropriation—that is to say, seizure of an enterprise in which over £350 million of British capital has been sunk.

"Yet it is absolutely certain that the Persian Government could not run the enterprise without extensive foreign help. If it were to persist in its aim, it would be the end not only of the oil company but of Persian economy; for it is clear that not for decades would the Persians be able to operate a concern of the magnitude and international ramifications of this gigantic oil extracting, refining and marketing organisation. And without the already great but potentially even larger revenue it draws from the Anglo-Iranian, the Persian Government would be without a regular reliable income.

"Internal collapse would be dangerous in any country; how much more far-reaching would the results be for a country which is next door neighbour to a great Power whose shortage of oil is one of its chief economic weaknesses—the Soviet Union.

"Important and obvious though these facts are—and the company has relied too much on them in the past—a new approach to the problem has to be made. A solution, practical, equitable and peaceful, must be found. Already four of the eight weeks that were asked for by the Majlis Commission which is considering ways of "nationalising' petroleum have passed. Whoever first puts up a reasonable proposal will gain the initiative in the negotiation.

"Ideas are needed; and they should be ideas that can be applied equally well to similar problems that arise wherever a great Western commercial interest has to come to terms with the growing national pride and ambition of a Government to which it owes its opportunities. Persia versus the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company is a test case which will set precedents for other great companies. And it is an opportunity for the British to show political imagination and administrative ingenuity.

"In Rumania, on the Danube, in Eastern Germany, in Manchuria, the Russians have settled the problem in their own drastic manner—the Communist imperialist solution of 'joint company.' That is not the British way with independent nations: but a British way must be found."

There are four essential facts to be considered, adds the *Economist*. "The oil belongs to Persia. Secondly, this oil has been found, extracted, refined and sold, thanks entirely to British skill, initiative, labour and money. Thirdly, the Persians could not possibly operate the company themselves," and fourthly, "for internal reasons the Persian Government must be more closely associated with the oil operations—and must obtain more money from them."

The *Economist* then suggests that "a simple and practical plan might be to form a new and purely Persian

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company which would acquire the sole rights to oil from the Anglo-Iranian's present oilfields and would own and operate wells, pumping stations and pipelines.

"The role of the Anglo-Iranian Company will be to refine oil and market it—in fact, deal with all the essential international operations. The Persian Government would ultimately obtain its revenue not from royalties on oil extracted as at present, but by selling its own nationalised oil to A.I.O.C.

"But as neither the proposed new company nor, indeed, the Persian Government would have sufficient funds to compensate the Anglo-Iranian for the loss of its concession and at least £300 million of equipment, compensation would be paid for some years to come in oil, with an additional agreement that the highly-trained British staff should work for the new Persian company during the period that compensation is being paid. The present process of 'Persianisation' would continue and would, in fact, be speeded up as much as possible, especially by taking Persian directors on to the board of the A.I.O.C. until the entire oil business would be in Persian hands.

"An agreement on these lines should not be difficult to negotiate, given goodwill on both sides. But in view of the probability that such an agreement would become a prototype for other agreements in other parts of the world, consultation between the British and American Governments should be viewed with neither resentment nor alarm in Persia."

Concluding, the *Economist* says: "On one point there can be no doubt; straight expropriation is unacceptable and it is useless to believe that Persian national feeling could allow proper money compensation over a long period. Expropriation would make it impossible to secure capital for those further developments in the oilfields on which Persia's future prosperity and power depend. Likewise, it should be clear that it is for the Majlis Commission to say what its two Houses meant by 'nationalisation' when they voted for it five weeks ago."

On April 26, a special session of the Majlis Oil Committee unanimously passed a resolution to put the nationalisation of Persia's Oil into effect immediately. The resolution will be submitted to the Majlis on April 28 and if approved will need only the sanction of the Senate to become law.

The resolution said: "1.—For the enforcement of the law of March 15, on the nationalisation of Persian oil, a joint committee including five Senators, five Majlis Deputies, the Minister of Finance, and one more member appointed by the Government be formed.

2. The Government is bound to take over all the activities of the former Anglo-Iranian Oil Company supervised by the above Board immediately. If the Company insists on its claims against the Persian Government, the Government can meet them by setting aside 25 per cent of the net oil profits after deducting exploitation expenditure.

3. The Government is to investigate and obtain the Joint Board the judicial and financial claims of the Persian Government and the legal claims of the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company. A report will later be made to both Houses for approval and putting into force.

4. In view of the fact that oil nationalisation was approved by the Senate on March 20 all the income on oil and oil products is the right of the Persian people. The Government is bound to audit the Company's accounts with the supervision of the Joint Board. The Joint Board is also to supervise closely all matters of exploitation.

5. The Joint Board is to prepare as soon as possible a constitution for a Persian National Oil Company, including the appointment of a Board of Directors and a supervising Joint Board of Experts, and to seek the approval of both Houses.

6. The replacement of foreign experts by Persian experts is to be prepared by sending a number of students abroad every year for training in all training sciences connected with oil. Expenses are to be paid from oil income.

7. All former customers of the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company may purchase the same amount of oil that they bought from January 1948 to March 1951 at International prices and they also have priority over all other purchasers if they offer equal conditions with other customers.

8. All proposals by the Joint Board are to be submitted first to the special Majlis Oil Commission and after approval the report is to be submitted to the Majlis.

9. Within three months of the approval of this law the Joint Board is to end its activities, but may ask for extension from the Majlis."

Oil nationalisation in Iran will decide the fate of foreign companies exploiting the resources in Asia. Iran has moved forward where India faltered. It is to be seen whether the alternative arrangement suggested by the *Economist* will serve as a basis for compromise.

Iran's Difficulties

Iran's conflict with Britain over the Anglo-Persian Oil Company's profits, over the percentages of these profits, whether or not these are to be on a 50 : 50 basis, have been receiving disproportionate attention in the world. This is our general habit; we make more noise over the destructive activities than over the constructive possibilities inherent in every human situation. Iran's latest experience has been bearing out the truth of this contention. The New York *World Interpreter* of March 5 last records such an event. A Teheran news said:

"Peasants Today, Landowners Tomorrow!" The semi-official paper, *Ittelaat*, hailed a recent decision of the Shah that peasants on the Royal Estates receive full title to enough land for the support of their families. The paper points out that land alone will hardly improve the condition of the impoverished peasants; capital, implements, improved seed, modern methods, education and better health are just as necessary as land. Precisely for this reason, however, plans are being worked out

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for a Farmer's Bank with large powers and ample capital.

"The peasants will be expected to pay for their new land, but on very favorable terms. Payments will be extended over a period of at least 15 years with exemption of payments altogether for the first few years. The land to be divided is extensive. The Director of the Royal Estates reports that in 1941 when Riza Shah was deported from Iran, he passed on to his son, the present Shah, more then 6,000 villages and tracts. Since then, much of the property has been returned to former owners or otherwise disposed of. From the remaining 2,300 villages and 2,600 forest holdings the annual income of £2,500,000 has been spent on health, education and social services.

"However, the Royal Estates are only a small part of feudal Iran, so too much can not be expected in a hurry. This experiment must succeed before it can be extended to other landlords. Peasants who have had their work planned for them for centuries, will not become independent American-type farmers living on their own land. Iran must find its own solution, and can hardly follow the American pattern. Communal interests, general irrigation systems and village life will be preserved, as the villager receives more and more fruits of his work.

"Nevertheless, the die is cast, and Iran is on the move. A Commission entrusted with the fulfilment of the great task—the turning over of the land and the building up of successful peasant farming—is already visiting villages to investigate the practical first steps."

Disposal of India's Tea

"There will be no bulk purchase of 1951 tea by the U. K. but some quantity of tea would be allowed to be consigned to the U. K. during 1951 without undergoing sale transactions in India."

This was disclosed in Parliament today (March 26th) by Shri Hare Krushna Mahtab, in reply to Shri U. P. Barman. The Minister of Commerce and Industry stated that as a result of the change of place of sale, a part of the profits attributable to the sale operations outside India would not be chargeable to Indian income-tax as income accruing or arising in India. The profits attributable to the manufacturing operations would, however, be taxable.

The consequent loss to the Indian Exchequer by allowing the tea to be shipped without sale operations would be Rs. 20 lakhs.

Other facts brought out in the reply were:

The Minister stated that the price of India tea was lower as compared with the price of tea from other countries. The Indian price would certainly be lower when it should be a competitive price. The price was not control'ed and would be regulated by the demands in the auctions. There was no intention of the Government to increase the export duty of tea.

Referring to the steps taken so far to develop Calcutta as a world tea centre, the Minister said that at the instance of the Government, construction of additional warehousing accommodation had been undertaken by the Port Commissioners of Calcutta with a view to increasing facilities of storage of additional quantity of tea that might be disposed of through the Calcutta tea auctions.

The *Ad Hoc* Commission appointed for the purpose of recommending steps to be taken for the development of Indian tea had submitted its report.

The salient points of its recommendations included *the need for assistance to the tea industry in securing supplies of essential materials, such as fertilisers and tea chests,* system of deferred payment of excise duty on tea, revision of the basis of levy of income-tax, super-tax, etc., on the tea industry so as to exem t from taxation the amount of profit utilised for benefit of labour, additional warehousing, accommodation at Calcutta, to facilitate the routeing through the Calcutta tea auctions of an additional quantity of tea.

Revision of Postal Charges

The revised postal rates which will come into effect from the 1st of May, 1951, have been announced in a Posts and Telegraphs Department notification issued on Friday. The changes notified are:

(1) Concessional rate of postage of one anna per tola for local delivery letters is abolished. All inland letters and business reply envelopes will be charged at the ordinary rate of two annas for the first tola and one anna for every additional tola or part thereof. Postage on local delivery postcards and business reply postcards will continue to remain unchanged.

(2) Registration fee on inland or foreign articles will be increased from four annas to four annas six pies.

(3) All V.P. articles containing goods of the value of over rupees twenty-five are required to be compulsorily insured for at least the actual amount to be recovered from the addressee and insurance fee collected accordingly. Further, on all V.P. articles in the inland service a posting fee of one anna will be charged from the sender when the amount, to be recovered from the addressee, does not exceed rupees twenty-five and a posting fee of two annas when the amount to be recovered from the addressee exceeds rupees twenty-five. The total charge which the sender of a V.P. article will be required to pay in postage stamps will thus be as follows:

(*a*) Value not exceeding rupees twenty-five: (i) postage at letter packet or parcel rate as the case may be, (ii) registration fee of four annas six pies, (iii) posting fee of one anna. (*b*) Value exceeding rupees twenty-five: (i) postage at letter packet or parcel rate as the case may be, (ii) registration fee of four annas six pies, (iii) posting fee of two annas and (iv) insurance fee according to the value.

(4) Scale of insurance fees for insurance of all inland postal articles will be revised as follows:

Four annas where value insured does not exceed one hundred rupees and two annas for every additional one

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hundred rupees or part over the first one hundred rupees. The maximum value for which an article can be insured will be raised from rupees three thousand to rupees five thousand.

(5) Rate of commission on inland money orders will be revised as follows: (a) for an amount not exceeding rupees five—two annas, (b) exceeding rupees five but not exceeding rupees ten—three annas, (c) exceeding rupees ten, but not exceeding rupees fifteen—four annas, (d) exceeding rupees fifteen, but not exceeding rupees twenty-five—annas six, (e) for amount exceeding rupees twenty-five the money order commission will be six annas for each complete sum of rupees 25 and 6 annas for the remaining provided that if the remainder does not exceed rupees five the charge for it shall be only two annas, if the remainder does not exceed rupees ten the charge shall be only three annas and if the remainder does not exceed rupees fifteen the charge for it shall be only four annas.

Simultaneously the existing air mail will be abolished and on all inland money orders, surcharge of one anna per money order will be charged. These, like letters and postcards will be carried by air under the all-up scheme.

(6) Stationery charge for registration of envelopes will be revised from six pies at present to one anna and six pies. The selling price of registration envelopes with face value of six annas and six pies will therefore be eight annas from that date. Until such time as new registration envelopes bearing the emboss with six annas and six pies are made available the existing registration envelopes will be sold after affixing six pies postage stamps.

The efficiency of the postal department under Mr. Rafi Ahmed Kidwai has completely gone down. The stoppage of Sunday work has virtually dislocated the week-end postal service. It is often found that letters and packets posted on Saturday evening reach their destination on Tuesday at the earliest. A packet posted at the Calcutta G.P.O. on Monday was delivered in its own delivery area on Wednesday. Some Calcutta Post Offices are being worked up to 8 P.M. but unless Sunday deliveries and quick service are restored such facilities will be of little avail.

The latest increase in postal rates are absolutely unwarranted. The combined revenue of the Post-Telegraph-Telephone-Radio department shows an over-all surplus, we find no reason for increasing postal rates to make up for the loss of that individual section. The manner in which this increase has been effected has also been strongly criticised. The Railway Budget announced increase in railway fares. The General Budget came out with a number of tax increases, the postal rate increases were announced after the first two storms were over and on an entirely different occasion. The V.P. parcels have come in for the heaviest increase. This will further strangle muffassil trade, specially the book trade, which has already been very hard hit. Increase in money order fees is also bound to react unfavourably on the poorest sections of remitters.

And lastly we have the proposed clause which forbids the sending of V.P. packets by monthlies etc., unless a written order is obtained previously. This ridiculous clause will have a disastrous effect on all monthly magazines.

Reconstituted Railway Board

A reconstituted Railway Board with three functional members and the Financial Commissioner has started functioning from April 1, 1951. The post of Chief Commissioner of Railways has been retrenched. A railway officer of the rank of the Deputy Director in the Railway Board has been appointed Secretary of the reorganised Railway Board.

The functions of the reconstituted Railway Board are not in substance different from those of the Railway Board as it existed up to March 31, 1951. The methods of business and the procedure to be followed by the new Railway Board have, however, been radically altered, with a view to ensure both expedition and efficiency.

The Railway Board, as previously constituted, consisted of a Chief Commissioner, a Financial Commissioner and three functional members, together with the Secretary of the Transport Ministry. The Chief Commissioner was responsible for presiding at the Board meetings and for overall functional supervision and co-ordination of work.

Sri Gopalaswami Ayyangar referring to the new organisation of the Railway Board in his Budget speech stated:

"With the constitutional changes and with a Minister responsible to Parliament coming to be in charge of Railways, the functioning of the Board has altered substantially. There is now a regular weekly meeting of the Board as a whole with the Minister where several questions of policy are discussed and settled. Overall co-ordination is ensured first at the Board and then at the Minister's level. The need for an officer of the Board who is not burdened with departmental responsibilities is not now by any means compelling. The different members of the Board constitute what may be described as an 'All-India Railway Executive,' whose administrative work is suitably distributed amongst functional heads, each of whom presides over his particular department of railway activity.

On questions which require co-ordination among these different departments, the members come together and reach decisions as a collective body. The Minister controls the work of the Board and all directives given by him are carried out by it. The post of Chief Commissioner will therefore be retrenched from 1st April next, and the Board reconstituted with three functional members and the Financial Commissioner. Secretary of the Transport Ministry will, under existing conditions, continue to be, ex-officio, an additional member. One of the functional members will be appointed Chairman of the Board and, in that capacity, ex-officio function as Secretary to the Ministry.

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He will be responsible for the work of the Board as such and for the inter-Board co-ordination required for this purpose. He will also be in charge of the small Secretariat attached to the Board, in addition to being a functional member. The Financial Commissioner will retain his special position and function as Secretary to the Ministry in matters financial. The Board will function as a corporate body advising the Minister on all major questions of policy and issuing such executive orders as are necessary for the administration of the Indian Railways.

As a result of the retrenchment of the post of Chief Commissioner and certain other economies in the organisation of the Board's office, including a reduction in the status of the post of Secretary to the Board, economies to the extent of over Rs. 3½ lakhs will be realised."

Linguistic Provinces

The move for the creation of Linguistic Provinces has again been revived by leaders of certain provinces in Southern and Western India. The question may figure as one of the election issues and the Congress Working Committee meeting in the first week of May will probably have to consider it formally or informally. An influential deputation of Parliament members from Andhra, Kerala, Karnataka, Maharashtra and Tamil Nad led by Sri Nijalingappa waited on the Prime Minister and urged the creation of separate provinces in these regions on a linguistic basis. It is understood that they impressed on the Prime Minister that the people of these areas should be given an assurance in this regard before the elections are held. It is reported that the Prime Minister gave a patient hearing and invited constructive and concrete suggestions as to how this proposal would be given effect to. He is also reported to have suggested that such issues could best be resolved by agreement and understanding among the parties concerned. It is likely that the leader and protagonists of linguistic provinces will soon confer among themselves and come into consultation with the leader of public opinion of the areas and States concerned with a view to evolving definite proposals for submitting to the Prime Minister so that he may give practical consideration to the same. We are sorry to find that West Bengal is conspicuous by its absence in this new effort to alter provincial boundary on a linguistic basis. The West Bengal Government ought to take the lead in this matter for securing breathing space for this over-congested and mutilated province.

Manbhum Satyagraha

People of this country are familiar with reports of police lathi charge on opposition meetings. From Purulia however comes a report saying that the police had to make a lathi charge to disperse a meeting which was being addressed by two Ministers of the Bihar State. The meeting was convened by the Manbhum District Congress Committee. Several questions were put to ministers by members of the audience. The police tried to remove some of the questioners by force when there was uproar and the meeting ended in chaos. Some people were injured by lathi charges and the butt ends of police rifles. For weeks past, the Lok Sevak Sangh has been offering Satyagraha against iniquitous food laws in different parts of the district. The Government at first observed a detached indifference to this movement probably thinking that it would fizzle out. But when it was found that instead of collapsing, it was gaining momentum every day, the Government ordered action. Police made a lathi charge on a meeting of the Satyagrahis at Jhalda injuring several persons. Many Satyagrahis, including two M.L.A.s who had recently resigned from the Bihar Legislature to offer Satyagraha, were arrested. So long, the Ministers did not come out. The Purulia meeting referred to above had been convened the day after the arrests at Jhalda. All reports indicate that the Satyagrahis enjoy strong popular support. Unless the Government came to a quick compromise with the Satyagrahis, this struggle may lead to serious results.

Return of Peace to Telengana

The Vision, Swami Ramananda Tirtha's weekly, publishes a signed article by him. The report goes to show how the Communist menace has been brought under control. The States Ministry report of 1950-51, records the success of "Police Action" and the initiation of reconstructive activities costing more than Rs. 20 lakhs during this period. But we are tempted to accord more importance to *The Vision* report. For, it is of more permament value.

> "There is a definite psychological change in the people. The fallen hearts of thousonds have felt some relief. They are carrying on their work more freely and the fear complex is greatly minimised though not wholly removed. The panic created by the sten guns of unsocial elements, including the Communists, is fast waning and the fear of arms is growing less and less. Though it cannot be said that they have completely extricated themselves from the clutches of the arms, they have been feeling the futility of arms to build up life. All this needed a sympathetic view of their miseries. I have done nothing more than being amidst them in their woes and speaking to them heart to heart. *I am happy that the fallen hearts are once again experiencing the last breath of life though a feeble one at the present moment. The people are trying to see the way other than that shown by the Communist. An effective alternative has to be shown and reassuring feeling has to be created in them. This cannot be done by arms. Immediate ameliorative measures are necessary.* In this connection I would like to reiterate once again *the dire urgency of* solving the Agrarian problem in Telengana squarely and on a basis of justice and equity. The present hesitancy is not helpful. It will defeat the purpose of other efforts.
>
> There is one factor in the situation which should be remembered. On a critical analysis of the

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elements other than the Communists who for their own selfish interest are using the present situation in their own sinister way. These are not limited to a particular section. *These persons do not stay in their villages. They have deserted them. They stay near a Police Camp* or in Taluka headquarter. Some of them act as middlemen. They spin false stories. They try to aggravate the panic. Their interest lies in continuing the present state of affairs. They pay money to whomsoever it is necessary, at times, even to the Communist and petty elements in the administration. Some come from Zamindars, some from Patel Patwaris, some from the unsocial elements at times even under the garb of the Congress. Due to all these factors, the sufferings of the people have grown and the situation is complicated. Any truck with these sections will make matters worse."

Since this appeared in the *Vision*, we have heard that Acharya Vinoba Bhave has been conducting a "walking tour" through the same areas with the same object in view. May both these "tours" put heart in the people so that they can dare oppose anti-social element on the strength of their inner convictions.

The Problem of French India

The French "Establishments" in India cover an area of about 200 square miles with a tiny population of 362,045 only. The budgeted receipts and expenditure of these "Establishments" were in 1951 Rs. 72,00,000 and Rs. 77,95,000 respectively. Now that Chandannagore in Bengal with its 41,783 men and women have joined the Indian Union, the rest of the "Establishments," 4 in number, Pondicherry, Karikal, Mahe and Yanan, constitute the "problem" constituted by the greed for prestige of Republican France. All these and much more are given in Shri W. R. Rajkumar's book entitled above. It shows how France has been prolonging an unnatural condition of things which does not enhance her reputation or adds much to any material gains she makes out of these "Establishments." The latest statement of policy made on March 17 by M. Meynard Lands, Commissioner of French India, something like a Governor-General, does not indicate any change of spirit. In effect, it constitutes an irritation of spirit, a pinprick that cannot be maintained long.

Indians, Citizens and Residents in Ceylon

The following news was sent out by *Press Trust-Reuter's* Colombo correspondent:

"The charge that 'Government had deliberately deleted names of a large number of Indians from voters' lists to score a point in the next general elections' was made by Mr. W. Dahanayake (Lanka Samaj Party) in the House of Representatives here.

Mr. Dahanayake who was speaking during a debate raised on a supplementary demand sponsored by the Finance Minister, Mr. R. Jayawardene, to meet expenses of the Department of Parliamentary Elections added that while Indians had been given time till August 5, 1951 to register for Ceylon citizenship, it was unfair for Government to expunge in the meantime their names from electoral registers.

Mr. S. Thondaman (Ceylon Indian Congress) said that Indian estate workers were the worst affected by this deletion. Names of thousands of them had been expunged from voters' lists.

The Finance Minister replied that he was not the Minister in charge of registration of voters and, therefore, he could not answer the criticisms made. He promised to bring to notice of the appropriate Minister their criticisms. The demand was passed, 25 voting for and 13 against.

The news recalls attention to an injustice that is something of the Malan Government's discriminatory policy. Both in Ceylon and in South Africa Indian labourers in fields and factories were invited by the Governments to help develop the resources of these two countries. From being labourers, the Indians took roots and claimed their citizenship rights. This the ruling classes refuse to do; they direct their attention to up-rooting the makers of their country's economy and sending them out to start life anew. The Governments in India, both now and during the British period, could not help them much. Even the U.N.O. has been as unsuccessful. More sorrow and suffering are in store for the victims of injustice and the perpetrators thereof.

U.S.A. and Japan

A news item cabled from Tokyo on March 17 last said:

"Japan may be granted American credit totalling U. S. $2,400,000,000 to finance industrial production in close collaboration with American efforts to build an anti-Communist mechanism in Asia.

Japanese Government agencies concerned with economy and industry are currently busy compiling data on the basis of which co-ordination of American and Japanese industrial production can be effected. At the same time considerable care is being exercised in the choice of personnel for an economic mission to the United States which will remain there six months to discuss and to work out mechanisms and techniques for such co-ordination.

It is understood that Japanese industrialists are being consulted regarding a list of 61 items which the United States hopes Japan can produce in order to take pressure off American industry. The list does not include arms and munitions or foodstuff.

Most of the reported U. S. $2,400,000,000 credit will be used for the development of hydro-electric power, steel and coal industries. It is hoped that under the projected plan electric power production can be stepped up to 42,800,000,000 kilowatt hours per year. The steel industry to attain an annual output level of 6,000,000 tons of steel ingots and coal production be brought up to 45,000,000 tons. In addition, Japan will be expected to lift aluminium production to 56,000 tons and lead production to 47,000 tons yearly.

Japanese economic circles say that between 400,000,000 and 500,000,000 U. S. dollars will be earmarked for new hydro-electric power projects alone immediately after a peace treaty. In this connection it might be significant that Prime Minister Yoshida's industrialist son-in-law Tasaburo Asoyuki Jiro Shimoyama who represented Prime Minister Yoshida in the Dulles talks last month, were both

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recently appointed heads of two out of nine regional electric power companies."

A "special" message to the Calcutta *Amrita Bazar Patrika* sent out on March 21 thus elaborated the requirements of the plan:

"The future operation of the Japanese industrial complex will be integrated with the war mobilization effort of America through the newly established Office of Foreign Supplies and Requirements in Washington, which will have full control over procurement, handling and allocation of all strategic raw materials and industrial potentials in foreign countries that are available to the United States.

"Japan will be the main cog of the new American-designed international mechanism for supplying and producing goods necessary to furnish logistical support to anti-Communist countries, especially in Asia. Details of the integration plan are awaiting a report from Japanese organizations concerned which are studying the problem from the viewpoint of plant capacities, raw material needs, technical assistance required and methods of collaboration that may be most practical and efficient. Such studies have been going on in Japan since the departure of President Truman's peace envoy John Foster Dulles from Tokyo several weeks ago.

"The American Office of Foreign Supplies and Requirements was set up little more than a month ago, shortly before Ambassador Dulles left Washington for Tokyo where he is reported to have discussed matters with the Japanese Government and industrial leaders.

"Integration of the Japanese industrial complex with American mobilization and production facilities will automatically solve the critical problems facing Japanese industries as how to obtain raw materials and shipping space to carry them. Practically all raw materials needed by Japanese industry and all shipping space needed for hauling such materials have been spoken for. Japan, who will be late in entering the fight for raw materials and shipping space, would find the greatest difficulty in obtaining either one or both to keep her industries alive after a peace treaty. However, if the Japanese industrial complex is integrated with the American industrial set-up, Japanese industries will get a share of raw materials from sources concerned from the United States for her mobilization purposes. Furthermore, Japan will be allocated shipping space controlled and reserved by the United States."

We will be glad if this U. S. A. help can set up Japan on her feet again. She has shown what she can do with modern technology—transform a few islands into one of the mightiest of modern States, a terror to Western States with a longer period of industrialisation. But the U. S. A. has other purposes in view to utilize Japan as a barrier to Communism. She had thrown bigger sums into China. The results are well-known. Before she follows the same track she should try to understand the causes of her China failure.

Germany to be Re-armed

One of the greatest headaches of the three occupying Powers of West Germany is to establish a proper balance between their needs and the chances of the revival of Nazi spirit that the re-armament of Germany will entail. It appears that German strategists are putting a premium of the way in which their victors have been going about the business. The following culled from an American paper enable us to understand the puzzle a little. "One of the basic principles of military strategy laid down by Von Clausewitz, the Prussian general who served in the Czarist army against Napoleon, was the concentration of forces in space and time. This is being gravely violated by the Western powers, says General Hans Guderian, Hitler's tank expert, in his new book, *It Can't Go On This Way*, which is a best-seller in West Germany.

Europe is the decisive battle-field in the struggle between the East and the Soviet Bloc, but the Western forces are being dispersed and dissipated in Asia, complains Guderian. Further, the psychological and political conditions are not being created for Germany's participation in Western defence. If these conditions are not fulfilled, Germany will have to look elsewhere for her salvation.

Guderian was the first German strategist who understood the role of tanks in attack. He was dismissed by Hitler in 1941 for suggesting withdrawal on the Moscow front. In 1944 he was made Chief of Staff after the failure of the attempt on the life of Hitler."

"Slave Labour"

Soviet Union's propagandists have started the campaign of charging the United States with employing and profiting from "slave labour." This we find recorded in *News and Views from the Soviet Union* dated April 17 last. The writer is M. B. Medvedeb. He flings contempt at American democracy's cant about "free labour system," "freedom of contract," and so on. He quotes Rowland Watts, Secretary of League of Defense of Workers' Rights, to uphold his charges which are various. One of these is the exploitation of Mexican labourers as "violators of the frontier."

As a foil to this, we have the charges of Dr. Margolin, who was a delegate to the Indian Congress for Cultural Freedom, from overseas. He had been "an inmate" for years of one of the "Soviet Slave Labour Camps," and is now settled in Israel. In an article he published in the *Bombay Chronicle*, dated April 13 last, the following quotations are made. It gives us an idea of the evil:

> "I regret that my visit to India was too short to permit me to go beyond the limits of my special mission, namely, to supply evidence on Concentration Camps in the Soviet Union.
>
> "The important point is this: 'The Soviet Government keeps as dead secret all data concerning 'L'Universe concentrationnaire.' Communism is *your* political and moral hope—not mine. So go ask them to answer three questions:
>
> 1. How many camps have existed and exist in the Soviet Union for the last 20 years?
> 2. How many people have been imprisoned and continue to live there?
> 3. How many have died?
>
> "On the answer to these questions or on the lack of such answer or evasion, should in the first place depend your attitude to Communism."

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"Union of All Arab States"

Dr. Nazim el Kudsi, Prime Minister of Syria, has, we are told, "caught all eyes" with the announcement of his plan for "the formation of a United States of Arabs—another U.S.A."—with possibilities of as great material power. We do not find any difference between it and Azam Pasha's Arab League, except that the latter was inspired by Clayton of the British Intelligence Service very soon after 1945. The Kudsi plan may be French inspired or by U.S.A. for all that we know to the contrary.

The Arab League has proved a failure, the different Arab States refusing to co-operate against the common enemy—Israel. The bitterness of this defeat may have taught the Arab ruling classes the much-needed lesson. And the hopes for a better mind are indicated as follows:

> "The Plan for the first time advocates in the clearest language the feelings of many who have the interests of the Middle East at heart. This unity which the author envisages is the only solution for the Middle East tangle which no one seems to have been able to solve, and none will be happier at their solution than the people of the Middle East who profess the same way of life. The present century, though it has seen the divisions of many countries into smaller units as in Europe, or the creation of new states like that of Pakistan, has also witnessed a movement for consolidation and co-operation. This movement is much stronger than many imagine or care to admit. That this has resulted in the present world situation in the form of two Blocs is our misfortune. This does not, however, mean that the reasons which impel unity and co-operation are not correct. This movement is bound to succeed and the Kudsi Plan which proposes an extension of this principle among the Middle East States is a welcome step."

The MacArthur Episode

The dismissal of the Supreme Commander of the Occupation Forces in Japan and over the areas lately re-conquered from her has been hailed by some politicians as the end of an aggressive policy. We dissent from this opinion and are sorry that Indian politicians ruling the country should be victims of such a delusion. "They have been ringing their bells today, they will be wringing their hands soon," this was the classical comment of Walpole, Prime Minister of Britain.

General MacArthur has re-emphasized his point of view before his own people. And he stands vindicated in the statement by his successor, Lieutenant-General Mathew Ridgway. A Washington news, dated April 18, blazons it forth in the following words:

> "It would be impossible to win the war if the fighting was confined to Korea and if Manchurian bases were not bombed, one of these Congressmen said today.
>
> "Representative Dod Armstrong (Republican), Missouri, who returned from Tokyo today said that he and representative W. J. Burn (Democrat), South Carolina, discussed the military situation with General Ridgway about ten days ago before President Truman dismissed General MacArthur and appointed General Ridgway to his command.
>
> "On the basis of his talks with United States military leaders in Korea and Japan and with Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek in Formosa, representative Armstrong said he (Mr. Armstrong) was in favour of—
>
> 1. Sending a strong United States military mission to Formosa to train the Chinese Nationalist soldiers there for an attempt on the Chinese Communist-controlled mainland;
> 2. Working out with the Chinese Nationalists plans to seize Hainan island (off the South China coast) and invade the Chinese mainland from there;
> 3. The blockading of all the Chinese coastline;
> 4. The use of United States air power to destroy Chinese bases in Manchuria and to cut the railroads and highways surrounding Mukden in Manchuria;
> 5. United States assistance to the Chinese Nationalist guerillas fighting within China;
> 6. The despatch of a token force of Chinese Nationalists to Korea."

Did MacArthur suggest anything more drastic than what his successor has done? So what difference does this dismissal make?

Hindi as India's State Language

While the Constitution in India has ruled that Hindi in the Devanagri script should be increasingly used as the State language to attain this status at the completion of 15 years, the gospellers of Hindi have been dividing their own house. We cannot say that we understand the reasons for which even Tandonji appears to be taking sides. Who will conduct the examinations cannot be so very important at this stage when the whole problem is liable to re-opening if the rival protagonists persist in their controversy.

The following rather long letter published in the Allahabad *Leader* sometime in last mid-March, exposes this ugly fact. We are sorry that this should have happened so early in Hindi's new dignity. We commend this letter to our readers:

> "The hope about the emergence of unity and solidarity in the ranks of the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan has been shattered to pieces by the recent 'stormy session' of the standing committee of the Sammelan that turned down the unanimous decision of the Lucknow meeting of the Hindi Vishwavidyalaya Samiti to entrust a special committee of 14 living ex-presidents of the Sammelan with the task of guiding the activities of the Samiti. The Hindi Vishwavidyalaya Samiti, popularly known as the Examination Board, had been formed at the Hyderabad session of the Sammelan, for establishing an authoritative Hindi Vishwavidyalaya and conducting the Sammelan's examinations with suitable modifications till the sanction of the Government was received for such a Vishavidyalaya. Its sudden dissolution at the Kotah session was engineered by party intrigues inside the Sammelan. A strong resentment was voiced by important organs of public opinion in the Hindi world against this hasty decision of the Kotah session. The Lucknow meeting of the Hindi Vishwavidyalaya Samiti, which was

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also attended by the president, the general secretary and some other office-bearers of the Sammelan, reviewed the entire situation and unanimously decided to appoint a special committee of 14 ex-presidents to guide the activities of the Samiti. According to the joint statement issued to the press by Rajarshi Purushottam Das Tandon and Shri Jaya Chandra Vidyalankar the presidents respectively of the Samiti and the Sammelan, 'the ultimate decision born out of the synthesis of all the amendments moved on the occasion was unanimous' and the general secretary of the Sammelan gave an assurance to get that decision endorsed soon by the meeting of the standing committee of the Sammelan. Other office-bearers of the Sammelan present in the meeting are also said to have concurred in the assurance.

The Lucknow meeting of the Hindi Vishwavidyalaya Samiti raised the hope that all the tension among the workers of the Sammelan was going to end, specially after the joint appeal of Rajarshi Tandon and Shri Vidyalankar. Soon however the president and the general secretary of the Sammelan objected to the wording of the report of the Lucknow decision, published in newspapers. Seth Govinda Das and Prof. Indra Vidyavachaspati contradicted their statement and testified the correctness of the report. The spirit of the Lucknow decision was, however, clearly in the nature of a happy compromise, and the manner in which it was flouted by the office-bearers of the Sammelan, before and in the recent meeting of the standing committee, expressed the determination of the majority group of the Sammelan to go their own way without caring for the ultimate good of the Hindi world. Instead of settling the minor differences in the interpretation of the Lucknow decision and honouring the assurance given earlier the leaders of the majority party put forward a resolution turning down the Lucknow decision of the Samiti and reiterating the stand for the dissolution of the Samiti, taken at the Kotah session. The resolution says that the standing committee is prepared to consider any suggestions that may be forthcoming from the committee of 14 ex-presidents in regard to any other matter but the questions relating to the formation or working of the examination board. We do not know what will be the reaction to this decision of ex-presidents like Dr. Rajendra Prasad, Dr. Bhagavan Das, Dr. Amaranath Jha, Mr. Ambika Prasad Bajpayi, Mr. Makhanlal Chaturvedi and Mr. K. M. Munshi. But there is no doubt that this decision has given a death-blow to the hope for the speedy resolution of the internal conflict of the Sammelan under the effective guidance of all living ex-presidents.

Toll of War in Korea

The News Week (New York) of April 9 last records the following facts:

"One million casualties. By last week that was the toll of the Korean war for the U.N. and Red armed forces combined. The exact total, which always lags behind the actual fact, stood at 989,361, as totted up from U.N. claims and admissions. Three-quarters of the casualties were suffered by the Communists. The breakdown:

"*North Korea*: 283,000 killed or wounded, 139,000 captured, 45,000 non-battle casualties. Total 467,000.

"*Communist China*: 260,000 killed or wounded, 2,300 captured, 31,000 non-battle casualties. Total 293,300.

"*South Korea*: 16,182 killed, 88,511 wounded, 63,959 missing. Total 168,652.

"*United States*: 8,511 killed, 37,918 wounded, 10,691 missing. Total 57,120.

Other U. N. Allies: Total casualties: Turkey 1,170, Britain 980, France 396, Australia 280, Netherlands 115, Thailand 108, Greece 97, Canada 74, Philippines 55, New Zealand 7, South Africa 6, Belgium 1, Luxembourg 0."

"Friedrich Bayer-Grant"

The following speaks for itself:

The India Institute for Cultural Relations in Munich (Germany) awards an Indian student of Chemistry a Grant of DM 600 for the academic year of 1951-52. The student should have completed his scientific studies in his own country, and intend to carry on his work in Germany. The "Friedrich Bayer-Grant" also comprises free tuition at any of the German Universities. Young Indian graduates or trainees are asked to apply for the "Friedrich Bayer-Grant" giving details of their life and academic career with duplicate copies of testimonials. The applications should reach the Institute by May first, 1951.

India Institute, Pullach bei Munchen, Johann Baderstrasse 61.

DR. FRANZ THIERFELDER, *President.*

Indian students and Indian Society will be grateful for this offer. Even now, even in her defeat and desolation, German Universities can show points to others in Indology and modern science. And facilities for education in these are ever welcome.

University for Basic Education

A news sent out on March 8 last from Sevagram (Wardha) indicates a mile-post in the progress of Basic Education.

The 7th All-India Basic Education Conference has appointed a seven-men committee to prepare a scheme for starting a university on the basis of basic education and to assess standards of attainment of different stages of basic education in relation to the traditional educational system. Acharya Kaka Kalelkar is the Chairman of the Committee and Sri E. W. Aryanayakam is the Secretary.

An interesting symposium on the idea of a rural university was the special feature of the Conference. Acharya Vinoba Bhave, Kaka Kalelkar, Prof. J. C. Kumarappa and others who participated in the discussion stressed that the Government of India and the States Governments should accept basic education as the foundation of our educational system.

Since then a Basic Education Conference has been held at Hyderabad and Wardha resolutions reaffirmed. The Governments, Central and States, appear, however, to be lukewarm explaining one of the causes of the stalemate in this program of reconstruction.

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Rana Pratap Memorial

Sardar Khursand Bahadur of Rohtak (East Punjab) appeals to the people of Free India, of the Rajasthan Federation, to raise a fitting Memorial over the place where rested the last remains of Rana Pratap. At a distance of 40 miles from Udaipur, and a mile from Chaond village, on the bank of a small rainy rivulet, there stands at present a small octagonal tomb supported by eight pillars and surmounted by a black sandstone dome which rises only seven feet above the pavement.

The new Ministry in Rajasthan under Shree Jai Narain Vyas should turn its attention betimes to this task long neglected. It would be no credit to us if Rana Pratap should continue to have a Memorial as poor as at present.

Sri Aurobindo Cultural University

"The Mother" of the Ashram at Pondicherry has invited a convention to be held on April 24-25, 1951, to give shape to what is claimed to be the last wish of Sri Aurobindo with regard to the assets of the Ashram, the fruits of his disciples' offerings. Last month she had invited Shree Hemendra Prasad Ghosh, one of Sri Aurobindo's fellow-workers in the political field, for consultation in this behalf. There Shree Ghosh found ready a scheme for a Cultural University to be reared on the teachings of Sri Aurobindo in all fields of research, sacred and profane, as these are popularly differentiated.

She is said to have assured those amongst Sri Aurobindo's disciples who appeared anxious to have a Memorial to him in Bengal, that "a lock of hair" of Sri Aurobindo will be made available if a fit temple can be built to house it, and a small fund be there to maintain it.

Acharya Keshav Prasad Mishra

One of the makers of modern Hindi, Acharya Keshab Prasad Mishra, died in his 67th year. On retirement from his high position in the Hindu University as Head of its Hindi Department to which he was appointed on the death of Pandit Ram Chandra Sukla, Acharya Keshavji spent strenuous days in the pursuit of his favourite studies—Linguistics. Early in life he joined the Hindu School, Banaras, as a Sanskrit teacher. His father was practising medicine on indigenous lines but his earning was meagre and Keshavji had to stand on his own legs. As a teacher he passed his Matriculation and Intermediate examinations. When Babu Shyam Sunder Das became the Head of the Hindi Department in the Banaras Hindu University he pursuaded Malaviyaji to send Keshavji to the Hindi Department.

Babu Sahib had a unique insight for recognising merit. And in organising the Hindi Department he gathered there geniuses wherever he found them. The Hindi Department of this Banaras Hindu University has become famed for its teachers and high standard throughout the country.

The death of Acharya Keshavji is a distinct loss to Hindi scholarship. He leaves behind him his widow and a son to whom we offer our sympathy.

Ernest Bevin

At this moment of the British Labour Government's difficulties, internal and external, the death of "Ernie" Bevin is a grievous loss to the British Empire. The resignation owing to ill-health of Sir Stafford Cripps, had put a great strain on Britain's Prime Minister. Before the last shock was over, comes the resignation of Aneurin Bevin, Britain's Labour Minister, one of her "key-man" and by many hailed as her "coming man." This heightens the conditions of crisis.

"Ernie" Bevin had served his apprenticeship under poverty and squalor. It was only about 20 years ago that fortune smiled on him. But he kept his head. Slow-moving, plodding and unimaginative he represented the type of Briton that is the bed-rock of her greatness. This Labourite of Britain had a keen perception of the material aspects of her imperialism and of its strategic importance. Bevin was as conscious of these as Churchill. Therefore has the latter praised him with the words: "He takes his place among the great Foreign Secretaries of our country."

He died when his country's star has been flickering low. He recognized this fact, and strove in 1946 to keep India as the key-stone of Britain's Commonwealth Churchill's words are a fitting memorial to him.

Raja of Aundh

Hardly a month passes that does not record the death of an outstanding Indian. On the 15th April has passed away at Bombay in his 84th year, this member of the Princely Order who practised through his long life the old kingly virtues in the modern age's democratic set-up and demands.

He was a progressive administrator in every sense of the word. In days when it was rare to find any support from the Princely Order for the progressive nationalist movements of the country, the Aundh ruler was a fearless champion of the cause of Khadi—an article of faith by which Mahatma Gandhi set much store. As early as 1938, when newspapers carried stories about onslaughts launched on the States People by autocratic rulers and their Dewans, Aundh was the only State where the ruler voluntarily agreed to forego a large share of his privy purse and reduce it to ten per cent of the State's revenue. Besides conferring responsible government on his subjects, the late Raja was farsighted enough to introduce compulsory education and the Panchayat system in the State. Thanks to his zeal, the State today owns a large net-work of industries, most of which were established before the integration process was set in force. All of us, prince, or peasant, has something to learn from the brilliant career in which the late Aundh ruler practised democracy.

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VIVEKANANDA LETTERS

By S. D. CHATTERJEE

During my recent stay in Ottawa, Canada, I was invited to a small, informal dinner party at the house of my esteemed friend Dr. J. R. Kohr and there I had the privilege to meet the founder of the Canadian Bureau of Statistics, Dr. Robert H. Coats, now retired. The good fortune of this meeting was twofold: for not only did Dr. Coats turn out to be a keen student of India—having had, among other fascinating experiences, many personal connections with some of our foremost scientists—but he also revealed himself as the possessor of some original and unpublished letters Swami Vivekananda had written at the turn of the century. Moreover, Dr. Coats most generously consented to part with these valuable letters. They were transmitted to me with the following note:

572 Manor Road
Rockcliffe Park
2. 1. 51

Dear Dr. Chatterjee,

I enclose the two or three letters of Swami Vivekananda I spoke to you about the other evening. They were written to my wife then a young girl in London over fifty years ago. Originally she had twenty or more such letters, but with the exception of the enclosed they were almost wholly destroyed by mice during the war-period when my house was partially closed and rented.

My wife, who was French (nee Marie Halboister) was greatly helped by the Swami during a trying period of her life and always spoke of him with great affection. She corresponded with him at intervals up to the time of his death. His disciple Abhedananda was at our wedding in New York in 1905. She died in 1938.

I spoke of these letters to Dr. Mahalanobis in Washington once and had intended to send them on to him, but was of two minds when I found later so many of them destroyed. I fear the enclosed are not of great significance.

With kindest regards

Very sincerely yours,
(*Signed*) R. H. Coats

You are of course free to make any use or disposal of them you wish.

Although Dr. Coats modestly assumes that these letters by Swami Vivekananda "are not of great significance," their publication here seems to be justified, first on historical grounds and, secondly, because they afford us a glimpse at the very fibres, as it were, from which the Swami used to weave the beautiful carpet of his great thoughts.

Spelling and punctuation have been faithfully reproduced, as these factors contribute to, rather than subtract from, the natural charm and the spontaneous freshness of the Swami's style.

Finally, it may be worth while to point out that an interesting project suggests itself here, namely, the discovery, perhaps among the Swami's papers, of the complementary correspondence to the fragments published below.

These fragments are printed without further commentary, arranged in chronological order; the position of letter No. III, which is undated, has been determined by internal evidence.

I

Almora,
the 2nd June, 1897

Dear Marie,—I begin here my promised big chattie letter with the best intention as to its growth, and if it fails it is owing to your own *karma*. I am sure you are enjoying splendid health, I have been very very bad indeed now recovering a bit—hope to recover very soon.

What about the work in London? I am afraid it is going to pieces. Do you now and then visit London? Hasn't Sturdy got a new baby?

The plains of India are blazing now I cannot bear it now—so I am here in this hill places rather a bit cooler than the plains.

I am living in a beautiful garden belonging to a merchant of Almora—a garden covering several miles of mountains and forests. Night before last a leopard came here and took away a goat from the flock kept in this garden. It was a frightful din the servants made and the barking of the big Tibet watchdogs. These dogs are kept chained at a distance all night since I am here, so that they may not disturb my sleep with their deep barks. The leopard thus found his opportunity and got a decent meal perhaps after weeks. May it do much good to him.

Do you remember Miss Muller? She has come here for a few days and was rather frightened when she heard of the leopard incident. The demand on tanned skins in London seems very great and that is playing havoc with our leopards and tigers more than anything else.

As I am writing to you before me reflecting the afternoon's glow stands long long lines of huge snow peaks. They are about twenty miles as the crow flies from here, and forty through the circuitous mountain roads.

I hope your translations have been well received in the countess' paper. I had a great mind and very good opportunity of coming over to England this Jubilee season with some of our princes but my physicians would not allow me to venture into work so soon. For going to Europe means work, is not it? No work no bread.

Here the yellow cloth is sufficient and I would have food enough. Anyhow I am taking a much desired rest, hope it will do me good.

How are you going on with your work? With joy or sorrow. Do not you like to have a good rest say for some years and no work. Sleep, eat and exercise, exercise, eat and sleep that is what I am going to do some months yet. Mr. Goodwin is with me. You ought

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to have seen him in his Indian clothes. I am very soon going to shave his head and make a full blown monk of him.

Are you still practising some of the *yogas*? Do you find any benefit form them? I learn that Mr. Martin is dead. How is Mrs. Martin—do you see her now and then?

Do you know Miss Noble? Do you ever see her? Here my letter comes to an end as a huge dust storm is blowing over me and it is impossible to write. It is all your *karma* dear Marie for I intended to write so many wonderful things and tell you such fine stories but I will have to keep them for the future and you will have to wait.

Ever yours in the Lord
VIVEKANANDA

II

Almora,
the 25th July, 1897

My dear Marie—

I have time, will, and opportunity—now, to clear my promise. So my letter begins. I have been very weak for some times and with that and other things my visit to England this Jubilee season had to be postponed.

I was very sorry at first not to be able to meet my nice and very dear friends once more, but *karma* can not be avoided and I had to rest contented with my Himalayas.

It is a sorry exchange after all for the beauty of the living spirit shining through the human face is far more pleasurable than any amount of material beauty.

Is not the soul the Light of the world?

The work in London had to go slow—for various reasons and last though not the least was l'argent, mon amie! When I am there l'argent comes in somehow to keep the mare going—now—everybody shrugs his shoulder. I must come again and try my best to revive the work.

I am having a good deal of riding and exercise but I had to drink a lot of skimmed milk per prescription of the doctors, with the result that I am more to the front than back! I am always a forward man though—but do not want to be too prominent just now and I have given up drinking milk.

I am glad to learn that you are eating your meals with good appetite.

Do you know Miss Margaret Noble of Wimbledon. She is working hard for me. Do correspond with her if you can and you can help me a good deal there. Her address is Brantwood, Worple Road, Wimbledon.

So you saw my little friend Miss Orchard and you liked her too—good. I have great hopes for her. And how I will like to be retired from lives activities entirely when I am very old, and hear the world ringing with the names of my dear dear young friends like yourself and Miss Orchard, etc.

By the by I am glad to find that I am aging fast, my hair is turning gray. "Silver threads among the gold—I mean black" is coming in fast.

It is bad for a preacher to be young, don't you think so. I do, as I did all my life. People have more confidence in an old man and it looks more venerable. Yet the old rogues are the worst rogues in the world, isn't it? The world has its code of judgement which alas is very different from that of truth's.

So your "Universal Religion" has been rejected by the *Revue de deux Monde*. Never mind try again some other paper. Once the ice is broken you get in at a quick rate I am sure. And I am so glad that you love the work, it will make its way, I have no doubt of it. Our ideas have a future ma chere Marie—and it will be realized soon.

I think this letter will meet you in Paris—your beautiful Paris—and I hope you will write me lots about the French journalism and the coming "World Fair" there.

I am so glad that you have been helped by Vedanta and *yoga*—I am unfortunately sometimes like the circus clown, who made others laugh, himself miserable!!

You are naturally of a buoyant temperament. Nothing seems to touch you. And you are moreover a very prudent girl, inasmuch as you have scrupulously kept yourself away from "love" and all its nonsense. So you see you have made your good *karma* and planted the seed of your life-long wellbeing. One difficulty in life being we are guided by the present and not by the future. What gives us a little pleasure now, drags us on to follow it, with the result that we always buy a mass of pain in the future for a little pleasure in the present.

I wish I had nobody to love—and I was an orphan in my childhood. The greatest misery in my life, has been my own people—my brothers and sisters and mother etc. Relatives are like deadly clogs to one's progress and is it not a wonder that people will still go on to find new ones by *marriage*!!!

He who is alone is happy. Do good to all, like everyone, but *do not love* anyone. It is a bondage—and bondage brings only misery. Live alone in your mind—that is happiness. To have nobody to care for and never minding who cares for one is the way to be free.

I envy so much your frame of mind, quiet, gentle, light yet deep and *free*. You are already free, Marie, free already. You are *jivan-mukta*.

I am more of a woman than a man, you are more of a man than woman. I am always dragging others' pain into me—for nothing, without being able to do any good to anybody—just like women—if they have no children bestow all their love upon a cat!!!

Do you think this has any spirituality in it? nonsense, it is all material *nervous bondage*. That is what it is. Oh to get rid of the thraldom of the flesh!

Your friend Mrs. Martin very kindly sends me copies of her magazine every month—but Stupid

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thermometer is now below zero it seems. He seems to be greatly disappointed with my non-arrival in England this summer. What could I do?

We have started two *maths* here one in Calcutta, the other in Madras. The Calcutta *math* (a wretched rented house) was awefully shaken in the late earthquake.

We have got in a number of boys and they are in training, also we have opened famine relief in several places and the work is going on apace. We will try to start similar centres in different places in India.

In a few days I am going down to the plains and from thence go to the western parts of the mountains. When it is cooler in the plains, I will make a lecture tour all over and see what work can be done.

Here I can not find any more time to write—so many people are waiting—so here I stop—dear Marie—wishing you all joy.

May you never be lured by flesh is the constant prayer of

Ever yours in the Lord,
VIVEKANANDA

Note by R. H. Coats:—My wife was the most spiritual person I ever knew, but she was also the most affectionate and domestic. She always said that she had found the greatest happiness of her life in our marriage.

III

C/o. Mrs. Noble
21A High Street, Wimbledon

My dear Marie—I am in London again, this time not busy, not hustling about but quietly settled down in a corner—waiting to start for the U. S. America on the first opportunity. My friends are nearly all out of London in the country and elsewhere and my health not sufficiently strong.

So you are happy in the midst of your lakes and gardens and seclusion in Canada. I am glad so glad to know that you are up again on top of the tide. May you remain there for ever.

You could not finish the *Rajayoga* translations yet. All right there is no hurry. Time and opportunity must come if it is to be done you know, otherwise we vainly strive.

Canada must be beautiful now, in its short but vigorous summer and very healthy.

I expect to be in New York in a few weeks, and don't know what next. I hope to come back to England next spring.

I fervently wish—no misery ever came near anyone, yet it is that alone that gives us an insight into the depths of our lives, does it not?

In our moments of anguish gates barred for ever seemed to open and let in many a flood of light.

We learn as we grow—Alas! we cannot use our knowledge here—the moment we seem to learn—we are hurried off the stage. And this is *maya*!

This toy world will not be here—this play can not go on—if we were knowing players. We must play

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blindfolded. Some of us have taken the part of the rogue of the play, some heroic—never mind it is all play. This is the only consolation. There are demons and lions and tigers and what not on the stage but they are all muzzled. They snap but can not bite. The world can not touch our souls. If you want even if the body be torn and bleeding—you may enjoy the greatest peace in your mind.

And the way to that is to attain at hopelessness—do you know that—not the imbecile attitude of despair—but the contempt of the conqueror for the things he has attained—for things he struggled for and then throws aside as beneath his worth.

This hopelessness—desirelessness—aimlessness—is just the harmony with nature. In nature there is no harmony—no reason—no sequence—it was chaos before—it is so still.

The lowest man is in consonance with nature in his earthy-headedness—the highest the same—in the fullness of knowledge—all three aimless—drifting—hopeless—all three happy.

* * * * * *

I have hastened to give you an I know nothing of London yet. I don't know where Gertrude Orchard is.— else would have written to her. Miss Kate Steel is also away. She is coming on Thursday or Saturday.

I had an invitation to stay in Paris with a friend— a very well educated Frenchman, but I could not go this time. I hope another time, I live with him some days.

I expect to see some of our old friends and say good day to them.

I hope to see you in America sure—either I may unexpectedly turn up to Ottawa in my peregrinations or you come to N.Y.

Goodbye all luck be yours—

Ever yours in the Lord, VIVEKANANDA

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"POSITION OF THE PRESIDENT OF INDIA"
A Further Rejoinder*

By D. N. BANERJEE,

University Professor and Head of the Department of Political Science, Calcutta University

I

I have noted with much interest Mr. K. K. Basu's reply[1] to my rejoinder[2] in connexion with the question of the position of the President of India. In regard to my objection[3] to his statement[4] that "both in origin and effect a *written* constitution *radically differs* from an *unwritten constitution*"†—an objection to which I strictly adhere for reasons set forth before[5]—he has quoted in support of his contention, certain extracts from the judgment[6] of the Supreme Court of the United States of America in the famous case of *Marbury* vs. *Madison*,[7] as delivered by Chief Justice Marshall in 1803. In doing this, Mr. Basu appears to have missed the real point of the judgment under which a certain provision of an Act of Congress[8] was declared by the Supreme Court to have been unconstitutional and, therefore, void. The use of the word "written" in the judgment more than once, should not mislead us. The really important point in the judgment was the emphasis repeatedly laid in it, either directly or indirectly, upon *the supremacy of the "Constitution"* of the United States—I mean the Constitution which had come into force in 1789, together with the amendments made in it since then. This point of the supremacy of the Constitution had been emphasised in one of the provisions of the Constitution itself. Thus we find in Clause 2 of Article VI of the Constitution:

"This Constitution, and the laws of the United States which shall be made in pursuance thereof[9]; and all treaties made, or which shall be made, under the authority of the United States, shall be the *supreme law of the land*‡ and the Judges in every State shall be bound thereby, anything in the Constitution or laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding."[10]

Now the object of this clause very rightly regarded by many as the "linchpin" of the American Constitutional mechanism, was, as it still is, not merely to establish the supremacy of a Federal law, duly made, over a State law in the event of a conflict between them, but also to establish the supremacy of the Constitution itself over a Federal law in case of an inconsistency between the two. The expression "the supreme law of the land" obviously means the supreme law of the territory of the United States of America, and Congress is within this territory. This view has also been taken by Chancellor Kent.

"The people of the United States," he writes, "have declared the constitution to be the supreme law of the land, and it is entitled to universal and implicit obedience. Every act of Congress, and every act of the legislatures of the states, and every part of the constitution of any state, which are repugnant to the constitution of the United States, are necessarily void. This is a clear and settled principle of (our) constitutional jurisprudence. The judicial power of the Union is declared to extend *to all cases* in law and equity arising under the constitution; and to the judicial power it belongs, whenever a case is judicially before it, to determine what is the law of the land. The determination of the Supreme Court of the United States, in every such case, must be final and conclusive."

Dicey also expresses the same view.

Under a federal system, he[12] says, "the legal supremacy of the constitution is essential to the existence of the state; the glory of the founders of the United States is to have devised or adopted arrangements under which the Constitution became in reality as well as name the supreme law of the land. This end they attained by adherence to a very

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* This rejoinder may kindly be read along with my articles on the "Position of the President of India" in *The Modern Review* for June and for December, 1950.

1. See *The Modern Review* for February, 1951.
2. See *The Modern Review* for December, 1950.
3. See *ibid.*
4. See *The Modern Review* for September, 1950.

† The italics are mine.

5. See my article in *The Modern Review* for December, 1950.
6. The expression actually used was "Opinion of the Court."
7. 1 Cranch 137, 2 L. Ed. 60 (1803).
8. *I.e.*, the Judiciary Act of 1789.

What actually happened in the case of *Marbury* Vs. *Madison* is as follows: The Supreme Court "held invalid that provision of the Judiciary Act of 1789 which purported to give original jurisdiction to the Supreme Court to issue writs of mandamus to public officers of the United States." The Court was of opinion that the Constitution did not give to Congress authority to grant this authority" to the Supreme Court. The Court spoke through Chief Justice Marshall.—See Willoughby, *The Constitutional Law of the United States*, 2nd Ed., Vol. 1, p. 3. Also see Evans, *Cases on American Constitutional Law*, 5th Ed., pp. 54-58.

9. In many books the punctuation-mark here is a comma.

‡ The italics are mine.

10. "This clause," says McLaughlin (*The Confederation and the Constitution*, 1905, p. 247), "may be called the central clause of the constitution, because without it the whole system would be unwieldy, if not impracticable. Draw out this particular bolt, and the machinery falls to pieces. In these words the Constitution is plainly made not merely a declaration, a manifesto, dependent for its life and usefulness on the passing will of statesmen or of people, but a fundamental law, enforceable like any other law in courts."—Quoted by Ogg & Ray in their *Introduction to American Government*, 9th Ed., p. 71n.

11. See his *Commentaries on American Law*, 10th Edition, Vol. 1, pp. 349-50.

We also find in Judge Cooley (*A Treatise on the Constitutional Limitations*, 7th Edition, p. 6):

"The will of the people, as declared in the Constitution (of the United States), is the final law; and the will of the legislature is law only when it is in harmony with, or at least is not opposed to, that controlling instrument which governs the legislative body equally with the private citizen."

12. See his *Law of the Constitution*, 9th Ed., pp. 158-59.

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obvious principle, and by the invention of appropriate machinery for carrying this principle into effect. The principle is clearly expressed in the Constitution of the United States. 'The Constitution,' runs Article[13] 6, 'and the laws of the United States which shall be made in pursuance thereof . . . shall be the supreme law of the land, and the judges in every State shall be bound thereby, anything in the constitution or laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding'."

"The legal duty therefore of every judge," concludes Dicey, "whether he act as a judge of the State of New York or as a judge of the Supreme Court of the United States, is clear. He is bound to treat as void every legislative act, whether proceeding from Congress or from the state legislatures, which is inconsistent with the Constitution of the United States. His duty is as clear as that of an English judge called upon to determine the validity of a by-law made by the Great Eastern or any other Railway Company. The American judge must in giving judgment obey the terms of the constitution, just as his English brother must in giving judgment obey every act of Parliament bearing on the case."

Nor should we ignore in this connexion the views of Judge Story, Daniel Webster, James Bryce and Alexander Hamilton.

"The power of interpreting the laws," observes Judge Story,* "involves necessarily the function to ascertain whether they are conformable to the Constitution or not; and if not so conformable, to declare them void and inoperative. As the Constitution is the supreme law of the land, in a conflict between that and the laws, either of Congress or of the States, it becomes the duty of the judiciary to follow that only which is of paramount obligation. This results from the very theory of a republican constitution of government; for otherwise the acts of the legislature and executive would in effect become supreme and uncontrollable, notwithstanding any prohibitions or limitations contained in the Constitution; and usurpations of the most unequivocal and dangerous character might be assumed without any remedy within the reach of the citizens. The people would thus be at the mercy of their rulers in the State and national governments; and an omnipotence would practically exist, like that claimed for the British Parliament."

Again, referring to Clause 2 of Article VI of the Constitution of the United States, he says:†

"From this supremacy of the Constitution and laws and treaties of the United States, within their constitutional scope, arises the duty of courts of justice to declare any unconstitutional law passed by Congress or by a State legislature void. So, in like manner, the same duty arises whenever any other department of the national or State governments exceeds its constitutional functions."

"The Constitution," says Webster,[14] "being the supreme law, it follows of course, that every act of the legislature contrary to the law must be void. But who shall decide this question? . . . The Courts of law, necessarily, when the case arises, must decide upon the validity of particular acts."

"The stream," writes Bryce,[15] "cannot rise above its source. . . . In the United States the position of Congress may . . . be compared to that of an English municipal corporation or railway company. . . . The people have by their supreme law, the Constitution, given to Congress a delegated and limited power of legislation. Every statute passed under that power conformably to the Constitution has all the authority of the Constitution behind it. Any statute passed which goes beyond that power is invalid, and incapable of enforcement. It is, in fact, not a statute at all, because Congress in passing it was not really a law-making body, but a mere group of private persons."[16]

A classic exposition of the whole question has been given by Alexander Hamilton.

"There is no position," says Hamilton,[17] "which depends on clearer principles than that every act of a delegated authority, contrary to the tenor of the commission under which it is exercised, is void. No legislative act, therefore, contrary to the constitution, can be valid. To deny this would be to affirm, that the deputy is greater than his principal; that the servant is above his master; that the representatives of the people are superior to the people themselves; that men, acting by virtue of powers, may do not only what their powers do not authorize, but what they forbid."

Again, referring to the position of the judiciary in the proposed American federation, he says:[18]

"The interpretation of the laws is the proper and peculiar province of the courts. A constitution is, in fact, and must be, regarded by the judges as a fundamental law. It must therefore belong to them to ascertain its meaning, as well as the meaning of any particular act proceeding from the legislative body. If there should happen to be an irreconcilable variance between the two, that which has the superior obligation and validity ought, of course, to be preferred; in other words, the constitution ought to be preferred to the statute, the intention of the people to the intention of their agents."

It is evident from the extracts given above that stress has been given in them, not to the so-called written character of the American Constitution but to its supremacy and also, impliedly, to the subordinate position of Congress and the legislatures of the constituent States, the laws of which, to quote the words of Dicey,‡ "are of the nature of by-laws, valid whilst within the authority conferred upon" them by the

13. Dicey meant here Clause 2 of Article VI of the American Constitution.

* See Joseph Story, *Commentaries on the Constitution of the United States*, 4th Ed., 1873, Vol. II, Section 1576, pp. 379-81.

† See *ibid.*, Section 1842, pp. 586-87.

14. Quoted by Willoughby in his *Constitution of the United States*, 2nd Edition, Vol. I, pp. 4-5n.

15. See his *American Commonwealth*, 1928, Vol. I, pp. 243-46.

16. Also, Professor Munro:

"The Constitution of the United States, to use its own words, is 'the supreme law of the land,' and this clarion phrase makes perfectly clear where the Constitution stands. It is supreme over all organs of American government, national, State, and local."—(*The Government of the United States*, 5th Ed., p. 53.).

17. See *The Federalist*, No. 78.

18. See *The Federalist*, No. 78.

‡ See Dicey, *op. cit.*, p. 150.

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Constitution, "but invalid or unconstitutional if they go beyond the limits of such authority." This is as it should be. The supremacy of the Constitution as the fundamental law of the American Federal Union is the essential thing: its so-called written nature is only a question of form and follows as a consequence from that supremacy as a matter of political expediency. But we must not confuse between the form and the essence or substance of a thing; nor should we identify the one with the other, and far less give to the former a position of primacy over the latter. Or, I may put it in another way. The so-called written character of the American Constitution is a secondary consequence of something which is of a primary importance in it, namely, its supremacy as law, and we must not confuse between what is consequential and what is essential. Thus we find in Dicey[19] again that one of the leading characteristics of a completely developed federalism is "the supremacy of the constitution," and that "in the supremacy of the Constitution are involved three consequences." And one of these consequences is that "the constitution must *almost* necessarily be a 'written' constitution."[20] And the reason for this is as follows:

"The foundations of a federal state," he observes,[21] "are a complicated contract. This compact contains a variety of terms which have been agreed to, and generally after mature deliberation, by the States which make up the confederacy. To base an arrangement of this kind upon understandings or conventions would be certain to generate misunderstandings and disagreements. The articles of the treaty, or in other words of the constitution, must therefore be reduced to writing. The constitution must be a written document, and, if possible, a written document of which the terms are open to no misapprehension."

It is clear from this that the *raison d'etre* of a so-called written constitution in a federal union is "no deeper than a political expediency." But from this it does not follow, as stated before, that we should confuse between what is only incidental or consequential in a Constitution with what is essential or fundamental in it. And we shall have an occasion to show later on why the judgment of the Supreme Court of the United States in the case of *Marbury* vs. *Madison* has come in for a legitimate criticism by competent authorities on "American constitutional jurisprudence."

We shall now deal with the judgment of the Supreme Court in the case of *Marbury* vs. *Madison*. If in the light of what has been shown before, we consider this judgment very carefully and without any prejudice or prepossession in our mind, we shall be able to see it in its true perspective, and its really important point will then be evident to us. And this really important point is, as I have already said, the emphasis repeatedly laid in the judgment, either directly or indirectly, on the supremacy of the Constitution of the United States as its fundamental and "paramount" law. This will appear from the following extracts from the said judgment:

"The question, whether an act, repugnant to the constitution, can become the law of the land, is a question deeply interesting to the United States; but, happily, not of an intricacy proportioned to its interest. It seems only necessary to recognize certain principles, supposed to have been long and well established, to decide it. That the people have an original right to establish, for their future government, such principles as, in their opinion shall most conduce to their own happiness, is the basis on which the whole American fabric has been erected. The exercise of this original right is a very great exertion; nor can it, nor ought it, to be frequently repeated. The principles, therefore, so established, are deemed fundamental; and as the authority from which they proceed is supreme, and can seldom act, they are designed to be permanent.

"This original and supreme will organizes the government, and assigns to different departments their respective powers. It may either stop here, or establish certain limits not to be transcended by those departments. The Government of the United States is of the latter description. The powers of the legislature are defined and limited; and that those limits may not be mistaken, or forgotten, the constitution is written. To what purpose are powers limited, and to what purpose is that limitation committed to writing, if these limits may, at any time, be passed by those intended to be restrained? The distinction between a government with limited and unlimited powers is abolished, if those limits do not confine the persons on whom they are imposed, and if acts prohibited and acts allowed, are of equal obligation. It is a proposition too plain to be contested, that the constitution controls any legislative act repugnant to it; or that the legislature may alter the constitution by an ordinary act.

"Between these alternatives, there is no middle ground. The constitution is either a superior paramount law, unchangeable by ordinary means, or it is on a level with ordinary legislative acts, and, like other acts, is alterable when the legislature shall please to alter it. If the former part of the alternative be true, then a legislative act, contrary to the constitution, is not law; if the latter part be true, then written constitutions are absurd attempts, on the part of the people, to limit a power, in its own nature, illimitable.

"Certainly, all those who have framed written constitutions contemplate them as forming the fundamental and paramount law of the nation, and consequently, the theory of every such government must be, that an act of the legislature, repugnant to the constitution, is void. This theory is essentially attached to a written constitution, and is, consequently, to be considered, by this court, as one of the fundamental principles of our society. It is not, therefore, to be lost sight of, in the further consideration of this subject.

"If an act of the legislature, repugnant to the

19. See Dicey, *op. cit.*, pp. 144-46.
20. The italic is mine. Dicey has, however, stated in a footnote (*op. cit.*, p. 146n):
"No doubt it is conceivable that a federation might grow up by the force of custom, and under agreements between different States which were not reduced into writing, and it appears to be questionable how far the Achaean League was bound together by anything equivalent to a written constitution."
21. See Dicey, *op. cit.*, p. 146.

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constitution, is void, does it, notwithstanding its invalidity, bind the courts, and oblige them to give it effect? Or, in other words, though it be not law, does it constitute a rule as operative as if it was a law? This would be to overthrow, in fact, what was established in theory; and would seem, at first view, an absurdity too gross to be insisted on. It shall, however, receive a more attentive consideration.

"It is, emphatically, the province and duty of the judicial department, to say what the law is. Those who apply the rule to particular cases, must of necessity expound and interpret that rule. If two laws conflict with each other, the courts must decide on the operation of each. So, if a law be in opposition to the constitution; if both the law and the constitution apply to a particular case, so that the court must either decide that case, conformably to the law, disregarding the constitution; or conformably to the constitution, disregarding the law; the court must determine which of these conflicting rules governs the case; this is of the very essence of judicial duty. If then, the courts are to regard the constitution, and the constitution is superior to any ordinary act of the legislature, the constitution, and not such ordinary act, must govern the case to which they both apply."[22]

The emphasis in the above extracts on the Constitution of the United States as "a superior paramount law" is very clear. We also notice in them why the Constitution was "written," *i.e.*, "committed to writing." Thus we find:

"The powers of the legislature are defined and limited; and that those limits may not be *mistaken* or *forgotten*, the constitution is written.[23] To what purpose are powers limited, and to what purpose is that limitation committed to writing, if these limits may, at any time, be passed by those intended to be restrained."

The *raison d'etre* of committing to writing the original Constitution of the United States—I mean the short document framed at Philadelphia in 1787—is evident from this. But from this one must not think that the Constitution of the United States today is to be found only in this brief document framed in 1787 (and its twenty-one amendments subsequently made).

"Let no one," says Professor Munro,[24] "make the error of supposing that these ten or twelve pages can be understood merely by reading them, or that they contain all the constitutional rules which govern the American people today . . .

"The architects of 1787 built only the basement. Their descendants have kept adding walls and windows, wings and gables, pillars and porches, to make a rambling structure which is not yet finished. Or, to change the metaphor, it is a fabric which, to use the words of James Russell Lowell, is still being 'woven on the roaring loom of time.' That is what the framers of the original Constitution intended it to be. Never was it in their minds to work out a final scheme for the government of the country and stereotype it for all time. They sought merely to provide a starting point."

Usages were at work in the United States even when Chief Justice Marshall delivered the opinion of the Supreme Court in 1803 in the case of *Marbury* vs. *Madison*. Take, for instance, the question of party system there. Even though, writes Munro,[25] the leading statesman of 1787 had looked upon the rivalry of political parties as a thoroughly vicious feature in a free government, yet "political parties sprang into existence almost at the outset and gradually became dominating factors in the work of the new federal government."

"Usage," he continues,[26] "has created and maintains the party system, but who will say that party organizations do not profoundly affect both constitutional practices and the political life of the American people?"

If, as Mr. Basu appears to think, Chief Justice Marshall really implied in his judgment in the case of *Marbury* vs. *Madison* that there was a *radical difference* between a so-called written and a so-called unwritten constitution, then I am constrained to say for more than one reason—and that notwithstanding the great weight of his name—that his view is open to criticism. Usages (*i.e.*, unwritten elements) have begun to develop in the American Constitution, as shown above, even in Marshall's own time, materially affecting its working.

"And some of those features of American Government," says Bryce,[27] "to which its character is chiefly due and which recur most frequently in its daily working, rest neither upon the Constitution[28] nor upon any statute, but upon usage alone."

Even in England which was, by contrast, supposed to have a so-called unwritten Constitution, there were in Marshall's time many elements in its Constitution which were written or statutory. Take, for instance, the Magna Carta (1215), the Bill of Rights,[29] the Act of Settlement,[30] the Act for the Union with Scotland (1707),* the Septennial Act,[31] the Act for the Union with Ireland,[32] etc. The distinction, therefore, between a so-called written and a so-called unwritten Constitution is as I have already† pointed out, "really of

22. See Evans, *Cases on American Constitutional Law*, 5th Ed., pp. 54-58; also Fenn, *The Development of the Constitution*, pp. 27-32; also Dodd, *Cases and Materials on Constitutional Law*, 4th Ed., pp. 1-6.

23. The italics are mine.

24. See Munro, *The Government of the United States*, 5th Ed., pp. 53-54; also Ogg, *European Governments and Politics*, 1934, Chap. III; also Ogg and Zink, *Modern Foreign Governments*, 1950, Chap. II.

25. See Munro, *op. cit.*, p. 74.

26. See *ibid.*

27. See his *American Commonwealth*, Vol. 1, 1928, p. 394.

28. Bryce obviously means by this expression the written portion of the American Constitution.

29. *I.e.*, *the Declaration of Rights* (1 Will. and Mar. Sess. 2, Cap. 2, 1689).

30. 12 and 13 Will. III, Cap. 2, 1701.

* 5 Anne Cap. II. (Also cited as 6 Anne, C. 11, 1706).

31 1 Geo. 1. Stat. 2, Cap. 38, 1716.

32. 40 Geo. III. Cap. 67, 1800.

† See my article in December (1950) number of *The Modern Review*.

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of degree rather than of kind," and does not mark a contrast between two very widely differentiated groups. In some Constitutions written elements preponderate and in others unwritten elements preponderate. That is all that we can, speaking scientifically, say, and for that reason we cannot classify Constitutions as "written" and "unwritten."

There is another aspect of the question. Mr. Basu has stated,[33] obviously following Marshall, that "the judiciary has *necessarily the last say* in the matter of interpreting a Constitution."[34] But Marshall's contention in favour of a judicial review of legislation following as a consequence from the so-called "writtenness" of a Constitution is itself not above criticism. Marshall[35] has said that "the particular phraseology of the Constitution of the United States confirms and strengthens the principle, *supposed to be essential to all written Constitutions*, that a law repugnant to the Constitution is void; and that *courts*, as well as other departments, are bound by that instrument."[35] This statement is too sweeping and not justified by facts. As Professor Willoughby, "one of the foremost authorities on the constitutional law of the United States,"‡ has shown in his celebrated work *The Constitutional Law of the United States*," that, throughout this statement as well as some other statements in the judgment in the case of *Marbury* vs. *Madison*, there thus the premise, not warranted by facts, "that there is something in the very nature of a written constitution that necessitates the vesting of its final interpretation in the judiciary." This function of interpretation is not, as will appear from what follows, *necessarily* exercised by the courts of law. That is to say, the doctrine of judicial review of legislation which is a distinctive feature of the American system of government, does not, for one reason or another, apply to every country which may have, or may have had, a so-called written constitution.

"In most European countries," writes Professor Haines,[36] "the rule prevails that the guardianship of the Constitution belongs to the legislature, and, subject to a reversal by popular referendum or the election of a new assembly, the legislature determines the limits of its own authority and exercises control over the other departments of government. The legislature not only exercises ordinary legislative authority, but is recognized as possessing constituent powers, or powers of an ultimate sovereign. . . . A controversy regarding the meaning of a constitutional provision is simply not a *justiciable controversy*. The basic hypothesis, therefore, on which the American constitutional structure is founded, that constitutions are laws in the ordinary significance of that term, and that a case or controversy involving an alleged conflict between a constitutional provision and a statute is necessarily subject to judicial cognizance, are repudiated as legally unsound and politically impracticable."

"The claim," Professor Haines, however, adds,[39] "that a written constitution with limits on the powers of government, if not guarded and protected by the judiciary, becomes a mere 'scrap of paper' and is not seriously observed, appears to be disproved by the experience of countries with written fundamental laws and final legislative interpretation of the constitution. The constitutions of Belgium and Switzerland, though subject to final interpretation by the legislative assemblies, have seldom been changed merely by legislative interpretation or by a refusal to obey a constitutional requirement. The experience of these countries indicates that legitimate private rights and privileges are likely to receive adequate protection without a judicial guardianship of the written constitution."

We also find in Willis* that

"A majority of the nations of the earth, though adopting written constitutions, have retained the doctrine of legislative supremacy."

Let me now refer to one or two specific countries which have had a so-called written constitution, but in which the doctrine of judicial review of legislation in the American sense either does not operate at all, or does so only very partially. Let me first take the case of France under the Third Republic. Referring to the position of the judiciary in it, Professor Munro[40] writes:

"There is another feature of the French judicial system which the American student will do well to note. France has a written constitution, embodied in a series of constitutional laws, the provisions of which are in some cases very precise. And the French constitution, like the American, is ostensibly the supreme law of the land; hence any ordinary law which conflicts with its provisions is said to be unconstitutional and void. But no French court has the power to declare a statute unconstitutional and to annul it on that ground, no matter how repugnant to the constitution the statute may be. No such power is expressly given to the courts by the French constitution and it has not been acquired, as in the United States, by usage."

We also find in Ogg:[41]

"We have seen that the members of the national legislature, sitting in the guise of a National Assembly, can make any changes whatsoever in the provisions of the written fundamental

33. See his article in *The Modern Review* for February, 1951.
34. The italics are mine.
35. See his Opinion in *Marbury* Vs. *Madison*.
36. The italics are mine.
‡ See Professor Garner's article "Westel Woodbury Willoughby," in *Essays in Political Science* in Honour of Westel Woodbury Willoughby, 1937, p. 15.
‡‡ See Willoughby, *The Constitutional Law of the United States*, Vol. I, pp. 5-8. This work in three volumes is really of a great value. It is regarded by Prof. Garner (see his article referred to in footnote ‡ above) as "probably the leading treatise on the subject, as it is certainly the most comprehensive and up-to-date one."
39. See his article "Some Phases of the Theory and Practice of Judicial Review of Legislation in Foreign Countries," in *American Political Science Review*, August, 1930.

39. See *ibid.*
* See his *Constitutional Law of the United States*, 1936, p. 72n.
40. See Munro, *The Governments of Europe*, Revised Edition, 1932, p. 520.
41. See Ogg and Zink, *Modern European Governments and Politics*, 1934, pp. 471-72; also Dicey, *Law of the Constitution*, 8th Ed., pp. 153-54 and p. 516.

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law. In closing, it may be noted, further, that the legislature itself can enact a statute palpably inconsistent with that law with full assurance that it will be recognized and enforced by the courts—which is tantamount to saying that in France, as in Britain, Parliament is supreme and the American device of judicial review of statutes does not exist. . . . In neither France nor England . . . . is any act of Parliament challengeable judicially."

The position of the judiciary in France does not, in essence, appear to have changed under the Constitution of the Fourth French Republic.[42]

Let me now refer to the case of Switzerland, another country with a so-called written Constitution. Besides, it is by nature, as I have shown in another connexion,[43] really a Federation—a true Federal State—like the United States of America, although it is called a Confederation. Now what is the position of the judiciary in it in regard to legislation?

"The Swiss Federal Tribunal," says Bryce,[44] "cannot declare any Federal law or part of a law to be invalid as infringing some provision of the Federal Constitution. It may annul a Cantonal law as transgressing either the Federal or a Cantonal Constitution, but the Constitution expressly assigns to the Federal Legislature the right of interpreting both the Federal Constitution itself and all laws passed thereunder, so that it can put its own construction on every law which it has itself passed, without the intervention of any judicial authority to correct it."

We also find in William Rappard[45]:

"As for the judicial review of legislative measures, it has been *expressly denied, as far as federal laws are concerned*. It has, however, crept in by a round-about path in respect of Cantonal laws."[46]

Again, he says:

"In its function as a court of public and administrative law, the Federal Tribunal must uphold the federal Constitution and federal statutes as against cantonal Constitutions and statutes. . . . However, it has been *expressly and deliberately denied the right of deciding on the constitutionality of all federal statutes*. The authors of the Constitution of 1874 reserved to the Federal Assembly alone the right of interpreting the Federal Constitution."[47]

Considerations of space do not permit me to give further instances of the absence of the power of judicial review of legislation in countries having so-called written Constitutions. But from what has been shown immediately above, it is clear that Mr. Basu's positive and dogmatic assertion[48] that "the judiciary has necessarily the last say in the matter of interpreting the Constitution," is not applicable to all countries having, presumably, what he calls "written Constitutions." And the same criticism equally applies to Mr. Basu's relevant observation on this question, referred to before. We also find in Evans[49] in connexion with his remarks on Professor Willoughby's criticism of Marshall's reasoning in *Marbury* vs. *Madison*:

"The criticism directed against Marshall's argument based upon the nature of a written constitution is better founded. It is pointed out that in a number of other countries having written Constitutions the Courts are not permitted to pass upon the constitutionality of acts of the legislature."

One should be sure of one's facts before one makes a categorical statement in regard to a point of constitutional law. Even in the United States, Mr. Basu may be interested to know, there are, as Bryce,[50] in connexion with the question of "the authorities entitled to interpret the (American) Constitution," "points of construction which every court, following a well-established practice, will refuse to decide because they are deemed to be of a 'purely political nature'."

"These points," continues Bryce,[51] "are accordingly left to the discretion of the executive and legislative powers, each of which forms its view as to the matters falling within its sphere, and in acting in that view is entitled to the obedience of the citizens and of the States also.

"It is therefore an error to suppose that the judiciary is the only interpreter of the Constitution; for a certain field remains open to the other authorities of the government, whose views need not coincide, so that a dispute between those authorities, although turning on the meaning of the Constitution, may be incapable of being settled by any legal proceeding. This causes no great confusion, because the decision, whether of the political or the judicial authority, is conclusive so far as regards the particular controversy or matter passed upon.

"The above is the doctrine now generally accepted in America."

We find a corroboration of this view in Judge Story. Dealing with the question, "Who is final

42. See Strong, *Modern Political Constitution*, 1949, pp. 261-62; also Malezieux and Rousseau, *The Constitution of the Fourth Republic* (R. C. Ghosh), p. 16; also Ogg and Zink, *Modern Foreign Governments*, pp. 519-20.

43. See my article on the "Swiss System of Government," etc., in *The Modern Review* for February, 1946.

44. See his *Modern Democracies*, Vol. 1, p. 401.

45. See his *Government of Switzerland*, p. 50.

46. The italics are mine.

47. The italics are mine.

See William Rappard, *op. cit.*, p. 90. We also find in Wheare (*Federal Government*, 1947, p. 61) that in Switzerland the last word about the meaning of its Constitution "does not appear to rest completely with the Federal Tribunal, it may declare Cantonal laws invalid, but it must accept [illegible] Federal legislature [illegible] valid."

48. See *The Modern Review* for February, 1951, p. 141.

49. See his *Cases on American Constitutional Law*, 5th Ed. (Fenwick), 1942, p. 60.

I may also invite here the reader's attention to Professor Thayer's comment on the reasoning of Marshall in *Marbury Vs. Madison*, quoted by Professor Willoughby in his *Constitutional Law of the United States*, 2nd Ed., pp. 6-7n. Among other things, Professor Thayer has said: "It (*i.e.*, Marshall's reasoning) assumes as an essential feature of a written Constitution what does not exist (obviously when Professor Thayer was writing) in any one of the written Constitutions of Europe."

50. See his *American Commonwealth*, 1928, Vol. 1, pp. [illegible]

51. See *ibid.*

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or Interpreter in Constitutional Controversies," he has said that there are many cases in which "the decisions of the executive and legislative departments" "become final and conclusive, being from their very nature and character incapable of revision." Thus, "in measures exclusively of a political, legislative, or executive character, it is plain that as the supreme authority, as to these questions, belongs to the legislative and executive departments, they cannot be re-examined elsewhere." Where, however, "the question is of a different nature and capable of judicial inquiry and decision, there it admits of a very different consideration." In such a case, "there is a final and common arbiter provided by the Constitution itself, to whose decisions all others are subordinate; and that arbiter is the supreme judicial authority of the Courts of the (American) Union."*

Further, dealing with the question, "Who interprets the (American) Constitution?", Charles Beard† says, among other things:

"According to the formula usually found in the child's book in civics, it is the Supreme Court of the United States, or at least a majority of the judges, that 'interprets' the Constitution. But even a superficial examination of the instrument itself reveals a fatal weakness in this contention. Federal courts have no monopoly over the business of exposition. They are given a field of work, a jurisdiction, and it extends only to certain cases in law and equity.

"All problems arising under the Constitution cannot be formulated into cases, or actions between parties, and carried before the Supreme Court. Moreover the Court has repeatedly ruled that some cases are political in character and lie outside its jurisdiction."

"It is an over-simplification to say," he next observes, "that the Constitution is the document as expounded by the Supreme Court."

He then shows the part which Congress plays as an interpreter of the Constitution, and, thereafter, remarks:

"Likewise, in his sphere, the President of the United States by his decrees, orders, and actions gives meaning to the Constitution. Many of his findings are 'political' in character; and the Supreme Court will not inquire into their legitimacy—for example, a declaration on foreign policy. Others are discretionary and these too, the Court has said, must be left to his judgment."

II

In regard to the question of the interpretation of clause (1) of Article 74 of the Constitution of India, I should like to state that I adhere to my view, so far as the *purely legal*—and *not political*—aspect of the question is concerned, set forth before,[53] namely, that, constitutionally speaking,[54] the President of India is not *legally bound* to accept, in the exercise of his functions, any advice tendered to him by his Council of Ministers. That is to say, there is no *statutory obligation* requiring him to accept such advice. And I have shown before[54] that this view was taken also by the late Sir B. L. Mitter. This view appears to be the correct view, notwithstanding all quibbling otherwise. If the words of a statute, says Maxwell,[55] "are in themselves precise and unambiguous no more is necessary than to expound those words in their natural and ordinary sense, the words themselves in such case best declaring the intention of the Legislature." We also find it quoted in *Craies on Statute Law*:[56]

> "If the words of the statute are themselves precise and unambiguous, then no more can be necessary than to expound those words in their ordinary and natural sense. The words themselves alone do in such a case best declare the intention of the law-giver."

Again, we find in Judge Story:[57]

> "Where the words are plain and clear, and the sense distinct and perfect arising on them, there is generally no necessity to have recourse to other means of interpretation."

Further, Beal has quoted Lord Cranworth, L. J., (in *Gundry* vs. *Pinniger*, 1852) to say:

> "The great cardinal rule is that which is pointed out by Mr. Justice Burton, *viz.*, to adhere as closely as possible to the literal meaning of the words. When once you depart from that canon of construction, you are launched into a sea of difficulties which it is difficult to fathom."‡

And, lastly, we find in Kent:[58]

> "The words of a statute, if of common use, are to be taken in their natural, plain, obvious, and ordinary signification and import."

In view of these authoritative views on the canons of interpretation of statutes, we should expound the words used in Clause (1) of Article 74 in their natural and ordinary sense. And if we do this, then the only interpretation which can be rationally put upon the clause, so far as—and I repeat this here—the *purely legal aspect* of the question is concerned, is what I have given before[59] and has been briefly stated above. If we analyse the clause, it will really mean that "there shall be a Council of Ministers with the Prime Minister at the head"—

(*i*) to *aid* the President in the exercise of his functions, and

(*ii*) to *advise* him in the exercise of his functions.

There is nothing in this clause which imposes a

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* See Joseph Story, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, Secs. 374-75, pp. 264-67.

† See his *American Government and Politics*, 9th Ed., pp. 46-48.

53. See *The Modern Review for December*, 1950, pp. 458-59.

54. For the political aspect of the question, see my article in the *Modern Review* for June, 1950.

54. See *The Modern Review* for December, 1950, p. 459.

55. See his *Interpretation of Statutes*, 9th Ed., 1946, pp. 1-2.

56. See Craies, *A Treatise on Statute Law*, 4th Edition, p. 68 and footnote.

57. See Story, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, Section 401, p. 296.

‡ See Beal, *Cardinal Rules of Legal Interpretation*, 2nd Ed., pp. 74-75.

58. See Kent, *Commentaries on American Law*, 10th Ed., Vol. 1, p. 541, Lec. XX.

59. See *The Modern Review* for December, 1950, pp. 458-59.

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statutory obligation on the President to accept the advice of his Council of Ministers. And I think that the authors of our Constitution acted very wisely in not imposing such a statutory obligation on the President. It would, as I have previously stated,[60] be very awkward, indeed, if, for instance, any advice of an outgoing Council of Ministers as to who should form the incoming Council of Ministers were to be *legally binding* upon the President. He would in that case have no discretion left in the matter,[61] and that would be a travesty of parliamentary form of government. Nor can we reasonably treat the word "aid" as a technical term. One should think a little deeply about the implications of one's statement about a constitutional matter before one should make it. Nor does the law of our Constitution really permit such a statement. We should take the words "aid" and "advise" in the Clause under our consideration "in their natural and ordinary sense"—"in their ordinary meaning." The word "aid" does not mean, as Mr. Basu thinks, "collaboration" with all that it implies. It simply and plainly means, according to the Oxford Dictionary,[62] "help (a person to do)." If I may give a homely analogy, I may say that in the matter of the execution of the business of administration at the Centre, the President, *technically speaking*, is the Principal or the Master, as it were, and the Council of Ministers are his mere *aiders* and *advisers*. While it is their duty to aid and advise him in the exercise of his functions, he is not *legally bound* to accept their advice. And, in view of the words whether or in Clause (2) of Article 74 of our Constitution, it is doubtful whether any such advice must be sought and offered. This is my view of the whole question. And when I previously stated that "the text of the law was not explicit, I really meant that it was not explicit *in the sense* of supporting Mr. Basu's contention. And we must not forget in this connection the canon of constitutional construction that

> "Nothing is to be added to or to be taken from a statute, unless there are . . . adequate grounds to justify the inference that the Legislature intended something which it omitted to express."*

My submission is that there is no justification for any inference that the authors of our Constitution intended that there would be any *statutory obligation* on the President to accept the advice of his Council of Ministers. They never meant, nor could have ever meant, it. Nor, again, does it follow from the text of our Constitution.

I need hardly state here that I have discussed above the question of the position of the President *vis-a-vis* his Council of Ministers purely from a legal standpoint, and not from a political standpoint.†

60. See *The Modern Review* for June, 1950, p. 454, footnote 38.
61. See the preceding reference for further details.
62. See *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Current English*, 3rd Edition.

* See Maxwell, *op. cit.*, p. 14.

† For this latter question, reference may kindly be made to my articles in *The Modern Review* for June and for December, 1950, where the whole question has been discussed in detail.

(To be continued)

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A SCHEME FOR INCREASING FOOD PRODUCTION

By S. N. AGARWAL

The problem of food shortage in India is getting increasingly complicated. Instead of becoming self-sufficient in foodgrains by the end of this year, the Indian people have to put up with a reduction of rations by 25 per cent and stretch the begging bowl to foreign countries. Unfortunately, correct figures as to the actual percentage of food shortage in the country are not available, so much so that some economists are inclined to believe that there is no food shortage at all and that the present difficulties are chiefly due to artificial scarcity created by anti-social elements. Even those who do not accept this view generally concede that the real deficit is not more than about 10 per cent. This shortage is, surely, not so extraordinary and should not cause so much headache to the Government and the people. With better storage techniques, irrigation facilities, reclamation of waste lands, prevention of wastage of food, and tapping of edible but inferior and generally neglected food, it should have been possible by now to meet the annual food deficit. Failure to achieve this objective is, indeed, a sad commentary on the basic policy that is being pursued by the Government of India despite public opposition.

I earnestly feel that the existing system of procurement and levy is fundamentally erroneous. In most of the States in India, the farmer has to part with a substantial portion of his produce under the system of compulsory procurement at Government rates which are considerably lower than the 'free market' or 'black-market' rates. He, naturally, resents such procurement and does not feel enthusiastic enough to step up the production of food-grains to the maximum. He tries to divert his land from food-crops to money-crops which yield higher income because of better prices. Moreover, he begins to learn the art of dodging Government procurement and selling his foodgrains to the black-marketeers. In Madhya Pradesh, the Government procures foodgrains indirectly through merchants. But the net result is ultimately almost similar. The level of production shows the tendency to go down because the producers, both agricultural and industrial, do not feel the full of economic incentives in a system hedged

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controls on all sides. This has happened even in an enlightened and progressive country like Britain. In a poor country like India, therefore, the uneducated agriculturist is not expected to respond only to patriotism and appeal for sacrifice. Adequate economic incentives ought to be regarded as pre-requisites for making the "Grow More Food Campaign" a practicable proposition and a success.

How could this be achieved? I have a very definite and concrete suggestion to make. The Government should abandon the existing policy of procurement and introduce a system of open market and limited sale of rations at controlled rates. The State should undertake to provide cheap rations only to those who cannot really afford to pay the 'open-market' prices. For instance, persons earning less than Rs. 200 per month might be regarded as falling within this category. This figure will, of course, vary from region to region. The Government could also publish scheduled rates of foodgrains available in the ration shops from month to month; the rates could vary with the different levels of income and the quantities purchased. Moreover, only coarse, though clean, foodgrains (*i.e.*, second or third quality, but not rotten or mixed with grit, earth, etc.) may be made available in these Government shops. In order to discharge this responsibility, the Government, instead of procuring foodgrains at lower rates, should purchase them from the free or open market and sell them at cheaper prices in the ration shops. The loss incurred by the State in the process would be in the nature of a subsidy. Even at present, such subsidies are being paid by the Government on foodgrains imported from foreign countries. The money goes out of the country and the poor Indian farmer is not able to derive any benefit out of this additional expenditure from the public exchequer. Instead, the Government ought to subsidize food-grains purchased from our own agriculturists and allow the tillers of the soil to feel that they can reap the full fruits of their hard work on the land. The State will be obliged to make suitable arrangements for cheap ration shops in the cities, specially in the deficit areas; in the rural regions only landless labour will be allowed to enjoy such facilities. The rest of the people in cities and villages will be free to make their purchases of foodgrains in the open market. Such a scheme will have several distinct advantages. First, the ignominy of the "black market" and the consequent chain of moral degradation would automatically disappear. Secondly, the State will be able to recover a substantial portion of money spent on subsidy through a workable system of sales-tax and graded income-tax realized from merchants who will be entitled to conduct their business in the open or free market. Thirdly, the poorer sections of the population will continue to receive rations at controlled rates and the well-to-do people will get the satisfaction of making their purchases in the "white" market in place of the existing "black market."

In suggesting the scheme, I do not claim any originality. During my European tour last year, I found such a scheme working successfully in Czechoslovakia. The existence of a free market side by side with some cheap and subsidized ration shops for the poor people had eliminated black-marketing from the country and the State was able to augment its public exchequer in substantial measure through sales-tax and income-tax on the business transactions in the open market. I see no reason why a similar experiment could not be tried in India as well.

The first objection that may be advanced against this scheme is that higher prices of foodgrains would again set the inflationary spiral in motion. There need be no fears on this account because the Government will be able to arrest the inflationary tendencies by selling foodgrains to the poorer sections of the community and any rise in the level of wages would be quite unnecessary. Moreover, high prices of foodgrains prevail even today. The significant difference that the new scheme would bring into effect is that in place of the black-market prices we will have open-market business transactions yielding additional taxable income. The Government can check any probable inflation by two other methods as well. First, the farmers need not be paid the whole value of their produce in cash, the State could offer an additional incentive to the villagers by giving them gold and silver also in making payments. The farmers even now convert their money into ornaments but the middlemen exact high profits by exploiting the needs of the villager. The poor tiller of the soil will, surely, be grateful to the Government if he is able to procure gold and silver at comparatively cheap rates. Secondly, the State, instead of paying the full value of foodgrains to the farmers in cash or precious metals, could divert part of the money due to them into collective welfare schemes like better housing, co-operative farming and marketing. Shares of such co-operative societies could be supplied to the agriculturists, of course, with their consent. This will also, incidentally meet the objection that the additional purchasing power placed in the hands of the villagers might be mis-spent on intoxicants and wasteful socio-religious ceremonies.

Another argument advanced against this scheme by some economists is that the uneducated farmer is not yet trained in economic incentives. If he is able to earn higher income on his agricultural produce, he may not care even to cultivate the whole of his land. The insinuation is that such a scheme of paying higher prices to the agriculturist, instead of encouraging him to produce more, may ultimately result in actuating him to produce less. To my mind, such an insinuation is fantastic and betrays gross ignorance of the present psychology of the masses.

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The average villager today is an intelligent person who easily responds to the economic incentives that exist in modern society.

There is one more point. In place of procurement, the Government could also think of realising rent and land revenue in kind, *i.e.*, in the form of foodgrains at controlled rates. But the present level of storage efficiency and honesty among State officials may not be conductive to the success of such a system. This may be resorted to only in times of national emergency when stock-piling of foodgrains for ration shops may become imperative.

Lastly, I do not mean to suggest that only by changing the existing system of levy and procurement the food problem in India would be automatically solved and the deficit made good by additional productive effort on the part of the farmers. All other schemes of supplying better seeds, irrigational facilities, manure, cattle and implements will still be necessary. But I have no manner of doubt that by abolishing the present system of procurement a very great hurdle in the way of greater food production would surely be removed.

I place the scheme before the Union and State Governments and the National Planning Commission for their serious consideration. I hope they will find it well worth a fair trial.

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LONDON LETTER

By Major D. GRAHAM POLE

The wettest Winter ever recorded continues into as wet a Spring. 'Tears have drowned the world,' Shakespeare commented in one of his plays—and the superstitious amongst us have plenty of evidence for their belief that Heaven, quite literally, is washing its hands of us. But what a pity it all is. In the countryside there is a tremendous hold-up in agriculture and in our towns—where furbishing-up is in progress in honour of the approaching Festival—new paint is spoilt before it can dry and those who lay out gardens and squares, abandonning hope for their washed-out seeds, are buying grass sods by the square foot and laying them down like carpets. In Parliament Square, it is amusing to see that the grass carpet is a mis-fit. It just fails to come up to the edge of the path. But the famous Square, none the less, now looks very handsome. For the first time, probably, people really take an interest in the statues. Along the new terraces standing about as if they had taken up their places at a Reception, these dead and gone statesmen make an impressive setting for Parliament. Indeed, whatever we may feel about the Festival Exhibition and the Festival Gardens, the new design for Parliament Square is one great improvement which has been brought about. Another permanent good will be the new Concert Hall. Some may not take to its most modern and efficient design. They sigh for the old Queen's Hall, blitzed and not yet re-built. Undoubtedly its green gloom and its fountains and its noises-off from the Bar had a never-to-be-forgotten atmosphere. How long does it take for a place to acquire an atmosphere? One has a horrible fear that modern, *perfect*, buildings, with their faultless acoustics, doors that exclude all sound and lights that cast no shadow, are more attuned to a refrigerator than to a fiddle!

The Festival Gardens are very much in the news at the present time. They are the Government's latest achievement in the art of throwing away money. First the Groundnuts, then the Gambia eggs, and now the Gardens with an excess of expenditure over estimate of a million and a half pounds sterling. It is a disturbing revelation. How is it possible, everyone is asking, to pour out so much money on the seemingly simple business of creating a fun-fair (horrible word) in a public park? And on all sides one hears the charge that it is a 'racket' and 'fiddling away the money.' The Government has appointed a firm of chartered accountants to investigate the Gardens' expenditure, the Chairman has resigned, and so has the Managing Director. And all this a month before the Gardens are due to be opened by Princess Margaret . . . It is a very odd situation and must be an embittering one to the displaced officials. To go, under a cloud, when seven-eighths of the work on the Fair is completed!

Mr. Herbert Morrison is reported to have said that he hopes, when people visit the Festival Gardens, they will exclaim: 'How lovely!' and not 'How much did it all cost.' Perhaps they will and perhaps the Gardens will remain, long after the Festival year is forgotten, and become as popular a feature of London as were the former and famous Gardens of Ranelagh and Vauxhall. Londoners certainly are much more interested in the Festival Gardens than they are in the Festival Exhibition. The list of attractions is a little over-powering. Fourteen restaurants will not be wanted in after years—nor the miniature zoo, Crystal Palace, railway and so on—but the riverside restaurant and riverside theatre should remain. The theatre is said to be much admired by visiting architects. Such things should be a great advantage, in stuffy London summers, to people who cannot go away for a holiday. It is a very good thing to bring them to a Park, for supper or entertainment. In recent years the London County Council has held open air Art Exhibitions in Battersea Park. These no doubt will continue to be held in the new fashioned Gardens. (The pavilions of with a series of drawings by that very great painter Hogarth). In fact,

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this idea of a Festival Garden is no new vulgar thing. And, above all, in years to come, may Londoners look back to the proto-type Vauxhall and consider the place first and foremost as a Garden. The historian of South London, Mr. Harry Williams, has this to say about Vauxhall:

"Pepys mentions the nightingales singing in Vauxhall Gardens in 1667, but the most memorable account of Vauxhall is given by Addison in 1712. The fragrancy of the walks and bowers, the air filled with the scent of innumerable flowers, the chorus of birdsong from the trees, the freshness, the liveliness and the vibrant happiness of the place shine from his pages. Such naive delight in simple things is one of the lost treasures of the earth, and almost any sacrifice would be justified if it could be recaptured for mankind to-day."

When I read this passage, I set out to buy a copy of Addison. But I found it meant buying Addison in four volumes and this seemed a bit extravagant and especially to do such a thing on the eve of the Budget.

In palmier days the Budget was a closely guarded secret. Some taxes always came off somewhere and any leakages beforehand might allow of profitable and unfair gambling in futures on the Stock Exchange. Now it is a different story. Taxes, real or disguised in increasing prices, get stiffer all the time. Far from hugging his secrets the Chancellor of the Exchequer issues, just before his Budget, a Financial Survey. It is a mixture of cushioning the shock and of propaganda for his Government's policies. Of late years, in fact, we have become accustomed to say, we have two Budgets.

But this year the number has gone up and we are actually being treated to *three*. The Chancellor seemingly has very bad news and he has shifted some of the burden on to the Postmaster General. The Post Office has just announced a whole series of new charges. Telephone calls from public boxes, telegrams, postage on overseas parcels, poundage on money orders, postage on printed papers and the fees for cash-on-delivery are all to go up. These last two imposts are fresh blows to private enterprise and the more serious is the one affecting printed papers. It will be an expensive business to push for trade by sending our circulars and catalogues; postage on bills and receipts too presumably will come under this head. Great resentment is felt by business men. The Post Office has always been a profitable concern—and the Government has always had its services at a reduced rate.

But to return to the Financial Survey. And first of all a *caveat*. The *Daily Mail*, in a column entitled "It's Always Wrong," seeks to console its readers by pointing out that all the major predictions made in the Surveys of 1947, 1948, 1949 and 1950 were afterwards falsified. In 1947, the Survey was wrong about the American Loan; in 1948, it predicted mass unemployment; in 1949, it opined 'there is likely to be no rapid change' when in fact, the situation changed so rapidly that devaluation ensued in six months; and in 1950, it prophesied that American aid would last another two years—and added 'a further decrease in the Armed Forces is planned'! (So much for past numbers of this Old Moore's Almanack, as this same newspaper amusingly styles it.)

But the most spectacular miscalculation on the part of the Chancellor is in the matter of the Budget surplus. To anticipate a deficit of £7 millions and then finish the year with a surplus of £247 millions must be unique in the annals of accounting. Some reparation in all honesty is due to the tax-payer. But he will not get it. For this news is set against such a background as to stifle all hope in his breast. Briefly it appears the position is this. In 1951 we will have £350 millions *more* of goods and services; but rearmament will absorb £400 millions. And even that sum is illusory since prices are rising all the time.'

How is this gap in the estimates to be closed? Up and down the country, at political meetings, there is always someone to howl that every new charge can be met out of 'dividends'. Indeed even a Minister —I think it was Mr. Webb—committed himself the other day to the partisan and unjust statement that he did not think that dividends should be allowed to rise to off-set the fall in the value of money. Suppose a Conservative Minister perpetrated such an outrage in the matter of wages. . . . .

This persecution of dividend-holders is out of date and unfair. What these blinded people will not recognize is that of the dividend-holders many older people, many who have retired, have already suffered a tremendous crash in their standard of living—and indeed are at their wits' end as to how to manage to hold on in future. An ugly aspect of this persecution is that never before were the persecutors, the workers, in such an assured and prosperous condition. I look back to the days when the miners, for instance, were next door to starving. And never shall I forget the days of the great Depression. In fact, in 1931, I lost my seat in Parliament because I would not follow the stampede into Ramsay Macdonald's National Government and agree to a cut in the dole. But the workers' battle has been won. Many miners now are earning over £20 a week and I know of miners' homes—in which there is more than one male bread-winner —where £70 a week is coming in. Even the workers on the Festival Gardens have been getting £10 a week. So the time has come for the workers to let by-gones be by-gones and not, when the 'capitalist' is all but in his coffin, look for the nails with which to fasten it down. (What are they doing with the savings they can make now? Why don't they see the advantage of acquiring some dividends themselves?)

That the capitalist is all but in his coffin is suggested by the afore-mentioned Survey. Is he to be bled even now to close the gap in the rearmament thinks not. 'There can be no question this time,' it says, 'of squeezing a bit

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more out of profits, for profits have to all intents and purposes received their quietus in the Survey. Table 26 contains the bald information that, after provision for stock appreciation, the total amount likely to be left for undistributed profits in 1951 will be £80 millions as against £299 millions in 1950 and £470 millions in 1949. This impressive, not to say staggering, news has been marked on the Stock Exchange. . .' I wonder it did not close the Stock Exchange.

Psychologists give us a lot of information we could do without. It would be an advantage if they could throw any light in the time-lag there is between the march of events and our catching up with an interpretation of them. This thought is prompted by a comparison between the mental atmosphere in industry here and that prevailing in the United States. Here many trade unionists are living in the past. It is not only in the matter of dividends but in their general approach to their place in society. *Time and Tide* this week tells an astonishing story. The Manager of a factory ordered some paint which he wanted and had it delivered at the works intending to take it home with him. But when he went to collect his paint, his storeman refused to let him take it. It must be sent along to him. 'The theory was that as an Executive he had no Union ticket . . . and in taking it himself he was depriving another man of his job.'

This attitude has its pathos. But if it is at all general in industry, think of the waste of time and energy. Think of the men, for instance, whose time and energy could be released to get on with the job of housing. (I know of a working-class woman who has been living, with all her possessions, in the middle of her room for weeks, because the men will not come to mend the roof and stop the rain running down the walls.)

Restrictions on dividends, restrictions on labour, these are sign-posts that lead nowhere. In the United States, it seems, the mental climate is quite otherwise. There 'the sky's the limit.' In other words, the workers believe there need be no limits to what they are paid so long as there are no limits to what they *earn*. High wages need not bring inflation, so long as higher output takes care of the situation. To quote the *Spectator* again:

> "In the United States, which is facing much the same rearmament problems as this country, the director of defence mobilisation, Mr. Wilson, has forecast that two years from now not only will reasonable safety against aggression be secured but civilian shortages will be easing and the relaxation of controls will be possible. It is this confident attitude towards the problems of production which British labour needs most of all."

To digress: how fortunate are the people of the United States to anticipate that in only two years' time they will be nearing the end of civilian shortages! Here the shortages—and the prices—get worse all the time and especially in prospect. Shopping in fact has become a matter of geometrical progression. When you go to buy anything, you pay twice as much as you can afford because you are assured that when the next lot come in prices will have doubled.

Thinking of Trade Unions and their restrictions, it is worth putting on record the action of the teachers in Durham in the matter of the 'closed shop.' They have done a great public service. In the past intellectuals, in times of transition and revolution, have often juggled with ideas rather than tried to sort out and arrive at principles. But in Durham the behaviour of the teachers is a reversal of the proverbial *trahison de clercs*. They have won a victory for principle over the Durham County Council. The Council had passed a resolution 'under which each employee was to be called upon to say whether he was a member of a Union or not.' And this resolution was to apply not only to manual workers but to doctors, teachers, nurses and so on. Although many of the teachers were in fact members of a union, they decided to repudiate this condition—and so did their colleagues in the Health Service. This was the first round. Then the Council thought again, and not very judiciously. In spite of the attitude of the teachers, when it came to making an appointment for a headmaster, they asked each of the six applicants for the post whether he was a member of a union. Five of them, true to the stand that they were taking up, declined to answer. But the sixth said that he was—and was given the job. (It must be a very dreary promotion). At once the teachers set up an Action Committee and this Committee instructed a number of members of the Teachers' Union to hand in their strike notices to become operative in a month's time. This, by the way, was extremely intelligent tactics. It compelled the Minister of Education to take note of the position and gave him time in which to make up his mind what he should do. He has the power to reverse the decision of a Local Authority—and this he has now done.

The Durham teachers, by their courageous action, have brought the question of compulsory membership of a Trade Union right out into the open. It is to be hoped—can one say expected—that other Trade Unions will follow their example. For in the past men who have conscientiously objected to joining a union, Plymouth Brethren for example, have been turned out of their jobs by their fellow-workers. Most disturbing of all is the fact that the Minister of Labour has ruled that a man dismissed from his job for non-union membership is not entitled to unemployment benefit. Probably the unions would lose nothing by making their membership voluntary. The time has gone when *employers* could make non-membership of a union a condition of employment. Indeed public opinion would emphatically endorse a ruling that for the worker to decide for himself whether membership or not of a union was entirely a matter

The only other item of news on the Home Front

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which is engaging our attention at the moment is the business of the Census. This week-end we have all been filling up forms. It is a most interesting form. It seeks to know one's age and state and when one ceased to be educated (!) It also enquires about the number of rooms, the plumbing and the sink and the stove, and whether one has the exclusive use thereof. But the most eloquent column is conspicuous by its absence. There is no room in it for the entry of any child born out of marriage. Is not this a good thing? It does not mean that there is no place in society for the illegitimate child. But evidently it does mean that that child can keep its secret.

And all that remains to be said of the Census is this. When the next one comes round, may we all have the exclusive use of our own plumbing and our own sink!

Westminster, London, 9th April, 1951.

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A RARE IMAGE OF AVALOKITESWARA

By JATINDRA MOHAN DATTA, M.SC., B.L.

The late Rai Bahadur Hem Chandra Basu of Monghyr was an amateur archæologist and collecter of images and inscriptions, Monghyr and its neighbourhood being rich in historical sites and ruins and objects of interest. He collected various images, inscriptions and objects of arts, but most of them were unfortunately destroyed during the Bihar earthquake of 1934. A few escaped destruction, and this is one of them. He had compiled a local history of Monghyr and its neighbourhood, and it was going to be published as the second volume of Sri Krishna Sinha Jayanti commemoration volume when he died.

The image was found near the river Kiul at Luckesarai in the district of Monghyr. It was heavily incrusted with sandal paste and cream, showing that it was once worshipped. It is of black chlorite (?). Sj. Kalyan Ganguly of the Calcutta University has cleaned it with great care. It bears an inscription at the base, which has been partially and tentatively deciphered as bearing the name of Gopala—whether Gopala II or Gopala III of the Pala dynasty it is difficult to say. The characters are in proto-Bengali of the 10th—11th century; one scholar is inclined to think that the script may be of the 7th—8th century. From iconographic consideration it appears to be of the 11th century. The image of the donor is seen at the proper left hand at the bottom; the pose of the palm with lotus mark in relief is very rare in images of Avalokiteswara. The figure of Dhyani Buddha is at the top. The chiselling as well as modelling is very fine. It has been presented to the Asutosh Museum of the Calcutta University; those eager to study it may contact the Curator, Sj. Deva Prasad Ghosh, who will be glad to help the scholars.



Inscribed image of Avalokiteswara, Lakshmisarai, Dt. Monghyr (c. 11th century A.D.)
Asutosh Museum, Calcutta University

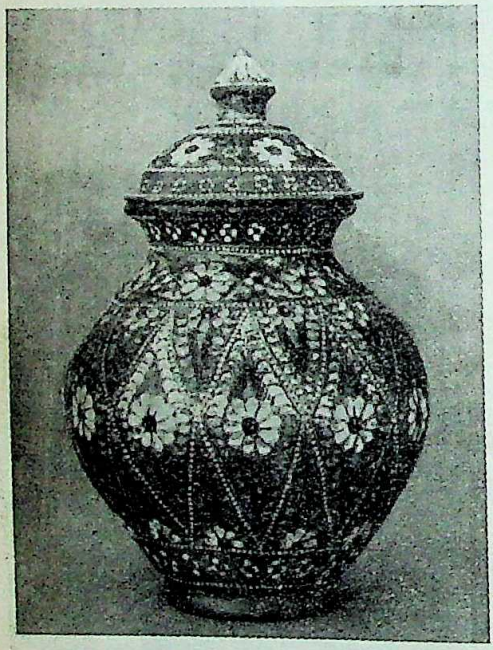
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THE ART OF POTTERY IN INDIA

By TINKARI MUKERJEE,
Dy. Keeper, Government Art Gallery, Indian Museum, Calcutta

"Truest to nature, in the directness and simplicity of its forms, and then adaptation to use, and purest in art, of all its homely and sumptuary handicrafts is the pottery of India," thus describes Sir George Birdwood the art of Indian pottery. The amazing discovery at Mohenjodaro and Harappa and the variety of finds discovered consisting of pottery both decorated and plain, clay figurines and model animals and the use of glazed and vitreous pastes for the manufacture of small ornaments and animal figures testifies to the high proficiency attained in this craft even in those early days of human civilization.

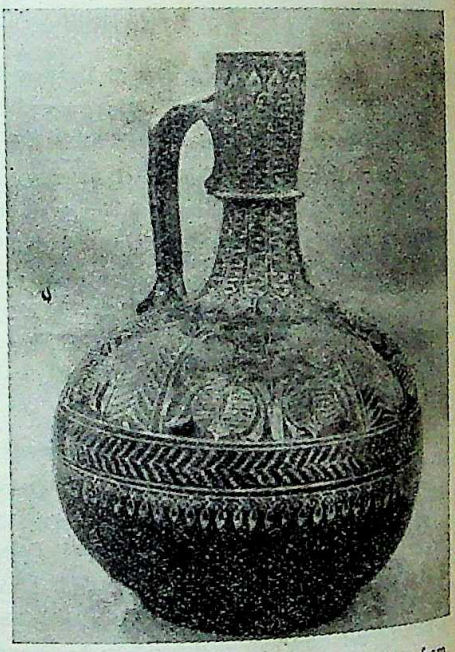


Earthen Martaban, painted and lacquered from Sasseram
Courtesy : Indian Museum

In ancient sculptures scattered all over India and in the Buddhist cave paintings we find pots of various shapes depicted which are identical with the forms of pots produced everywhere in India, even today. "*Kalasa* or water jar, *kapala* or cooking vessels, *patra* or platters, *saraka* or goglets and *patrika* or cups, were the earliest forms of earthen utensils made in the country."

The proprietorship of Indian pottery may be attributed to three sources—(*a*) Pottery produced by aboriginal tribes, (*b*) Pottery produced by Hindus, (*c*) Pottery produced by Muhammedans. The pottery being brittle and its cost being cheaper in comparison with the pots of other materials in daily usage, an impetus seems to have been given to the production of cheap potteries used by us daily. Among the Hindus however this impetus has been accelerated in view of the fact that potteries are to be thrown away on some ceremonial occasions and in view of the prevalent idea also that potteries become polluted and cannot therefore be cleaned like metal pots.

The Indian potters work on their old-fashioned wheels which have hardly undergone any change through centuries. The wheel is set in motion and the potter sitting on the ground near the wheel turns out



Earthen Surabi with nice ornamentations from Azamgarh
Courtesy : Indian Museum

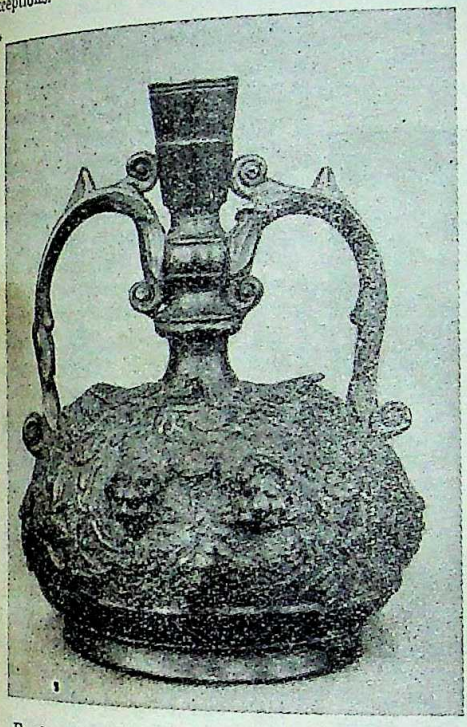
pots of various sizes and shapes and of equal thickness by the dexterous manipulation of his nimble fingers. The rapidity and accuracy by which potteries are turned out have become to the potters a second nature developed through generations from father to son working on the same process and manipulation.

The potter has an assigned place in Hindu community and it has been inherited from father to son. Potters whether Hindus or Muhammedans may be divided into two classes: (1) *Kumbhakars* or the village potters confining their activities to the production of household or agricultural articles and (2) *Kuzagars* or artistic potters turning out artistic or

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glazed wares. It often happens that the Kuzagars do not make their own pottery but purchase semi-dried vessels from the Kumbhakars on which they work. Thus the Kuzagars are in a sense dependent on the Kumbhakars who seem to be the backbone of this craft. Most of the Kuzagars are Muhammedans with exceptions.



Earthen Surabi with raised ornamentations from Aligarh
Courtesy : Indian Museum

The quality of pottery mainly depends on three factors—shape, decoration and colour scheme. With the Indian potters shape is of the utmost consideration and it is never made subservient to colour or decoration. There is no perceptible effort to conceal the beauty of form, the perfect symmetry of its component parts, by decorations. This characteristic led Sir George Watt to remark:

"If any ornamentation is applied it must be skilfully subordinated to the form to which it is superadded, so as not in any way to divert attention from it. Nothing can be in worse taste, nor in an aesthetic sense more wasteful, than to hide a lovely form under an excess of foreign ornamentation. In the best Indian pottery, we always find the reverent subjugation of colour and ornamentation to form and it is in attaining this result that the Indian potter has shown the true artistic feeling and skill of all Indian workmasters in his handicraft."

The shape is different in different types of pottery and has behind it a history of development through generations after generations of potters working after

this craft and giving shapes to types of potteries both from utilitarian and artistic points of view till the present forms we find today have evolved.

It is difficult to give a clear-cut classification of the various types of potteries found all over India. In consideration of the different factors the following classifications may be made: (1) glazed, (2) unglazed



Earthen vase—Ajanta pattern, from Bombay
Courtesy : Indian Museum

or terra cotta, (3) unburnt (specially in connection with some type idols), (4) painted or stained and, (5) painted or stained but unvarnished.

The following remarks of Sir George Watt on the art of pottery seem interesting:

"Over large tracts of India the art of glazing is quite unknown, though highly ornamented pottery is nevertheless produced. Of painted pottery there may be said to be two kinds—painted or stained before firing, and painted, lacquered or stained after firing. The materials and methods employed for this purpose are extremely local and such as to remove any doubt as to their being indigenous."

The art of glazing pottery seems to have originated from the art of glazing tiles for covering walls and roofs and pavements, and the ancients were conversant with this art for a very long time. Many are of opinion that in India, specially in Sind, the art was introduced by Chenghiz Khan when he after his conquest of China in 1212 A.D. brought back with him a Chinese wife and at her instance this art was carried to India. It is held that

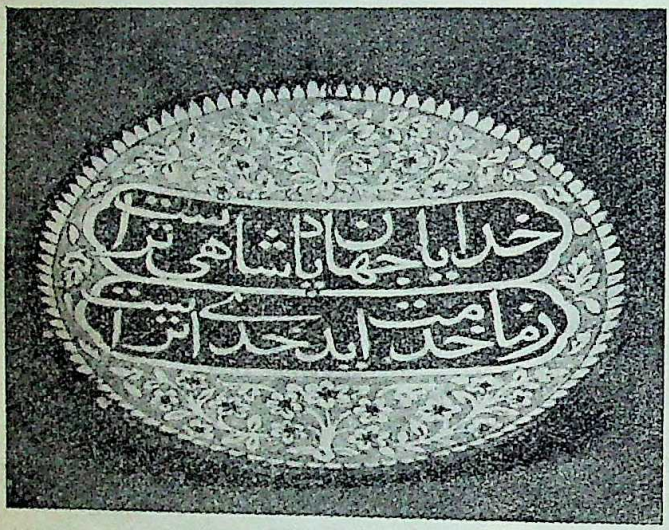
to Persia and Constantinople

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"The old glazed tiles to be seen in India are always from Muhammedan buildings, and they vary in style with the period to which the buildings on which they are found belong; from the plain turquoise blue tiles of the earlier Pathan period, A.D. 1193-1254, to the elaborately designed and many-coloured tiles of the latter part of the Great Mughal period, A.D. 1556-1750. Whenever also the Mahommedans extended their dominion they would appear to have developed a local variety in these tiles."

By some, however, this view has been refuted on the discovery of some old Gaur tiles having a "marked Hindu character distinct from the blue and diapered tiles which are distinctive of Mahommedan manufacture elsewhere in India, before the floral designs of the Mughal period came into vogue. It is quite possible therefore that enamelled pottery was made in India long anterior to the age of Chenghiz Khan."



Earthen plate from Multan

Courtesy : Indian Museum

Unglazed or terra cotta potteries are made all over India, each province having developed a peculiar shape and type of ornamentation in course of generations of practice. At Aligarh, a type of unglazed earthen vases (always black) is produced with raised ornamentations of flowers and foliage on the surface. A very thin type of pottery known as *Kagazi* is produced in Gujranwala, Bhawalpur, Alwar and other places. These potteries are so thin and consequently brittle that it is with difficulty that they can be taken to a distance and for their thinness they have justly acquired the term *kagazi* or paper-like. Black potteries of Sewan, Khulua, Azamgarh, Aligarh and Ratnagiri have become known as a type by themselves and have acquired unique reputation.

The black colour is produced by the confinement of the smoke during firing and by the application of some materials in the kiln for generating dense smoke. In the finer works of Sewan and Azamgarh the black colour is obtained by a different method. To prevent direct contact with fire, the articles to be turned black are fired within a close jar with damped straw, cow-dung or oil cakes, to generate dense black smoke which comes in contact with the articles to be turned black.

At Azamgarh a peculiar type of highly glazed black potteries are available, worked out in silvery white designs on the surface with the effect of damascened work. After the potteries are baked designs are etched on the surface, and then an amalgam of mercury and tin is rubbed on the surface of the designs thus etched. On the completion of the process silvery white designs appear on the highly polished background. "In the glazing and colouring two preparations are of essential importance, viz, *kanch* literally glass and *sikka* or oxides of lead. In the Punjab, the two kinds of *kanch* used are distinguished as *Angrezi kanch* (English glaze) and *desi-kanch* (country glaze)."

Some of the important centres of painted potteries are Peshawar, Hoshiarpur, Gujranwala, Rawalpindi, Lucknow, Sasseram and Madura. By reason of this art being intimately connected with the productions of idols and other sacred objects and with the frescoing of the walls of temples and houses it is considered utterly unconnected with the kindred Muhammedan art of glazing pottery. On religious and ceremonial occasions of the Hindus throughout India various types of earthen pots are painted and decorated and it is easy to infer that the art of painting potteries might have a religious background having its origination on a religious necessity. The ornamental designs desired to be executed on potteries are either painted on off-hand or a pattern is done on a paper the outlines of which are prickled with pins so that pin holes appear on the outlines of the pattern. The pattern is then placed on the pottery and dusted with the powdered colour along the pricklings. The pattern on the paper is thus transferred on the pottery in the shape of dotted outlines which are afterwards joined and painted according to a pre-conceived colour scheme. The process resembles the process of 'pouncing' practised in painting. The main advantage of the process is to make available a number of potteries of similar designs and colours within a very short period with the minimum of labour.

The important centres of glazed potteries in India

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are Peshawar, Lahore, Jallandhar, Delhi, Jaipur, Ajmer, Bikanir, Multan, Halla, Bombay, Lucknow, Allahabad, Bulandshahr, Rampur, and many other places. Each of these localities has developed a special type of design and colour scheme which are the discriminative features between the products of the various localities. For the sake of brevity descriptions of potteries turned out in some of the important centres are given below:

In Delhi and Jaipur a type of pottery is produced. It is not made of clay but of ground felspar (ground harbura) mixed with gum or starch. It cannot in consequence be formed on the potter's wheel but has to be moulded or wielded by hand. The art appears to have originated in Delhi. Regarding the Jaipur pottery it has been remarked:

"The articles are made in moulds and glazed with felspar and starch. The colours chiefly employed are blue from oxide of cobalt, and green from oxide of copper. Some of the pottery are semi-translucent, and in addition to blue and green a few other colours have been sparingly employed, specially a canary yellow, a dark blue and brown for vases of one colour. Most of the best examples are hand-painted with conventional floral or arabesque patterns, and sometimes with figures of animals."

Unglazed potteries are also produced at Jaipur some of the interesting types of which are *huqqas*, water vessels, plates and other utensils of black and red and highly glazed.

The potteries of Peshawar are highly polished and the most common form is green and pink on a milky white background with occasional patches of assorted colour. It is also not uncommon to meet the shades of blue and green. Many interesting articles such as tea cup and dish, flower vase, scented stick burner, etc., are produced.

Multan like Halla was famous for the production of glazed tiles and had a large trade in this type of pottery long anterior to its production of vases, lamps and other such ornamental wares. The special Persian characteristics found in Multan wares are due to the close proximity to Persia and the intimate relation that existed for long, between these two countries.

A very interesting phase has been introduced in Bombay potteries by following the ancient Buddhist designs and colour schemes of the fresco paintings depicted on the walls of the cave temples of Ajanta. Large vases and plates, highly polished and glazed, with good worked out in these designs are now available.

In Sind, potteries are available in two forms—(*a*) tiles, and (*b*) tiles, with floral ornamentations usually executed within panels or medallions, the floral designs with the local panel field. The peculiarity of the Sind pottery consists in its painted pattern being slightly raised above the field level by means of painting the pattern first in a white slip and this characteristic process demarcates it from the pottery works of Multan.

The peculiarity of Rampur potteries consisted in painting them in deep green blue colour without any pattern worked out on the potteries which in course of time developed in ornating them in one and sometimes in two shades of green blue with a pattern distinctly moulded above the surface.



Porcelain jug from Jeypore
Courtesy : Indian Museum

With the Hindus idols of clay command a great market as they are in constant demand on every Puja occasion. Earthen puja utensils like painted plates, lamp stands, etc., are also in great demand by the Hindus and in consequence this demand has given an impetus to this particular branch of potter's art. Simultaneous with the art of idol making an art has developed in the line of making clay figures in diminutive form of persons following various professions, painted and dressed. Besides human figures, various types of animals and fruits are produced in a very naturalistic way so as to elicit admiration from all. The centres noted for this type of work are Krishnagar, Lucknow and Poona. Besides these diminutive figures toys in clay are also produced and most of them have an easy pose and a very naturalistic imposition to appeal to the children. In fact, this branch of the potter's art has an educative value. Children have a natural inclination for toys and if the toys are made under proper artistic guidance they go a long way to the formation of the artistic background of children and thereby may serve a useful purpose of creating the artistic background of the nation.

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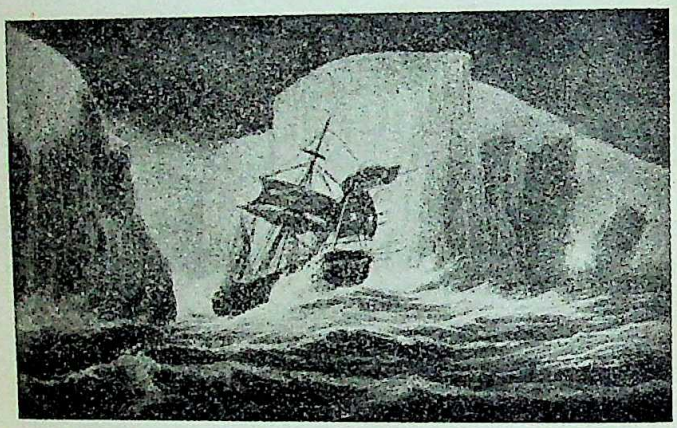
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SOME ACCOUNTS OF ANTARCTICA

The Great South Land

By PARESH CHANDRA DAS GUPTA, M.A.,
Calcutta University

Antarctica, also known by such significant names as "The Third World" and "The South Land," is a big and frozen continent below 60° (S) latitude. For hundreds of years this Polar region has been inspiring dreams in the minds of the romance-loving people of Europe as well as of Asia. The existence of such a snowy land in the extreme south of the globe was first predicted by the ancient Greek philosophers, as they speculated its situation on the basis of astronomical observations. Thus, the name Antarctic is composed of the two constituent words, *viz.*, *Anti* (opposite) and *Arkhatos* (the Great Bear or the Constellation Ursa Major).

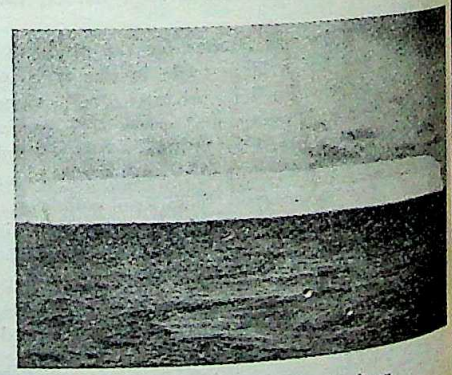


Voyage of Ross (1842) in the Antarctic. His ships the *Erebus* and the *Terror* sailing through the chain of ice-bergs

Curiously, like the famous discovery of America by the celebrated mariner Christopher Columbus in the last decade of the fifteenth century, the discovery of the great South Land was also effected due to the constant eagerness of the occidental nations to find out across the seas new paths to India, the country of riches and wisdom. Actually this happened in 1487, when Captain Bartholomew Diaz rounded Africa at the instance of Henry the Navigator, the king of Portugal. The European sailors in the succeeding years got an impression of the cold regions of the South when Magellan rounded South America in 1520, and Schouten and Lemaire passed through the coastal waters of Tierra del Fuego in 1615. When their accounts were related in Europe, they were not heard simply as "Sailor's tales," and thus a number of people began to dream over the actual existence of a South Land, which would provide them with plenty of riches. Really, that was the day when the Europeans began seriously to think how to rest their economy over the plentifulness of Asia, America and Oceania. Naturally, the South Land of Utopian wealth was also in their golden list.

In the last part of the eighteenth century, France and England were partly determined to discover the snowy Utopia. Thus, in 1771, the French Government sent Joseph Kerguelen to find out the South Land and the result was the discovery of the Isle of Desolation (later known as the Kerguelen island). It lies in the Indian Ocean in latitude 49 degree and 30 S. and longitude 69 degree 40 E.

Perhaps the real glory of discovering Antarctica should rightly be given to James Cook, who for the first time crossed the Antarctic Circle on January 17, 1773, with his two vessels *Resolution* and *Adventure*. After Cook's epoch-making discovery, many important expeditions were sent to the South Land. About all the prominent States of Europe took parts in these projects. Thus, Czar Alexander I of Russia sent two ships *Vostok* and *Mirny* under the able commands of Bellingshausen and Lazareff. The exploration resulted in the discovery of two islands (in 1819 and in 1821) in the Antarctican zone, which were named as Peter Island and Alexander Island. This Russian expedition



An Antarctic tabular ice-berg

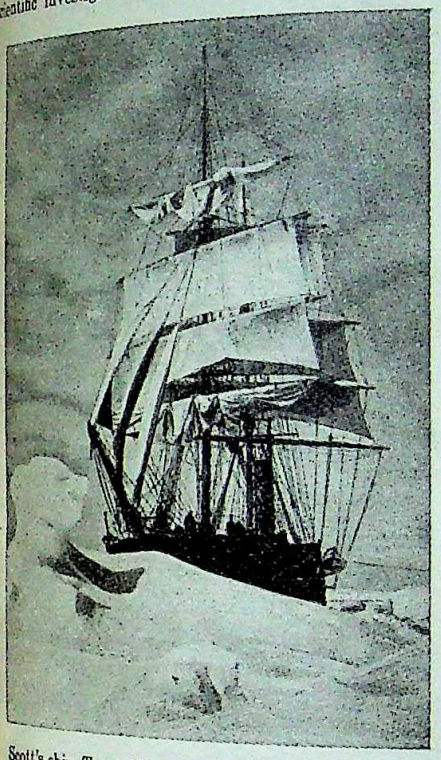
decisively proved for the first time that the Antarctican continent is actually a great land-mass (more than 5,000,000 sq. miles) covered by a thick "ice-cap."

In the nineteenth century other important expeditions were fitted out to obtain more information about the Third World (Antarctica). Among the great mariners and adventurers, who

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conspicuous parts in them, particular mention may be made of the names of Weddel, Biscoe, Balleny, Dumont d'Urville, Wilkes, Ross, Larsen, Gerlache, Amundsen and others. These great explorers risked many times their lives for the sake of discovery, exploration and scientific investigation.



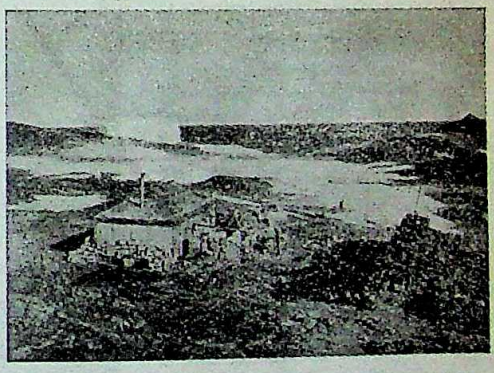
Scott's ship *Terra Nova* ice-bound in the Antarctic

In the present century the untiring efforts of the great Polar heroes like Amundsen, Scott, Shackleton, Wilson, Drygalski, Nordenskjold, Bruce, Charcot, Mawson, Byrd and others have added to our knowledge about the Polar regions of the South. The point of the South Pole was first reached by Roald Amundsen[1] on December 14, 1911. After a month's time Scott reached the spot on January 16, 1912.[2] Later on, Admiral Byrd accomplished his chivalrous visit to the South Pole by aeroplane, on November 28, 1929. His comparative quick visit was a queer contrast to the most toilsome and extremely risky journeys of the former explorers. In this connection Admiral Byrd has himself remarked :

> "It was difficult to believe that in recent history the most resolute men who had ever attempted to carry a remote objective, Scott and Shackleton, had over this same plateau a few miles each day, with hunger—fierce, unrelenting hunger—stalking them every step of the way."—*Little America.*

At present, the European countries have established colonies and whaling-stations upon the coasts of Antarctica, which are, day by day, growing into great political importance.[3] By studying the modern trends of international affairs it may be very easily understood that the Antarctican shores are gradually becoming important naval bases. Very recently, Argentina (in Latin America) rivalled with England to take possession of the Falkland Isles (off the coast of Patagonia) and the Falkland Dependency of the South Land. Apart from this, the European nations acquire annually large amounts of money, exceeding £3,000.000 sterling by hunting different species of whales (*viz.*. the rorqual, the humpback and the blue-whales).

Now, the coastal areas of the great southernmost continent may have some importance regarding the past movements of the human races partly civilised or uncivilised.



The hut built by Shackleton's party in 1907. Scott's party took shelter in it in 1911

As A. Vayson De Pradenne points out:

> "The presence of an Austroloid type in the extreme south of South-America seems to be attested by the work of various anthropologists (S. and G. Sergi, Lebzelter, etc.), and affinities of language and cultural connections have also been adduced."[4]

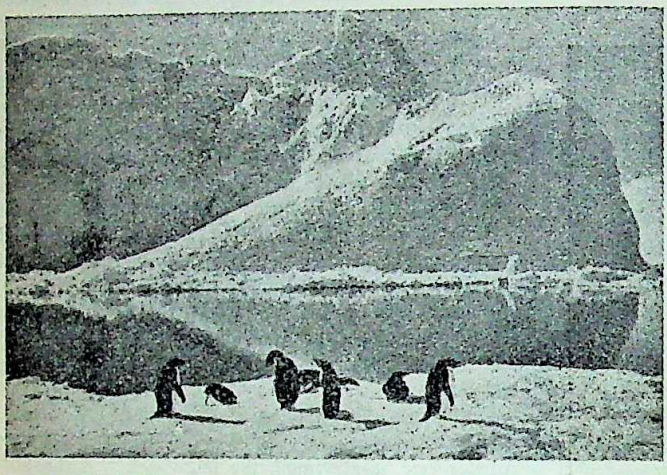
In fact, many of the pre-historic antiquities of Polynesia show some queer resemblances with similar vestiges of the Mayan as well as the Inca civilisation

1. He is, also, famous for his North Polar expeditions.
2. Unfortunately, the heroic explorer and his four brave followers Wilson, Bowers, Oates and Evans died on their way back, due to extreme cold and shortage of food. Afterwards, a search-party discovered the dead bodies of Scott, Wilson and Evans. The last written words of Scott, as found in one of his note-books, tell how his mind remained unconquered even before his death. They are as follows : "Had we lived, I should have had a tale to tell of the hardihood, endurance, and courage of my companions which would have stirred the heart of every Englishman. These rough notes and our dead bodies must tell the tale, but surely, surely, a great rich country like ours will see that those who are dependent on us are properly provided for."
3. Among the Western powers, England, France and Norway have the greatest share of lands in the South Land.
4. *Pre-History*, tr. by E. F. Row, pp. 222-23.

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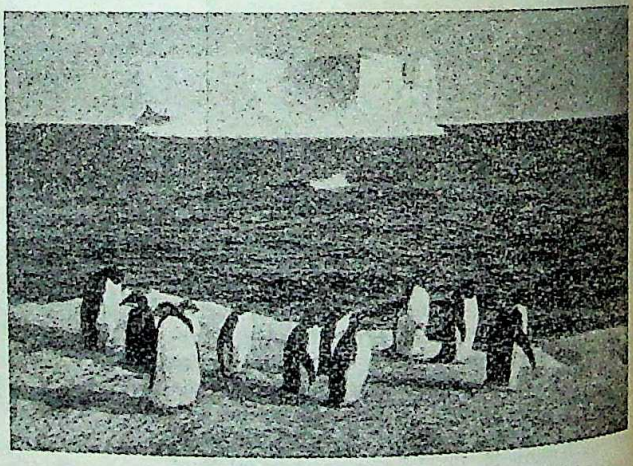
of the Americas. Truly, a number of pyramids and stone and bronze statues of early Polynesia[5] display a great likeness with the ancient pyramids and statues of the two Americas. The mysterious images of San Augastin in Colombia (in S. America) bear such a profound



A typical frozen area of the South Land. The penguins are seen on the ice

resemblance with the armless images of the Easter Island (27 deg. S.—108 deg. 30m. W.) that one can hardly check one's temptation to connect them in some way or other.

But, here a question arises, how the pre-historic Oceanians reached the soils of South America. Of course, there are possibilities that the Polynesians took the ocean-route in order to reach the more eastern regions of the New World. Here,, a doubt arises. This pre-historic migration might not have taken place completely by ocean-route. The brilliant suggestion of Mendez-Correa is very significant on this point. According to him the pre-historic inhabitants of the islands of the southern ocean, possibly reached the lowest fringe of South America by way of the shores of the Antarctic. In support of his contention it has been pointed out by Pradenne that the Antarctican climate in those dim pre-historic epochs was "undoubtedly less severe than it is today."[6] This fascinating view of Mendez-Correa may not seem too incredible as actually the Antarctican shores might have possessed warm regions partly fit for human habitation several thousands of years ago, as the snowy continent still possesses at least one great active volcano, called Mount Erebus in the Victoria Land.[7] Apart from this the existenre of Albatrosses, Penguins, Seals and Walruses on the coastal regions of Antarctica may indirectly hint that human habitation in those regions was, possibly, not totally imposible in pre-historic days. Perhaps, it may be argued without indulging too much in imagination that a number of the early Polynesians might have reached the Polar regions of the South, in the course of their courageous navigation. This may be reasonably supported by the fact that the pre-historic Austric settlers of East India and Oceania often used to traverse hundreds of miles in the blue ocean. As for example, the Malays who were,



An ice-berg and the penguins

possibly, a branch of the civilised Austrics, once spread their culture in the islands and peninsulas lying in the vast region between Madagascar in the West and New Zealand in the East.[8] So, it is not at all impossible that a number of them reached even the Isle of Desolation[9] or the shores of Antarctica.

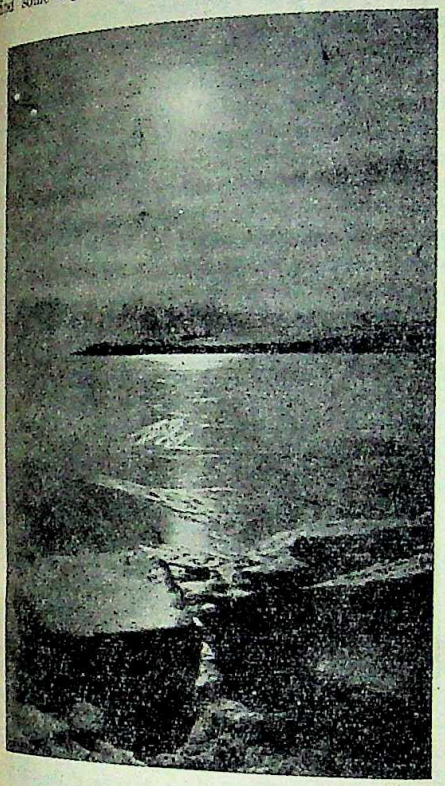
5. Scoresby Routledge: "The Mysterious Images of the Eastern Islands." (*Wonders of the Past*, Vol. III, p. 905 ff).
R. D. Banerji: *Pre-Historic, Ancient and Hindu India*, Introduction.
Perry: *The Children of the Sun.*
Keane: *Man, Past and Present.*
Hendrick Willem Van Loon: *The Arts of Mankind.*

6. Pradenne: *Ibid*, p. 223.
7. It was first discovered by Sir James Ross in 1841.
8. The name 'Maori' may be a corruption of 'Mao[illegible],' which is possibly a derivation of 'Malay.'
9. Also known as Kerguelen Island.

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The view of Mendez-Correa seems to be at least partly supported by the strange scripts of the Easter Island. Thus, in the famous essay of Tomeniko,[10] we find some representations of penguin-like creatures.



Midnight in the Antarctic

This seems to be very interesting, as it is well-known that the penguins are not found beyond the limits of the Antarctican continent. Really, it is a thing to ask ourselves whether the pre-historic or the ancient Polynesians had ever any real knowledge of the Polar regions of the south or not. Here, of course, we cannot at any rate ignore the bare fact that the Polynesians who spread down to Tasmania and lower New Zealand might very naturally reach the Polar Circle often in accidental ways, if not out of deliberate intention.[11] Curiously enough, there are definite traditions in the islands of New Zealand, which clearly point to the cold Antarctican seas. Thus, in a famous historical tradition of the Maoris there is a wonderful account of the South Polar regions. It narrates how one bold mariner of the New Zealand isles, named Ui-te-rangiora built a large canoe (*pahi*) and sailed to the frozen waters of the South, in the middle of the 7th century A.D. In later days, the deeds of this great hero were fervently imitated by another worthy Polynesian navigator named Aru-tanga-Nuku. Thus, the story goes:

> "The desire of the 'ariki' Te Aru-tanga-Nuku and all his people on the completion of the canoe was to behold all the wonderful things seen by the vessel *Te Ivi-O-Atea*[12] in former times. These were those wonderful things: the rocks that grow out of the sea in the space beyond Rapa (about 1,100 miles south-east of Rorotonga); the monstrous seas; the female that dwells in those mountainous waves, tresses wave about in the waters and on the surface of the sea; and the frozen sea of 'pia,'[13] with the deceitful animal of that sea who dives to great depths—a foggy, misty, and dark place not shone on by the sun. Other things are like rocks, whose



Smoke issuing out of the crater of Mount Erebus

> summits pierce the skies; they are completely bare and without any vegetation on them."[14]

As J. C. Andersen points out:

> "This is a graphic description of the impression made in the Antarctic on men accustomed only to the tropics. The rocks growing from the sea, and the objects piercing the skies, bare of vegetation, are ice-bergs; the female whose hair waves about is conjectural, but the hair is the long kelp of those seas; the decitful animal is probably the sea-lion or sea-elephant; 'pia' is arrowroot, which when scraped is exactly like snow, and the snowy wastes were compared with the white substance most familiar to them. The Antarctic ice is to be found south of Rapa in the summer, so there are two instances, about three hundred years apart, of Polynesian voyages sailing into those high latitudes for the sheer love for adventure, and from a desire to see the wonders of the deep."[15]

So we may naturally understand that the real

10. He was a native inhabitant of the Easter Island. Recently he endeavoured to explain some of the peculiar pictographic symbols of the Easter hieroglyphics.

11. In this connection it is very interesting to note that the European navigators of the 16th and the 17th centuries, "frequently met with contrary winds and were driven southward into snowy skies and ice-encumbered seas" while sailing round the Australian continent. See, *Encyclopaedia Brittanica*, Vol. 2, p. 14.

12. The name of the famous boat of Ui-te-rangiora.

13. Arrowroot.

14. Johannes C. Andersen: *Myths and Legends of the Polynesians*, p. 39. London, 1928.

15. *Ibid*, pp. 39-40.

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credit of first discovering Antarctica should be decisively given to the early Polynesians, as the authenticity of their oral traditions and accounts about the frozen



Captain Scott

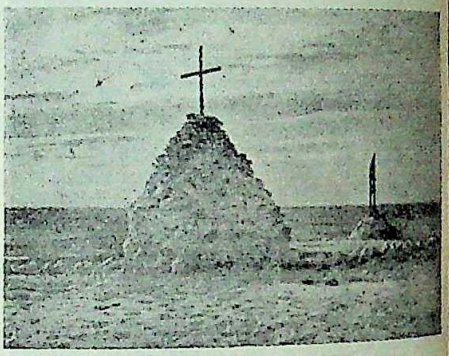
continent cannot possibly be doubted. As Andersen rightly remarks:

> "When, however, traditions of one island are corroborated by comparison with traditions of another hundreds of miles away, the two peoples having been separated for hundreds of years, their authenticity must be accepted."[16]

Hence, we may say that neither the *Resolution* nor the *Adventure* of Captain Cook first sailed in the Antarctican seas, but the voyage was done by *Te Ivi-O-Atea* of the Polynesian hero Ui-te-rangiora, so far as we know up till now. The latter (Ui-te-rangiora), perhaps, first brought the real accounts of the icy South Land to the human society in the historic age, not Kerguelen, Ross, Cook or Belinghausen.

Lastly, (to repeat again), it also seems that the Antarctican coasts might have been, sometimes, really visited, if not inhabited, by the Oceanians even in pre-historic days. It is not impossible that this archaic connection led to the development of a number of strange legends in the cycles of Polynesian Mythology. Thus, one legend tells how one woman named Hine-Nui-Te-Po, in the dim past, went to the Under-World and made herself the great goddess of night. The idea of the Lower-World,[17] where reigned the everlasting night may hint in a very subtle way to the Polar regions of the South.[18] The dominion of Hine-Nui-Te-Po, as it is narrated in the Oceanic mythology was reached by the great Polynesian heroes like Maui and Hutu.

These Polynesian legends, though mightily overgrown with great many fictitious and colourful episodes, may possess some grains of truth. The idea of the land of 'Po' (darkness) where reigns the goddess Hine-Nui-Te-Po,[19] may naturally attract our imagination to the Polar regions of the South, where darkness prevails for several months. It may be possible that the early Polynesians sometimes used to frequent the Antarctican shores from the Ross Sea to the Shetland Islands, though these might have occurred mostly in accidental



The last rest of Captain Scott

voyages. Today, the archaeologists should be conscious about these great possibilities, because if the traces of pre-historic human settlements in the Antarctican area are really discovered any time, they will surely throw a flood of light on the various complex problems of the archaic culture which once dawned over Australia, India, South Africa and the islands of the southern seas.[20]

We do not know, whether the ancient Indians had any real knowledge of the South Land. But, the Puranic

16. *Ibid*, p. 40.

17. *Cf.* 'Dakshina Patala' described in the 'Kiskindhya Kanda' of the Bengali Ramayana of Krittivasa.

18. *Cf.* the ancient Homeric (Odyssey) legends about the Cimmerians shrouded in continuous night and the 'Laestrygones living in perpetual day.

See, Ridgway: *The Early Age of Greece*, p. 358.

According to some scholars this myth may hint to the icy regions of the North Pole.

19. Was she a later deification of "the female whose tresses were about" as told in the Maori legend of Ui-te-rangiora?

20. Elliot Smith: *In the Beginning*, London, 1932.

Perry: *Ibid.*

K. D. Nag: *India and the Pacific World.*

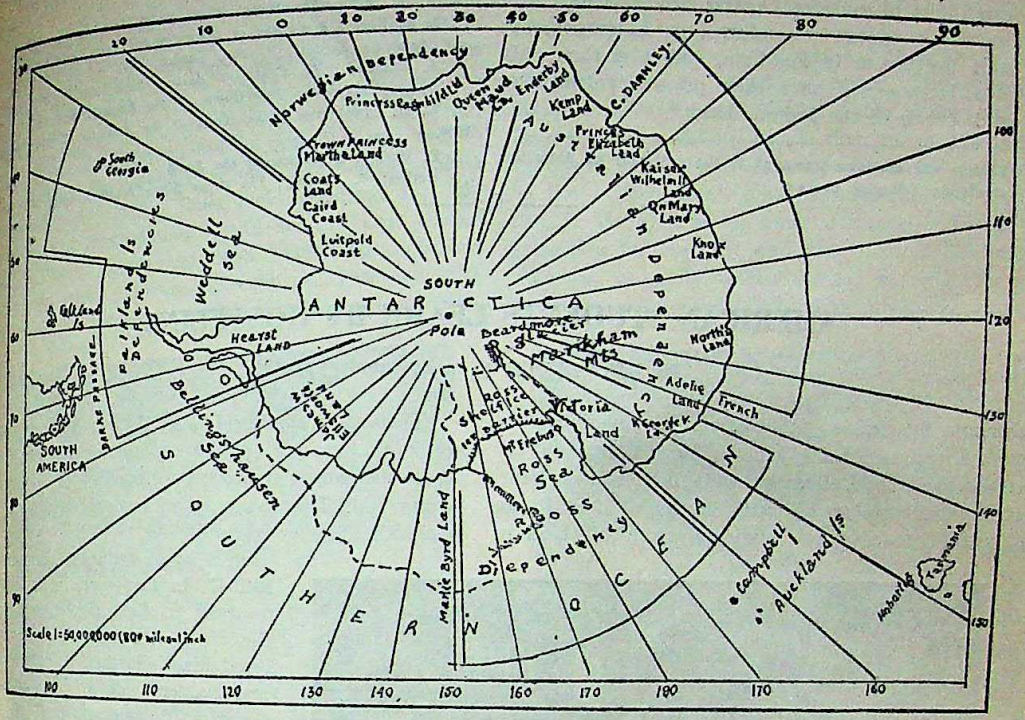
James Hastings: *Dictionary of the Bible*, p. 669.

B. Tylor: *Anthropology*, 2 vols.

[illegible] of the Pacific World," The *Modern Review* for December, 1949.

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idea of *Dadhi Samudra* (the Ocean of Curd) encircling a great island-continent[21] seems to be highly suggestive regarding this point. It is not impossible that the icy regions of the South was described as the Ocean of Curd by the ancient Hindu geographers, as the early Polynesians described them as the frozen Sea of 'pia' or arrowroot.

Strangely enough, in the Kiskindhya Kanda of Valmiki's Sanskrit Ramayana, there is a peculiar account of the extreme south of the globe. In this particular portion of the epic, the *Vanara* King Sugriva commands his monkey-hosts to march to the South in search of the Maithilian princess Sita, and describes to them the mysterious regions of the South. Thus, he asks his soldiers to stop beyond the Risabha mountain:

"There stay: beyond the dark and drear,
Lies the departed spirit's sphere,
And, girt with darkness, far from bliss,
Is Yama's sad metropolis.
Beyond, your steps you may not set,
Where living things ne'er journeyed yet."[22]

Here it seems very tempting to presume that these lines give a hint to the Antarctican continent. Curiously enough, this peculiar account about the distant south beyond the confines of the earth, which is the home of departed spirits and is the city of Yama, the God of Death, has a peculiar likeness to the similar account of the Under-World as told in the Polynesian story of goddess Hine-Nui-Te-Po.[23]

Apart from this, the mysterious conceptions of Dakshina-Patala (Southern Lower Region) and blizzardous Chandraloka as contained in the Kiskindhya Kanda and the Uttara Kanda of the Bengali Ramayana of Krittivasa may indirectly hint that the ancient Hindu mariners and geographers had at least some faint knowledge of the snowy Antarctic.

Lastly, it should be always borne in mind that there are still many regions in Antarctica which are yet to be explored. Percy Sykes has rightly pointed out about the great South Land that

"There still remain more than two thousand miles of unexplored coast to be charted . . ."[24]

But, in this connection, it should not be forgotten that as the vast space of the Third World lies just at the other end of the deep sea, which extends to the south of India, the Indians have got a natural claim over at least some portions of it. If like the European countries, India establishes some marine bases on the coasts of the South Land, surely her status will be heightened in the international sphere, as her action will not only prove her vitality but also help her to be

21. H. C. Ray Chaudhuri: *Studies in Indian Antiquities*, p. 452, Benares, 1932.

22. *The Ramayana of Valmiki*, tr. by Griffiths, p. 452, Benares, 1870.

23. In this connection, will it be too much to suppose that the so-called 'Vanara' people of ancient South India were, somehow, familiar with Antarctica, being themselves originally of either Negrito or Austric or Dravidian stock?

24. *History of Exploration*, p. 337, London, 1933.

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the true leader of southern Oceania. There is no doubt that once her colours are unfurled in Antarctica, she will gain the favour of Poseidon, and it is then only that the Indians will have their proper control over the wild surface of the Indian Ocean.*

* Readers who are more interested in the geography of Antarctica may consult the following books :

H. R. Hill : *The Siege of the South Pole*, London, 1905.

J. C. Ross : *A Voyage of Discovery and Research in the Southern and Antarctic Regions*, 2 vols., London, 1847.

A. Rainaud : *Le Continent Austral*, Paris, 1893.

Douglas Mawson : *The Home of the Blizzard*, 1914.

E. H. Shackleton : *The Heart of the Antarctic*, 2 vols., London, 1909.

F. Herley: *Argonauts of the South.*

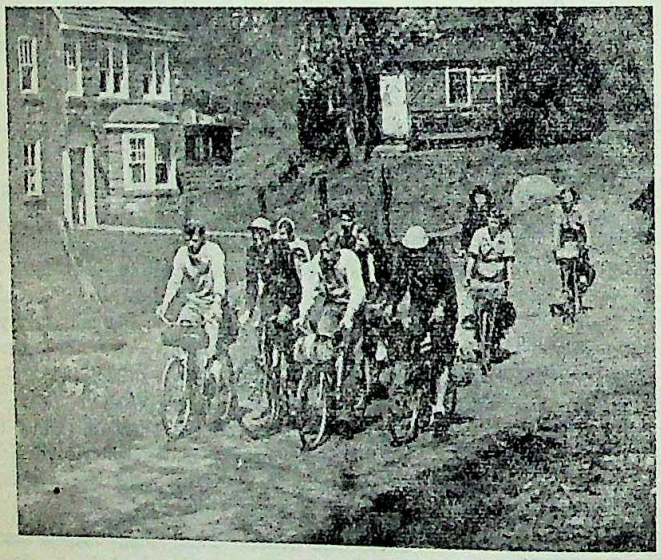
Herbert G. Ponting: *The Great White South*, London, 1921.

—:O:—

AMERICAN STUDENTS LEARN BY HOSTELING

By ELIZABETH L. WADSWORTH

Hosteling first came to Roslyn, a medium-sized suburban town on Long Island, New York, on the East Coast of the United States, in 1939. In that year, social-studies teacher Robert Stanforth, himself an enthusiastic hosteler, told students about this kind of informal, low-cost travel. He told them about hostels, the special, supervised overnight stops for people who travel by bicycle, on foot, or otherwise under their own power. He told them about hostels' low rates—50 cents per night—and about the hosteling code of doing one's own work, which makes these rates possible.



A group of members of American Youth Hostels, Inc., vacationing abroad in the land on a four-day bicycle tour

Roslyn students were enthusiastic. During the next few years, teacher Stanforth took out trips regularly on week ends and during vacation times. He was joined at times by [illegible] Walter.

Then came World War II. Bob Stanforth and Frank Walter left the school, and for the next few years hosteling at Roslyn languished for lack of faculty aid. Teachers were in favor of hosteling, but none felt they could lead trips.

So it went until the school year 1946-47. In that year, Frank Walter returned to Roslyn from service in the U. S. Army. Students remembered him from their older brothers' and sisters' days in secondary school. They remembered that he was a hosteler and a trip leader. Not long after his return, a few fourth-year students got together and decided their art teacher would be a good prospect for leading trips. They posed the question. To their delight, Mr. Walter's answer was "of course."

So, in the winter and spring of 1947, Frank Walter and groups of Roslyn students went on their bicycle hosteling trips, to Washington, D. C., the Nation's capital, and New England, the section of the United States comprising the six north-eastern States. Carrying their enthusiasm further, they formed the Roslyn High (Secondary) School Hostel Club, with Frank Walter as faculty adviser.

Interest stayed high over the summer, and when school opened in 1947, the Hostel Club's more than 30 members planned a week-end trip out on Long Island and began to think of an autumn trip to New England. The previous spring's New England journey had taken place over a long week end in May. It would serve as a pattern. There was only one drawback, members agreed it had been too short.

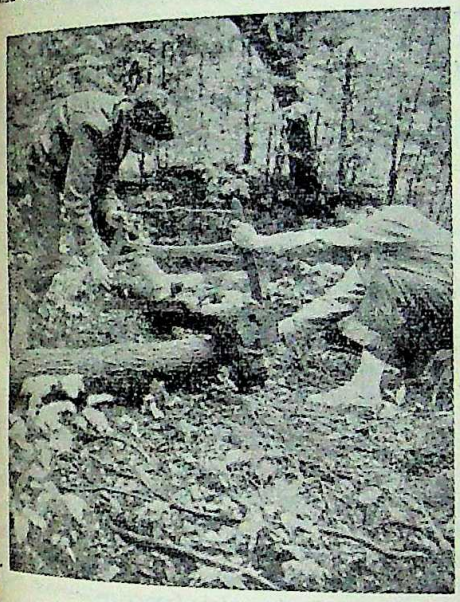
Now the problem arose—how to take a longer trip with school in session. It was then that the club decided

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to ask parents, school officials, and teachers for time off. They chose the first week in November. This week, plus two week ends, would give enough time really to get acquainted with New England and its country-side.

Each student who wanted to take the trip was to ask for his or her own permission. Armed with general approval from Principal Ross, they set about the job, not knowing whether they would achieve any success at all. Several things had been happening, however, that made their job easy. Parents and teachers alike had been noticing results of the previous spring's trips.



Two hostelers are seen cutting firewood to leave behind for the next group to stay at the hostel

Roslyn's English-language teachers had found that the trips gave source material for the student's written English. As any teacher knows, students will usually learn in direct proportion to their interest in a subject. There seemed no doubt that writing about a hosteling trip was interesting!

Other teachers—and parents—had found that travel brought Roslyn's hostelers a different outlook on other people's customs and attitudes. Even in the few trips they had taken students had begun to see that "our" way is not necessarily the only way.

Parents had noticed hostelers gaining a practical sense of responsibility. Before they went hosteling, for instance, some of the group had had no experience at all with cooking. Others had approached the kitchen with, at best, a tentative air. Very few knew anything about meal planning, the price of eggs, and how to make a good meal for little money. Parents were amazed to find that after one or two trips their hostel-ing offspring were planning, budgeting, and preparing whole meals.

Once permissions were granted, plans for the New England trip went ahead. Planning their trips is a major business for the Hostel Club. Before any trip, Hostel Club members decide first on a day-by-day itinerary. Then, their secretary writes for reservations to the house parents who supervise hostels they will use. If the area is far away, someone looks up train schedules for the first and last parts of the journey. Someone estimates total costs for the trip. Someone finds out about checking bicycles, what equipment the



Youth hostelers in the United States must prepare their own food and plan their own trips to learn resourcefulness and co-operative living

weather may call for, what food-buying facilities will be near each hostel, and so forth.

Each student is responsible for his or her own equipment. If the trip is by bicycle, students see that their machines are in good condition. (Most trips are by bicycle, but there have been ski and hiking trips, too). In practice sessions before the trip, they learn bicycle safety, and they learn to fix flat tires, to oil and otherwise keep a bicycle at its best.

Assembling further equipment can be an education in itself. Students know they must have an American Youth Hostels Pass, which will admit them to hostels; their own eating utensils; and a sheet sleeping sack. Beyond these, it is up to the individual. The guiding principle is weight, since everything goes on the bicycle for hosteling.

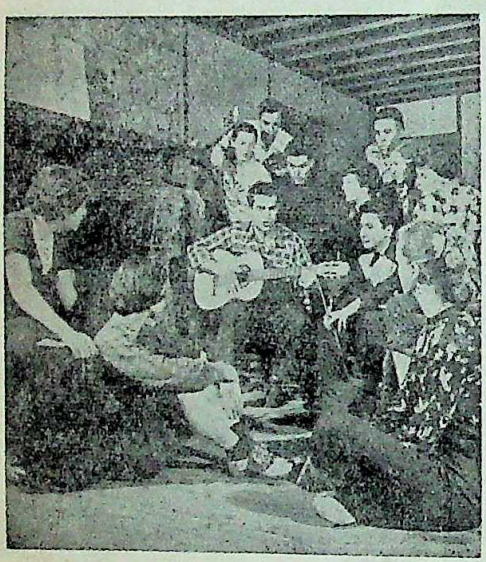
In the meantime, members take up special study projects about the area in which they will travel. Someone looks up local history; someone else, points

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of interest; and so on. For weeks before each trip, meeting time is given over to these special reports. Roslyn's hostelers have learned that one gets twice as much from a trip if one knows what to look for beforehand.

Frank Walter points out that students have a serious attitude toward the times when they miss classes. For one thing, they know that they will not get permission to be out of school if their grades are not up. For another, they realize that being out of school for a few days does not mean losing the work—it means making it up on one's own time.



A group of youth hostelers singing around the fireplace in a hostel

Principal Ross comments, in this connection, that members of the Hostel Club stand uniformly high in their work. "I do not know whether hosteling attracts good students," he said, "or whether it makes good students, but hostelers almost without exception do better than average in the classroom."

Planning, however, is only beginning. Mr. Walter believes that hosteling's major values do not lie in planning, but in the trips themselves. He sums it up in a few words: simplicity, participation, democratic group living.

"When you get out hosteling, you dispense with most of today's mechanical devices. You travel on a bicycle. You sleep in a bunk. You join other people for tasks and for fun. You cannot help finding out that friends are more important than conveniences. You actually see why people talk about the beauties of nature.

"You learn to sacrifice something for other people, too. Maybe you do not like fish, but if the rest of the group does, you eat it or go hungry. At the same time, you know you can have your favourite dish when your turn to cook comes up.

"And another thing, when you are out hosteling you have to make up your mind for yourself. If it is your turn to buy the food, it is up to you to figure out how to get the most for the group's money."

He told about one of the students who depended on people around her for everything. When she got out on a hostel trip, she learned, by force of circumstances, to take the initiative. After one or two trips, teachers began to notice a change. Not only did she get on better with her classmates, but her marks showed a decided improvement.

Testimony of the students themselves bears out what their parents and teachers have found. Said one :

"You learn something on every trip, facts, and how to do things. You learn about cooperation, too, and getting along with other people. On a hosteling trip, you sit down and decide what to do. In class or at home, someone usually tells you."

But Roslyn students are not all seriousness. Their first answer to "Why do you like hosteling?" is immediate and universal: "Because it is fun." Mr. Walter knows at least two cases where students who had a choice of high schools chose Roslyn because of the Hostel Club.

During the year 1949-50, Roslyn's schoolboard gave Frank Walter a special leave of absence to study the field of outdoor education. Following this year of study he will return in the autumn of 1950 to start a new department at Roslyn high (secondary) school. This department will combine hosteling, camping, and other activities not in the field of organized sports. Its purpose will be to take all Roslyn's secondary school students the kind of values and education which hosteling has given to some of them.

Until now, hosteling at Roslyn has been open only to secondary school students. It has been restricted by the expense of travel and by the amount of time Frank Walter could spend leading trips. Under the new department, funds will be available so that all students can take part in the program. Special emphasis will be placed on intermediate school students. Whole classes will take part.

Mr. Walter reports that the plan is getting enthusiastic support from other teachers. One or two of them have taken trips with the Hostel Club, but under the new program they will all have a chance to participate.—From *NEA Journal.*

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EGYPTIAN AND OTHER LONG-STAPLE COTTON POSSIBILITIES WORK IN WEST BENGAL

BY SARADA CHARAN CHAKRABARTY

EGYPTIAN COTTON ACCLIMATED IN BENGAL: REASONS FOR ADVOCATING ITS CULTIVATION

(1) Imported seeds are generally attacked with pests. This variety, now acclimatized in Bengal, has proved indigenous to the soil.

(2) Its fine, strong staple has length above 1-5/16 inches and can spin 80's warp. It has been acclaimed by the Secretary, Bengal Millowners Association as "an unprecedented thing in the history of India."

(3) Its price is nearly double that of other long-staple varieties, though the yield is same and require equal care and labour in its cultivation.

(4) It can be grown mixed with some food-crop.

(5) Though last 10 years work on cotton under different Government schemes till 1947, has proved its suitability, it has failed to impress the cultivators. In the average fertile soil in Bengal, cultivators get good profit from the crops they are used to grow. Even the most successful grower abandoned its cultivation, the moment subsidies and help provided under Government schemes have been withdrawn. This is the only cotton, if introduced, will appeal to cultivators in Bengal.

(6) Cost of its cultivation will not exceed Rs. 300|- per acre from which 3 maunds of lint or 9 maunds of seed-cotton are expected. Taking the price at Rs. 250|- per maund, Rs. 750|- may be realised from sale of the produces besides seeds and food-crop cultivated with it. So its cultivation is profitable to cultivators as well as to capitalists.

(7) Opinion on this cotton by one of the celebrated Millowners of Bengal, Sri M. L. Shah of the Mohini Mills, is given here in support of the above statement about its quality.

Mohini Mills Ltd., 22, Canning St.
Calcutta, 17th January, 1951

To Sri Sarada Charan Chakraborty,
P.O. & Vil. Fulea Bayra, Dist. Nadia.

Dear Sir,

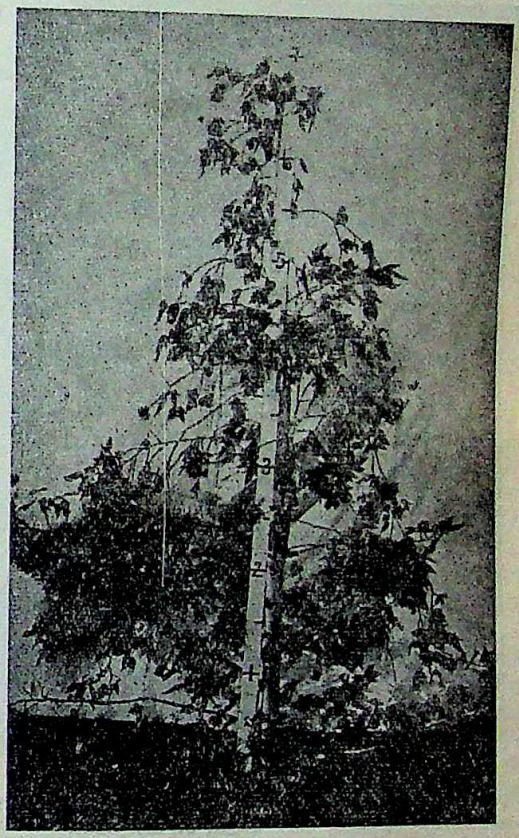
I have inspected the sample of Egyptian acclimatized cotton grown in this season 1950-51 and my opinion on the cotton is as under:—

The length of the staple is approximately 1⅜". The cotton is strong and class is good and almost free from naps. In my opinion this cotton can spin 80s. warp. If this cotton could be grown commercially, the requirement of such cotton will be more than one lac of bales. This cotton can be used by Bengal, as well as all India Mills. Under the circumstances, I recommend a scheme should be put into operation for multiplication of seeds and its preservation for large scale production.

Yours faithfully,
(Sd.) M. L. Shah

PRESENT ACTIVITIES TOWARDS COTTON CULTIVATION IN WEST BENGAL

Though Indian Mills have been suffering acutely from cotton crisis, nothing has been done in West Bengal to



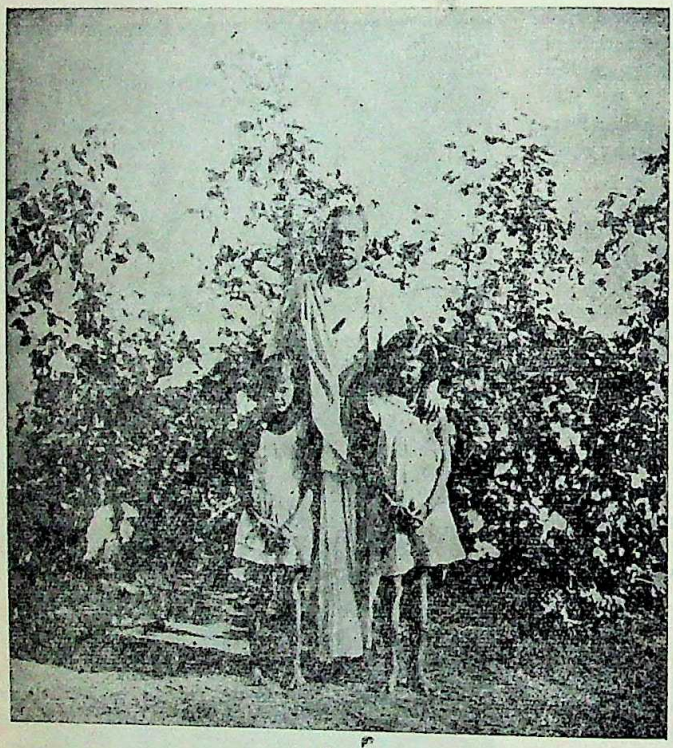
A plant of Egyptian cotton grown in the fields

revive its cultivation since partition of the Province. The Dhakeswari Cotton Mills, which had been pioneer in revival of cotton cultivation in Bengal under my supervision as its Agricultural Officer, also abandoned its cotton works after partition. So I had to come to West Bengal. The proprietor of some lands at Fulea Bayra, Nadia, on the Ganges, Dr. M. R. Chakraborty, M.B. allowed me to continue cultivation of Egyptian and other varieties there. My cultivation attracted many Congress workers and the Governor and many high officials visited and praised my cultivation. I had been, regularly, publishing results and.

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utility of its cultivation in many papers and magazines. My remarks that "in view of the cotton crisis in India, no government can afford long to sit idle in the matter" has proved true. In 1950 the Central Government contributed substantially to enable the Indian Central Cotton Committee to extend its cultivation in the Republic and to make India self-sufficient regarding its requirements of cotton. With a view to introduce its growing among cultivators, I felt the necessity of associating my work with government. As I am the only grower of Egyptian Cotton in the State, struggling hard under many difficul-



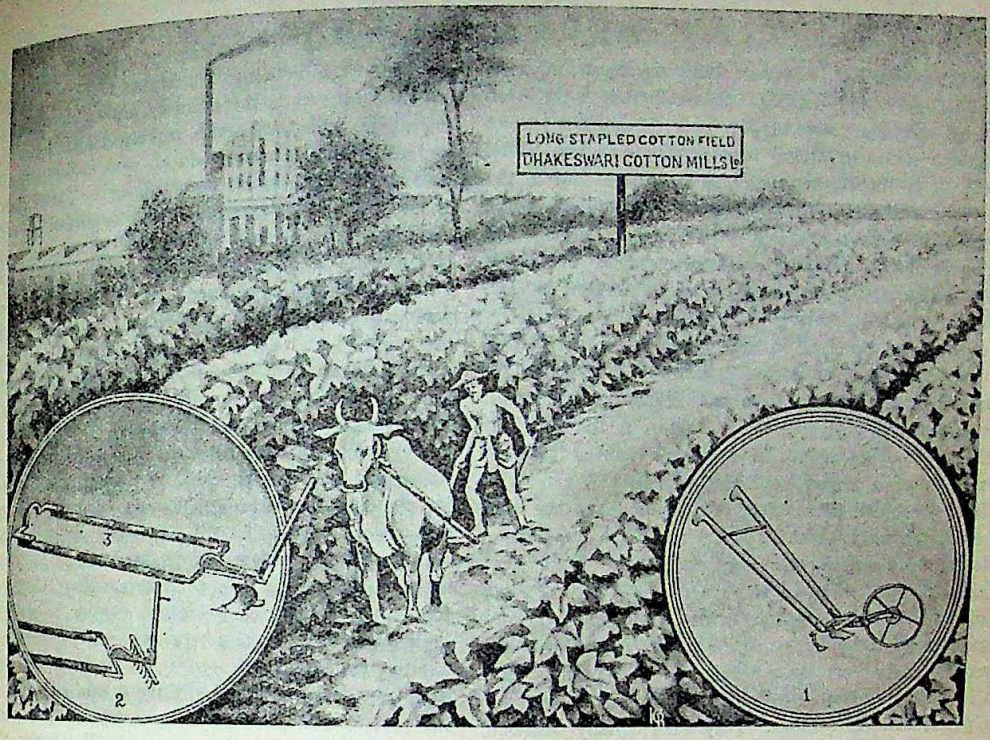
The writer of the article standing by the cotton-plants to indicate the height of the plants

ties to maintain seeds of this precious variety from extinction, I submitted, in 1949, a scheme for seed-multiplication of this cotton to I.C.C.C. through the Agricultural Department. The scheme was in February, 1950 sent to them with recommendation of the State for acceptance and financial help. As I.C.C.C. will take time to make their decision, the State on the recommendation of the Agricultural Department, made an interim grant of Rs. 1000/- for the season 1950-51, to enable me to continue its cultivation. The Hon'ble Minister, Supply Department, Sri N. B. Maiti, with some experts made a tour in Bankura in July, 1950 to ascertain possibilities of cotton cultivation in soils that are unfit for growing jute and paddy. In one place he found 90 seers of seed-cotton collected from 9 kathas of lands which comes to 15 mounds of kapas per acre, rarely collected in other cotton-growing tracts in India. He made further observations as to how cultivable areas in such tracts, now lying uncultivated, may be greatly increased by undertaking minor irrigation schemes and may be managed by the Agricultural Department. As suggested by him, an expert from the Central Government visited those areas who also corroborated his views about immense possibilities of cotton cultivation in those areas. At his instance, the Agricultural Department sent a cotton cultivation scheme for West Bengal for 3 years at a cost of nearly 4 lacs of rupees to the Indian Central Cotton Committee. A cotton sub-committee was also formed with the Hon'ble N. B. Maiti as President to advise the Agricultural Department in its cotton works. The I.C.C.C. considered about the two schemes and arranged to send its secretary to visit West Bengal and submit his report after consulting me and others interested in the schemes. The secretary visited West Bengal and submitted his recommendation to the Central Government, after his return from West Bengal on 12th December, 1950. It is mysterious that I was not given an opportunity to place my views in the deliberations that took place on the eve of the departure of the secretary from this State. As one who framed the seed-multiplication scheme and also as a member of the cotton-sub-committee, I fairly expected a representation. When I learnt that my scheme had been dropped, I submitted a similar scheme to the Agricultural Department for their consideration. According to the scheme now to work in West Bengal large tracts in Birbhum, Bankura, Midnapore shall be cultivated with long staple varieties as Perbhani and Co... from the season 1951-52. My long association with the working of different government schemes in Bengal has convinced me that to interest tillers of the soil, and cotton cultivation to have a footing in Bengal, Perbhani and Co... have to be cultivated as passable varieties to be replaced gradually by the precious Egyptian cotton with multiplication of seeds.

The Secretary, I.C.C.C. came to this State and visited several cotton fields. He visited my area at Fulia Bayra, Nadia on the 4th December, 1950 accompanied by ... and Crop Research Officer. I showed him the vigorous growth of acclimatized Egyptian

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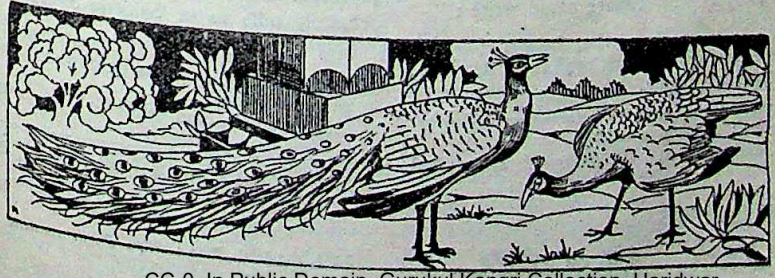
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(1) Hand-hoes and cultivator; (2) one-bullock-driven harrow; (3) one-bullock-driven light plough

cotton grown under optimum condition and those under adverse conditions. I hope I succeeded in convincing him that the plants are indigenous to soils in Bengal. On the eve of the departure of the secretary on 12th December, 1950, I learnt that the proposal about working of the cotton scheme in West Bengal had been placed before him. Most of the members of the *ad-hoc* committee had not been called for their opinion, though some of them reside in Calcutta and can be requisitioned by phone-call even. It is mysterious that I was not given any opportunity to place my views on the seed-multiplication scheme though the Secretary, I.C.C.C. wanted to consult me on the scheme. As one interested in the scheme and also as a member of the *ad-hoc* committee, I had fairly expected a representation in the matter. It has been decided to work the scheme submitted by the Agricultural Department from the coming season 1951-52. The Secretary, I.C.C.C. after his return to Bombay requested the Agricultural Department, to give me facilities, to enable me to cultivate one acre of land with the acclimatized Egyptian cotton for one year 1951-52. I have accordingly, as advised by the Agricultural Department, submitted a seed-multiplication scheme for one year, on the basis of my previous scheme, recommended by the State to I.C.C.C. in February, 1950.

It is a great satisfaction to see that the government, though very late, has at last undertaken works to revive cotton cultivation in the State. I have every faith in the success of the work under the present erudite and able Director of Agriculture, Dr. Nundy, who, I hope, will soon realise the importance of gradually replacing the existing varieties by the more precious Egyptian acclimatized cotton as the only means to interest tillers of the soil here permanently to its cultivation.



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TAGORE'S PHILOSOPHY OF ART

A Critical Study

By Prof. S. K. NANDI, M.A., D.PHIL.

"A GIGANTIC creative endeavour built up its triumph in stupendous carvings defying obstacles that were overwhelming. Such a heroic activity over the greater part of the Eastern sontinent clearly answers the question, 'What is art?' It is the response of man's creative soul to the call of the real."[1] In these poignant lines, Tagore, the master artist, defines art and determines its nature and function in the light of the observation quoted above. It is the activity of the spirit that makes art what it is. The touch of the spirit makes it lively and vivacious. Reality is recreated and reshaped in the imagination of the artist. This activity of the spirit makes all the difference that distinguishes true poetry, from naturalistic poetry. Prof. Radhakrishnan[2] rightly points out that it is the spirit in man that retouches reality in a way and makes possible the rebirth of a higher reality which we call art. The touch of the spirit brings forth the blossoms on the arid wastes of the ugly world. The leper and the hunchback, Shylock and Iago, capture our imagination. Even what we detest, what we abhor and are really afraid of, when presented in art, become illumined with a divine light and pleasant with a kindly shade. The world of true art never closed its doors to the ugly and the deformed and the ludicrous, and cared as much for them as it cared for the grand and the sublime. They were equally welcome.

This definition of art as the 'response of man's creative soul to the call of the real' negates at the outset that art is mere imitation. Plato's censure on art stands self-condemned as soon as we recognise this element of spirit's activity in art. Truth, in the sense of correspondence with the factual world, does not carry much weight with a true artist. He does not so much care for the details, as he cares for the vision of the whole. It is the copyist whose business is to record in every detail but an artist gives you the impression of the whole, which seems to be developing in your imagination. The true artist is always suggestive. The 'beginning-middle-and-end' theory of Aristotle and later upheld by Hegel, tells us clearly that the artist must have a panoramic vision of what he wants to present. A mere catalogue of what is and of what happens will not satisfy a true connoisseur of art. The true poet, Tagore believed, had such a vision and that is why he could create a 'reality' that far surpasses, in dignity and grandeur, what we call 'real' in the ordinary sense of the term. That is why Tagore could write :

"What you create is truer than what happens;
O poet ! thy imagination is more real than Ajodhya, the birth-place of Rama."*

Thus Tagore accords a higher reality to art and as such transcends the ordinary distinction of reality and unreality. It is, in a sense, supra-real. Art follows reality and ultimately it transcends all such categorisation. The notion of reality in art as conceived by Tagore, has been shared and ably expressed by Kumaraswami.[3] Reality in art means the eternal negation of the sense of want. A true work of art is real only in this sense. There we do not find a true replica, a mimic representation of nature, yet we do not experience any feeling of want. Crude details are overlooked. Yet the sense of dissatisfaction does not overwhelm us. Reading Ramayana, we do not hasten to the historian to ascertain whether there were any such characters as Rama and Ravana and whether there was actually any conflict between them. We weep over the tragic end of Sita, the consort of Rama, and do not wait for the historian, who could, after enduring and arduous researches, tell us that the Ramayana might have been a mere fiction. People never questioned the truth and reality of all such epic characters. They accepted them for these characters were not wanting in reality in a higher sense; the characters were real for them, as they did not experience any sense of want in these characters. They were self-contained. In the case of all such successful portrayal mind uncritically accepts what is given for it finds delight in such acceptance. The feeling of want is not there and that is why the question of reality consciousness does not arise at all. We do not question the probability of the appearance of ghost in Shakespeare's *Macbeth;* we relish Tagore's masterly technique in evoking the uncanny feeling in his story, 'The Hungry Stone.' We do not sit in judgment over the probability or improbability of 'Indranath' in actual life. Saratchandra's mighty pen gave it a reality, which is of a higher order. We know that Tagore's Urvasi is no being in flesh and blood, yet we believe that it is in no way more unreal than any other realistic character, taken from life. The content of art may be anything, a Urvasi or a Santhal woman, an Aurobindo or an Iago, a devil or a demi-god. It makes no difference whether we choose the one or the other. Reality in art, according to Tagore, consists in true expression, in the technique of embodying the light that never was on sea or land. This expression is the description of subjective feelings of the artist with proper psychical distance. That only makes art what it is. Tagore definitely tells us in 'Sahityer Swarup':

"Realism in art does not depend so much on its content as it depends on the technique and the mode of expression."

All such realism takes its birth in the region of the

1. Rabindranath Tagore : *Religion of Man.*
2. Sir Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan: *Philosophy of Rabindranath Tagore.*

*"सेइ सत्य या रचिवे तूमि,
घटे या ता सब सत्य नहे । कवि, तब मनोभूमि,
रामेर जनमस्थान अयोध्यार चेये सत्य जेनो ।"
—भाषा उ छन्द, "काहिनी"

3. Sri Nandalal Bose : *Silpa Dristi.*

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surplus, where man's imagination has the widest latitude of freedom. Poetic imagination works with equal felicity on the lowly bar of the scoundrels and the divine course of the heavenly beings. What is needed is a successful expression of the subjective feelings and that is why Croce, the noted philosopher, so boldly asserted that 'art is form and nothing but form'."

Here we will do well to note that for Tagore, form is only the primary truth about art and not its ultimate significance. There is content to contribute largely towards the making of real art. The form grows round the content and a perfect harmony of the two brings the greatest satisfaction. That is where Tagore is eclectic. He foregoes his position as a subjectivist and uncritically accepts the middle course. Had he been true to his belief in subjective philosophy, he would have held with Croce that art is form and nothing but form and the 'world that is there' is posited for the convenience of exposition. Form and content are not perfectly blended in imagination and it is no achievement of the human mind. There is no a posteriori unification of the two. They come from within as one indivisible whole. Form and content are only a posteriori differentiation and characterisation of one indivisible entity. This conventional naming of the same thing as two different entities should be bid farewell to for all times to come.

Before we close the discussion, we will critically examine Tagore's contention that art must express the human personality. By personality, he does not mean personality in its colourful entirety, but only the higher personality in man.[5] It is essentially what man aspires to be. Man, where he is noble and grand, where he is sublime and a worshipper of reason, is a welcome guest in Tagore's world of art. And such delimitation and narrowing of the content of art, according to Tagore, makes the problem of communication easier. But we are unable to accept his views in the face of contrary empirical evidence. Milton's Satan, Valmiki's Ravana, Scott's Brian de Bois Gilbert are certainly not types of characters that may be admitted by Tagore in his realm of art. Iago, the villain in Shakespeare's *Othello* is an anachronism in Tagore's kingdom of art. We do not think that the artist should express himself in his work of art. He is not to choose between his passions and compassions. Sometimes the one and sometimes the other may come in and reign for a while without doing least violence to the autonomy of art as art. We should not religiously avoid the one and perpetually enthrone the other. That will not lend colour and richness to the variety of art. Moreover, our commonest of experiences, when properly expressed through the medium of art, runs the chance of being better appreciated by those who are common men and they constitute the bulk of the race. Wordsworth's 'We are seven' is an instance in point. Out rarest experiences and higher aspirations may not be shared and properly understood by others and thus they have the least probability of being properly appreciated. In our view, the mission of art is neither to express the divine in man nor the devil in him. Art merely objectifies the subjective feelings whatever they may be. Human personality should not be confused with such passing feelings as find expression in art. For, a true artist sometimes creates characters which are diametrically opposite; an Iago and an Imogen are born from a common mother. It is the 'negative capability' of the artist, to borrow an expression from Keats, that enables the artist to create a God and a hydra-headed monster. They are no expression of the poet's personality. The artist is successful only there, where he works with proper detachment.[6] Without this detachment, an artist is not worth the name. Without this detachment the variety in Shakespeare's and Tagore's creations would have been impossible. The definition of poetry as 'emotions recollected in tranquillity' speaks eloquently of this aloofness. We consider this mental aloofness on the part of the artist to be an essential factor that goes a long way in making art what it is. We fully endorse Elliot's view when he writes :

> "The more perfect the artist, the more separate in him will be the man who suffers and the mind which creates."

4. See *Essence of Aesthetics.*
5. *Cf.* "Personality."
6. *Cf.* Dr. Bullough's *Theory of Psychical Distance.*

———:O:———

THE LATE DR. SIR C. RAMALINGA REDDY
A Personal Tribute

By P. RAJESWARA RAO, Advocate

The passing away of Sir C. Ramalinga Reddy after completing the Biblical age of three scores and ten marks the end of an epoch of eminent educationists like the late Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, Sir Hari Singh Gour and Dr. Sachchidananda Sinha, who made their respective Universities pioneers in every branch of learning.

Dr. Reddy comes of a distinguished family. Dedication to learning in our classics and epics. He showed signs of promise even in his teens. At Cambridge his intellect blossomed forth into a fine flower. He attracted the attention of the students and professors alike. He was the first Indian to be elected as the Vice-President of the Cambridge Union. His oratory was pressed into service by the Liberals in electioneering campaign (there was no labour party at that time in England). He was made the Secretary of the Cambridge Liberal Club.

Besides attaining brilliant success in his own subject

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(Economics) in examination he completed the course of lectures necessary for being called to the Bar. But the late Mr. Gopala Krishna Gokhale advised him to abstain from donning the Barrister's gown and become an educationist in order to mould the character and cultural life of the coming generation. Young Reddy readily accepted his leader's advice to the surprise and consternation of his admirers and fellow-students. With his analytical acumen, critical faculty, erudition and eloquence he might have quickly and easily become a front-rank lawyer and amassed a huge fortune. He might have also adorned the bench with credit and distinction.

But destiny willed it otherwise. He became the Vice-Principal of the Baroda College, a position held by Sri Aurobindo Ghosh before he plunged into the national movement. From there he went to Mysore to become the Principal of the Maharajah's College and ultimately became the Inspector-General of Education in the State. There he came into contact with that intellectual giant, the late Sir Brajendra Nath Seal who subsequently became the Vice-Chancellor of the Mysore University.

Madras under the Montford Reforms opened a new vista for him. At the outset he was caught in the whirlpool of communal politics by joining the Justice Party, which was ushered into existence by that arch-imperialist Lord Pentland in pursuance of the policy of 'divide and rule'. But Reddy proved to be a square peg in a round hole. It did not take him long to get out of the mire. He proved to be a tireless and severe critic of the Justice Party which was in power. His indictment of the Panagal Ministry under dyarchy can favourably be compared with the impeachment of Warren Hastings by Edmund Burke.

The Justice Party literally inaugurated the Andhra University and virtually installed him as the Vice-Chancellor to escape his opposition. Though he could not be silenced, at any rate, his attention was diverted. He gave his very best to the University during its formative period which was not altogether happy. Though he was a keen student of the humanities, consistent with the spirit and the requirements of the times, he gave top priority to applied sciences and research.

The Satyagraha movement in 1930 moved him deeply and he resigned his office as a protest against the repressive policy of the British Government. Subsequently he became a full-fledged Congressite and smashed the opposition of the Justice Party in Andhra. When his successor Dr. S. Radhakrishnan left the University to fill the Professorial chair at Oxford, he once again became the Vice-Chancellor and remained as such till he left it voluntarily an year ago to become the Pro-Chancellor of the Mysore University. Really he wanted to watch and guide its career from a distance. Like Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, he had the uncanny knack of spotting out a genius and giving him the necessary opportunities for expression. In spite of the peculiar political pressure in the shape of Communal Government—a Cabinet of the Justice Party—still prevailing in this part of the country, he successfully avoided considerations other than merit and efficiency in filling up posts of responsibility and trust and also of opportunity and honour.

When the Congress contested elections in 1937 the claims of this veteran nationalist were ignored. Evidently the party bosses were afraid of his intellectual independence. He occupied a cross-bench in the upper chamber —the Legislative Council, as a nominated member. But he was not bitter to those who disappointed him. Following the noble example of that departed elder statesman the Rt. Hon'ble V. S. Srinivasa Sastry he extended discriminating support to the governmental measures.

When the Second World War broke out he was not happy over the Congress policy of going into wilderness. He clearly foresaw the ideological issues and the global consequences with the result that he became a supporter of the war-effort. What was more, he tried to understand and appreciate, with an open mind, the stand taken up by the late Mr. M. A. Jinnah with respect to the Pakistan demand. Thus he drifted away from his previous moorings, and the knighthood conferred on him at that juncture roused public suspicion. But as a member of the non-Party Conference organised by the late Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, he endeavoured to solve the deadlock.

When the Congress came to power once again in 1946 he was nowhere in the picture. The fact that a man of his attainments and experience was not elected to the Constituent Assembly of India, where he could have risen to great heights, is indeed a pathetic commentary on our public life. But he nursed no grievance and had learnt to take the world as it was since long. He evinced continued interest in public affairs. His comment on men and matters was detached but trenchant. His criticism was marked by brilliant wit, biting sarcasm and ready repartee.

As a man he was frank to a fault, and was not afraid of exposing his private life to public glare. When his admirers were referring to him as a great Brahmachari and a veritable Bhishma he protested and said that it would be appropriate to describe him only as an ex-married man. He was charming in conversation, powerful on platform and peerless in debate and above all he was a strict observer of Parliamentary tradition and democratic convention. As a letter-writer he was a class by himself. As one who continuously corresponded with a good number of the greatest intellectuals of our times in India and abroad, I can say without any fear of contradiction that his letters to me, whatever the subject might be, were most refreshing and I wish that all my correspondence were at such a high cultural level.

Above all he was a non-Party nationalist with sympathy for all. His catholicity was proverbial and served as an invaluable link between the older and the younger generations. His advocacy for the claims of Sanskrit to be the State language of India was cogent and convincing. He might not have achieved success in the popular sense

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of the word. He might not have been prominent. But certainly he was eminent and influenced the thoughts of men at a higher level. The very fact that he instituted a national prize to be awarded annually to distinguished servants in the sciences and humanities, symbolised his lofty idealism. His memory will be cherished by posterity as one who tried to rise above pettiness and prejudice and looked at men and matters without fear or favour, without undue attachment or ill-will. His life is a warning and an appeal to the present generation at this juncture when our thoughts are regimented and actions are regulated by extraneous influences and factors. May his soul rest in peace.

——:O:——

DHOLKA
A Historical Sketch

By MANEKLAL GOVINDLAL JOSHI

Dholka, the taluka-headquarters town of Dholka Taluka of Ahmedabad district of Bombay Province, is an ancient town of historical importance. It is situated 23 miles South-East of Ahmedabad, and is on 22.44° North Latitude and 72.28° East Longitude.

There is no fixed date as to when this town was founded. *The Bombay Gazetteer* states that in *Kathasaritsagar* there is mention of a town named 'Dhavala.' The famous ancient traveller Idrissi has also made a mention of a town named 'Dulaka' in his memoirs.

There is a widespread belief prevalent among the general public that modern Dholka is the famous Virat-nagar of the epic Mahabharata, where the Pandavas had remained in hiding for one year. But recent researches have made it clear that this belief has no historical basis.

According to latest historical researches available, it is assumed that Vaghela king Virdhavala's great-grand-father and Arnoraja's father Dhavala had founded this town of Dholka—naming it Dhavalakka or Dhavalgriha. But this is not a final verdict. Among the various ancient monuments which are still in existence in Dholka, there is still to be found 'Malava' reservoir built by Queen Minaldevi, the mother of great Solanki King Sidhraja Jaysinha. During her regency period Minaldevi had caused two reservoirs to be erected, one at Dholka (Malava or Minal Talav), and the other at Viramgam (Munsar or Minalsar), these being the two towns on the main roads from Gujarat to Saurashtra. Both these reservoirs are still in existence, though almost a thousand years have passed since then. Moreover, Dholka was more important than Viramgam in a way, because the main routes to the then two important ports of Gujarat, *viz.*, Cambay and Dholera, separated from here, as also the main road to the famous shrine of Somnath Patan also passed through Dholka.

The late Poet Nanalal, while addressing the students of the local High School, had remarked that after completing their studies, it is possible that Lord Krishna and his bosom friend Sudama had returned to Sudamapuri (Porbundar) and Dwarka *via* Dholka, and this statement gives support to the mention of the township of 'Dhavala' in the *Kathasaritsagar*.

Also taking into consideration the several pre-historical researches recently brought to light, one is led to believe that the region around Dholka must be very near some sea. In support of this theory one still finds that the southern portion of Dholka Taluka, *viz.*, the Bhat tract, which is essentially a wheat-growing area, and the village Saragwala is said to have been a port. A mound near that village and round stones pierced with holes formerly used as anchors, give great support to this theory. Also river Omkar, which passes through this tract, becomes saltish as soon as the flow of the fresh waters of monsoon is stopped. This also gives support to the theory that this whole region must have been a sea-bed in pre-historic age.

The late Col. Todd, in his famous *Annals of Rajasthan*, while writing about Dholka, states :

> "By what route Kanaksen, the first emigrant of the Solar race, found his way into Saurashtra from Lohkot is uncertain; he, however, wrested domains of a Prince of the Paramara race and found Birnagar in the II century (A.D. 144). Four generations afterwards Vijayasen, whom the Prince of Amber calls Naushirwan, founded Vijayanagar, supposed to be where Dholka now stands, at the head of Saurashtra peninsula."—(Eng. Edition, Vol. I. Page 253).

But he has stated that he has no historical proof to support his theory.

Prof. Altekar in his article entitled "Ancient Cities of Gujarata and Kathiawar" (published in the *Indian Antiquary* of June 1925, pages 26-27), while writing about Dholka, states :

> "Though towns like Khetaka (Kaira), Kasadraba (Kasindra) and Karpatavanijya (Kapadavanj), which are in the vicinity of Dhavalakka or modern Dholka, figure prominently in Vallabhi inscriptions, they do not so much as mention Dhavalakka. If it had then been, as it subsequently became, the headquarters of a district, it would have been certainly referred to in those records.
>
> "Though traditionally believed to be the site.

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of Matsyapur or Viratnagara (where the Pandavas lived for a year incognito), Dhavalakka was in those early days only a village; it probably rose to importance when Anhilpurpatana became an important capital and commercial emporium in the tenth century. Stambhatirtha or modern Cambay was the port for the extensive import and export trade of Anhilpurpatana, and Dhavalakka was on the route between those two places as also on the route between Gujarata and Kathiawar. As all this trade passed through Dhavalakka it developed into a city and naturally became the headquarters of a district.

"During the twelveth and thirteenth centuries it became one of the most important cities in Gujarat and an important centre of financial transactions (*cf.*, for instance, the following passage in the Girnara inscription of 1232 A.D.*) Under Vaghela rule, the importance of the town still more increased, for the Vaghela dominions at first consisted only of the territories around Dholka or Dhavalakka and Dhandhuka. It became their capital. The tank at Dholka was built by Minaldevi, the mother of Sidhraja.

"The identity of ancient Dhavalakka with modern Dholka is too obvious to need explanation."

Mr. Bhogilal Sandesara has given the year of foundation of Dholka as Samvat 925 (A.D. 869) in one of his articles published in the July-September, 1941 issue of the *Forbes Quarterly*.

From all these theories it can pretty well be assumed that Dholka must have been founded in the sixth century A.D., and that during the Vaghela regime it had reached the zenith of its prosperity, and as Solankis at Anhilpurpatana became weak, and also from political as well as strategic point of view Anhilpurpatana being more convenient, the Vaghelas, after they attained the suzerainty of Gujarat, removed their capital from Dholka to Patan, with the result that Dholka gradually lost its importance.

During the regime of the Solankis, Dholka along with Vyaghrapalli was bestowed as a gift to a chieftain whose progeny became known as Vaghelas. Virdhavala Vaghela's father, being dissatisfied with the behaviour of Solanki King Bhimadeva II or Bhola Bhim, left Patan, took hold of the regions around Dholka and Dhanduka and began to consolidate them. He also captured the regions between the rivers Sabarmati and Narmada. He made Dholka his capital and began to rule semi-independently, accepting the suzerainty of Patan in name only. Virdhavala, himself being an ambitious and gallant warrior, in order to strengthen his position, captured Godhra and Cambay also, and merged them with his own regions. He had, in famous Vastupal and Tejpal, a most brilliant Minister and a spirited Commander-in-Chief respectively. Their motto of governing the country is best mentioned in these words :

"That minister is clever who without placing his hand on any one's head can increase the treasury, without putting any one to death can protect the country, without war augments its territories."

The world-famous Dilwara temples on Mount Abu are the creations of these two brothers, and therein in the inscriptions Virdhavala is mentioned as 'Mahamandaleshwara' and 'Rana.' From this it is surmised that till then his capital was at Dholka, and that he had still not captured the throne of Gujarat, and had not assumed the title of 'Maharajadhiraja.'

After the death of Virdhavala, his son Vishaldeva succeeded him, and he drove away the last Solanki King Tribhuvanapal, captured Patan, and having assumed the title of 'Rajadhiraja,' proclaimed himself the sovereign king of Gujarat (A.D. 1243).

Both Virdhavala and Vishaldeva had added new fortresses and repaired the old existing ones. These fortresses were but frontier military posts, probably as far surpassed in splendour as in extent by Dholka and other towns of the second class, while they were in turn outshone by the marble-adorned metropolis of Anhilpurpatana.

In *Kumarapalaprabandha*, it is mentioned that Dholka was bestowed to Devashri who had put the red mark on the forehead of Kumarapala, when he became the king of Gujarat, after the death of Siddharaja Jayasinha.

After the removal of capital to Patan, Dholka lost its importance. Shortly after that the Mussalmans came in power, and Ahmedshah made Ahmedabad his capital. Under the Mussalmans Dholka was the headquarters of a local Governor, and it was regarded as a place of no small consideration, and accordingly a garrison was maintained there with an officer of the cadre of Naib-Suba in charge of it.

After this when Ahmedshah II became the king of Gujarat, he being a minor, it is mentioned that his Amirs divided his regions among themselves, and as such Dholka came into the possession of Sayad Mubaraka. In the time of Muzaffarshah III, Dholka was still in the possession of Sayad Hamid, the son of Sayad Mubaraka.

The Mussalmans were in turn succeeded by the Mughals, who became the masters of India. The Mughals captured Gujarat in 1572 A.D. It is reported that Akbar after capturing Gujarat for the second time, while returning to Delhi, went *via* Dholka, and that he passed a night there. His first Viceroy of Gujarat Mirza Aziz Koka had come up to Dholka to see him off.

With the coming of the Mughals, Muzaffar Hussain Mirza, with his mother Gulrukha Begum, had escaped to the South. But as soon as Akbar's back was turned he collected an army at Poona, and returned to regain his kingdom. He captured Baroda. At this time Raja Todarmal, the Revenue Minister of Akbar, who

* श्री गुर्जरमण्डले धवलक्कप्रमुख नगरेषु मुद्राव्यापारान् व्यापृण्वना

तेनाले ...मुद्राव्यापार —of course, means *Saraf*, Banking business.

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was then on a tour for surveying the lands of Gujarat, was at Ahmedabad, and he strongly advised the then Viceroy of Ahmedabad to make a bold stand against the rebels, with the result that as soon as the imperial army reached Baroda, the rebels escaped towards Junagadh in Saurashtra. The Mughals followed them, and there was a deadly fight between the rebels and the Mughals at Dholka in which the rebels were given finally a crushing defeat. It is reported that in this battle many women had taken part having put on male clothes, as was disclosed from the dead bodies.

With the passing of times came the fall of the Mughal Empire. It is mentioned that Aurangzeb too had once visited Dholka, and had passed a night there.

In the South, the Mahrathas rose in power and they began to spread themselves everywhere. In 1788, Chimanji Appa, a lieutenant of Peshwa Bajirao, plundered Dholka, and finally in 1804 it passed into the hands of the British from the Gaekwar of Baroda. During the intervening period it had passed from the Mussalmans to Mahrathas and *vice versa*. Lastly, from 1757 onwards it remained with the Gaekwars. During the reign of Gaekwar Anandrao, the chieftain of Kadi rebelled against him, and to put down that rebellion the Gaekwar had to seek the help of the East India Company. The Company came to Anandrao's aid, and crushed the rebellion. In return, it was agreed that an additional battalion of the Company be kept at Baroda, for the maintenance of which the Gaekwar handed over the Dholka Taluka with its income. It is reported that at this time the Dholka Taluka consisted of 600 villages, and had an annual income of about Rs. 4,50,000. As a monument of the Maratha power in Dholka there is still a temple of Nagnath Mahadeo, with a village endowed for its maintenance.

The Bombay Gazetteer, while stating the condition of the Dholka Taluka when it came into the hands of the British Government, reports that

"It was a very fertile region. There were lots of Mango, Rayan, Mahura and Neem trees, giving fruits and shade to tired travellers. There were deep forests off both the banks of river Sabarmati, and lions and tigers were found there. There is no trace of these forests now, and because of the devastating floods of 1863 these man-eating animals have also vanished, and they are now not found anywhere. Besides these, duck and snipe were formerly very common, but now they are less common. Hogs too were found in much abundance, but they are rarely seen now."

In 1812, the population of the Dholka Taluka was 1,31,375, of which 1,01,487 were Hindus; 11,886 were Mussalmans; and 2 were Parsis. The average acreage of farms was 12.2/40, and the average acreage to plough was 10.28/40.

'Bagayat' (fruits, etc.) cultivation was done to a greater extent in Dholka Taluka, and even today the gardens the pomegranates and the dried ginger of Dholka are well-known, and are exported to distant places like Bombay, Calcutta, Delhi, Bikaner, etc. Especially Calcutta is the biggest consuming centre of Dholka pomegranates.

The great traveller Al Idrissi, who visited India in the twelfth century, while giving his account of the important business centres, speaks of 'Dulaka,' Asaval and a third town near Asawal as places of good trade, equal in size. He further states that the Gujarat Ports' chief inland mart was probably Dholka.

Dholka had very extensive business relations with the South. It was and still is a great centre for hand-woven cloth. According to *The Bombay Gazetteer*, these weavers originally came from Radhanpur because of want. Some stayed permanently at Dholka, and some went onwards to Kathiawar and Cambay, where they settled themselves. Apart from these Radhanpuri weavers there were and are many Hindu Khatris or weavers.

Cotton was and is produced in great quantity in the Dholka Taluka, and as such a ginning and pressing factory was established in 1877-78. Unfortunately that has remained the only factory up till now in Dholka town because Bavla and Koth on the north and south respectively of Dholka, have developed into great cotton and grain centres, affecting greatly the trade of Dholka.

Akbar's reign.

The first survey was made in 1823. Before that in 1590, Raja Todarmal had made a survey during

The present boundaries of the Dholka Taluka consist of Sanand Mahal in the North, Matar and Cambay Talukas of the Kaira district in the East, Dhandhuka Taluka in the South, and Limbdi Taluka of Saurashtra and Nala Sarovara in the West. In 1872, it had an area of 690 square miles, with a population of 164 persons per square mile. With the creation of Sanand Mahal, the area is slightly decreased.

The South-West and the South-East portions of the Dholka Taluka are low-level regions. These regions seem to be the sea-bed regions of pre-historic age, because they are still very saltish, and only wheat, gram and cotton are raised there. The average annual rainfall of the Dholka Taluka is 23 inches to 27 inches.

While giving the description of the Dholka town proper, *The Bombay Gazetteer* states:

> "In a well-tilled and well-wooded plain, for about two miles broken at intervals, by mounds from ten to thirty feet high, and by the remains of rich mosques and gardens, Dholka, a mile and a half long three-fourth of a mile broad, is irregularly fortified by a mud wall four miles in circumference. . . . Dholka is probably one of the oldest cities in Gujarat, and has always maintained its position as an important country town and a trade centre."

Today there is no trace of these mounds or the mud wall, though the *Gazetteer* has gone to the

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extent of mentioning that during the Mahomedan period an officer of the grade of a Naib-Suba was stationed here with a garisson to help him in maintaining law and order, and to protect the frontier, and that there was a fort also. The famous historian Farishta has also stated that there was a fort at Dholka. There is every possibility of these statements being true, since Dholka Taluka was on the border of Sorath and Gujarat.

After Dholka had come into the possession of the British, in the very first decade *i.e.*, in 1813 there was a great famine which played a havoc, resulting in the utter ruin of many handicrafts, such as hand-weaving, earthenware, bangles, iron and brass vessels, and tools making, etc. Even though a period of more than a hundred and twenty-five years has passed since then, still these crafts have not regained their former position.

As a remnant of the old days hand-weaving is still to be found, and about 700 to 800 hand-looms are being operated. It is reported that formerly the cloth woven at Dholka was exported to distant countries like Iran and Arabia, but now this cloth is chiefly consumed by the Deccani women. It is further reported that in 1912 at the time of the Coronation of King George V at Delhi, a *sari* specially prepared for Her Majesty was sent from here.

Kasbatis of Dholka

According to local reports, it is said that there were formerly 52 Kasbatis at Dholka enjoying royal ensigns. Col. Walker, while writing about them, states :

> "Previous to the fall of the Moghul Government, the Kasbatis as soldiers of fortune, who had acquired a competence, had settled at Dholka. From their number and war-like character, their influence was great, and they were feared by Kathis. They were useful to the Mahrathas. Due to changes in Government, Dholka district was an uncultivated waste. Gaekwar was incapable. Kasbatis offered to restore the population of many villages on condition that each village they brought into cultivation should be leased to them for certain period for certain rent. Since then it has been customary to grant waste villages to Kasbatis. These Kasbatis were a class of men, who though not possessed of hereditary rights, succeeded in assuming what was wellnigh their equivalent."

There were three chief clans of Kasbatis at Dholka *viz.*, Menas, Rehans and Paramars. In 1800, when Gaekwar proceeded against Shelukar at Ahmedabad one of the Kasbatis named Bavamiyan Parmar had gone with him. Also at the time of rebellion at Kadi, this Bavamiyan Parmar had joined the British forces with his two hundred horsemen. Bavamiyan expired in the same year, leaving behind him two sons, Bapumiyan who came in power after his father, and Malekmiyan. At that time he had thirty villages in his possession.

Furthermore, these Kasbatis acted as securities at the time of the collection of land-revenue. Such was their reputation that their protection was paid for by the merchants, and they imprisoned or imposed billets on their debtors without any reference to the Government.

As successors to the Imperial Government at Delhi, the British Government in 1817, took back the possessions of the villages held by these Kasbatis. At that time the case of Bapumiyan was treated as an exception. Today Sardar Shermiyan Parmar of the same clan is still allowed to hold twelve villages on lease. Apart from these twelve villages he holds several portions of big Inami lots (*vantas*), as also he holds a major portion of the Salangpur village near Botad in Saurashtra Union.

Some Ancient Monuments at Dholka

Looking from the historical point of view, the oldest existing monument in Dholka at present, should be considered the Malav lake, excavated by Queen Minaldevi, the mother of famous Sidhraja Jayasinha. Though this lake is round in shape, at one place it is protruding. According to folklore, it is said that when land was being acquired for the lake, the place where the protruding is seen today, was the house of a dancing girl, who refused to sell or move from that place. She was offered to name her own price for her piece of land, but still she refused. Finally Queen Minaldevi hearing of this, sent for her, and asked her the reason why she was adamant in not selling her house. The dancing girl replied :

> "Oh, Queen, you are digging this lake so that people may remember you for ever. You are a queen, whereas I am merely a dancing girl. But I too wish to have my name remembered for ever. And this is the only chance whereby I can do so. Please therefore I beseech you not to force me to sell my house. Thereby you will further be remembered as a queen who for justice's cause did not use coercive measures."

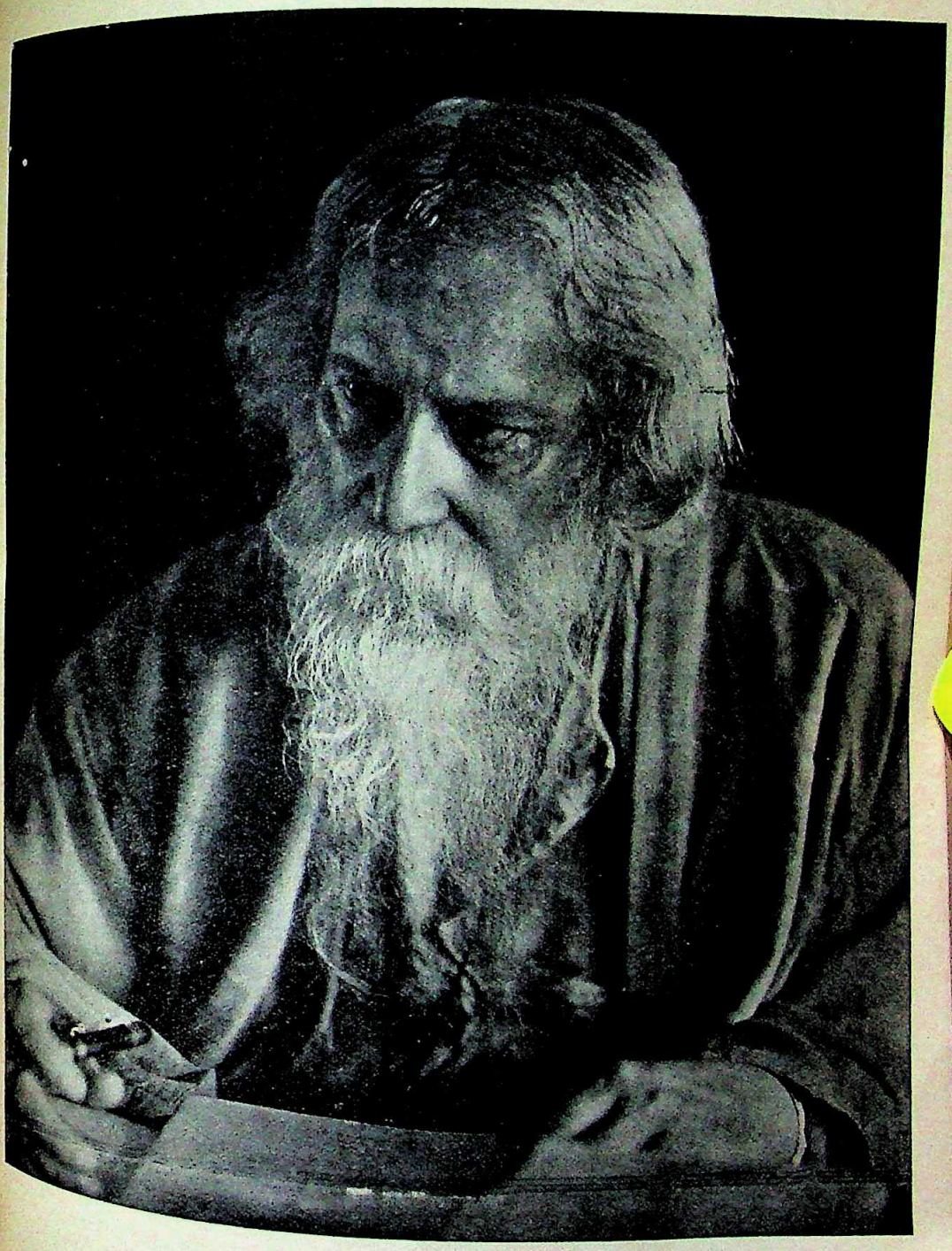
The Queen was very much pleased with her answer and she ordered not to acquire the said piece of land where the dancing girl's house stood, but to proceed with the work of constructing the lake, with that protuberance. This incident has given rise to a very well known proverb in the Gujarati language, "If you want to see real justice done, go and see the Malav at Dholka."

There is a small stone bridge, with seats on both the sides, to reach the centre of the lake. It seems that there was a Shiva temple here, since the Solankis were great devotees of Shiva. At present there is no temple, but a small structure, which looks like the front portion of a Shiva temple. The bridge also is in a tottering condition, and the seats are all practically gone.

From the engineering point of view this lake is worth seeing, especially the arrangement to bring the stone materials to the lake, without any damage being done to

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Rabindranath Tagore

Born 6th May, 1861

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Lady Abala Bose

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the force of the incoming waters. The intervening well between the passage of the water and the lake has some very beautiful figures carved within it, and they attract attention because of their extreme gracefulness.

(2) The second monument worth mentioning is the mosque of Bilal or Hilal Khan Qazi. It is the oldest mosque in Dholka and was constructed in 1333. It is situated in the northern section of the town. In this mosque the arrangement for female devotees is similar to one found in Alam Chisti's Mosque at Ahmedabad. The arches are of marble and ornamented with carvings, and the 'Mimbar' or the marble pulpit is still in pretty good condition, and is one of the finest in India. The public generally call this structure by the name of Pandava's School.

(3) Then comes the Tanka Mosque situated in the southern section of the town. It was formerly the Jumma Masjid of the town. It was built in 1361 A.D. in the reign of Ferozshah Tughlak. It it also a stone structure. The people call it by the name of 'Bhima's Kitchen.' It is reported this mosque was built after demolishing the residence of Vastupal-Tejpal brothers.

(4) Alafkhan's Mosque or popularly known as the Khan Masjid, is situated in the west side of the town, opposite the railway station. This entire structure is of brick and mortar. It has three big domes, and there are very tall minarets on both the sides. It is reported that the first experiment of building such big domes was undertaken over here, and as it proved a success-ful experiment, a bigger dome was built at Ahmedabad known as 'Dariyakhan's Ghumat (dome),' and the experiment finally ended with the building of the biggest dome in India at Bijapur in the South, known as the 'Gol Gumbaj.'

This mosque was built by Alaf Khan Bhukai, a noble and a bosom friend of Shah Mohmed Begada. Behind the mosque there is a big lake known as 'Khan Talav' and lotus flowers are to be found there. On the north and south of this mosque there are two stone structures at 63 and 40 yards away respectively. Both these structures have 40 stone columns and a stone roof.

(5) The Jumma Mosque of the town is situated in the centre of the city. It is a magnificent old historical monument, and was built in or around 1486 A.D.

(6) On the northern extremity of the town, on the old highway to Ahmedabad, there is a *Vav* (a well with steps leading down to the water's edge) and a roofed stone structure with an inscription in it. This inscription bears the date of 1433 A.D., and it states that this *Vav* was built by the wife of Ashapal, a Bania by caste and a servant of Muzaffarshah, to commemorate the name of his only son who had met an untimely death. It is further stated in the inscription that the water of this *Vav* has miraculous property. Today the *Vav* is in a tottering condition and hence nothing can be done to verify the statement made in the inscription regarding the water.

Modern Dholka

According to the last census of 1941, the Dholka town had a population of 17,600 persons, and today it has exceeded the limit of 20,000. In 1857 five towns of Gujarata were given Municipalities, and Dholka was one of them.

The metre-gauge railway from Ahmedabad to Dholka was extended in 1901, and after a lapse of 25 years it was further extended to Dhandhuka, where it joined the Bhavnagar State Railway branch extended from Botad to Dhandhuka. This gave second direct railway route to Kathiawar. The present regime has decided to build a metre-gauge railway from Dholka to Baroda, *via* Sojitra, Petlad and Bhadran but for the time being this project is suspended.

The famous Vautha fair is held at the Sangam (confluence) of the Sabarmati and Vatrak rivers every year during the month of Kartik on full-moon day. Here meet the waters of seven rivers. The village of Vautha, where this fair is held, is about 7 miles in the South-East of Dholka.

So far as the trade of the town is concerned there is no progress. There is only one ginning and pressing factory, but so far as handicrafts are concerned there are still 700 to 800 hand-looms operated. But owing to competition of the machine-worked textile mills at Ahmedabad, the weavers find it very hard to stand in competition. Now-a-days Chappal manufacture has made appreciable progress.

The industrial city of the magnitude of Ahmedabad having developed in very near vicinity, Dholka has not been able to make any progress.

It is the headquarters town of the Taluka of the same name, with a Mamalatdar's Court, a Sub-Treasury, a Resident First Class Magistrate's Court, a (Junior Division) Civil Judge's Court, a High School, a Municipal Hospital and a Municipal Maternity Home. The present Government has decided to install electricity over here, but so far nothing seems to have been done in the matter.

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PEACE THROUGH POWER

By R. K. SOONAVALA

There is an intangible but most effective and potent change of focus in the discussion of the most important question that is agitating the minds of all the statesmen of the world. It will be recalled by all students of international affairs that after the Hitlerian hordes were forced to surrender, one question was being asked in all the chancellories of the world: "*Will* there be another war?" The same question is being asked now in a slightly different form, the difference being subtle but substantial: "*When* will there be another war?"

Thus the fact that there will be another war is being taken for granted by all the countries of the world. There is a huge shadow of armament factories which is being so elongated that it has shifted from Europe to Asia and is likely to engulf the whole of the globe.

Even within two years after the formal cessation of hostilities the hum and whirr of armament factories and ordnance depots all over the civilised nations of the world was acquiring a pitch and intensity that had all the undertones of war. Over and above this a new technique of war was being forged in the shape of Cold War. We may try to trace the origin of that ghastly phrase but we shall fail. The meaning of that phrase is not to be found in any dictionaries of the world and we have grave doubts whether the meaning of that phrase could be traced in the volumes secretly kept in schools of military strategy. And yet even the ordinary reader of our newspapers knows the meaning of the words "Cold War."

Nor is there any guide to the second more difficult question: "When does a Cold War become hot?" On the answer to that question depends the fate of the whole world. Before I proceed to adumbrate the main thesis of this article, let me try to clear up one main question on which there seems to be a great discussion in India. Our Prime Minister has contributed a new concept in international affairs. His greatest contribution to a global peace is his new conception of complete and effective neutrality. Whatever may be the future of India, we are now committed to that foreign policy which has been shaped by the loving hand of the master, forged by the force of circumstances, imposed upon us by the paucity of our military strength as compared with the other big nations, and dictated to us by the very geography of our country. Let there be no misunderstanding on this main and vital question: "We are committed to this policy for a long time to come."

It is significant that even in the midst of the acrimonious elections, both in England and in America, in the midst of war and after war, the rival parties joined hands on the question of foreign policy. Any candidate who criticised the policies of his country in relation to international affairs had no chance of getting votes in England and America. In the heat of discussion on domestic affairs, not a word was said by the contending candidates about international affairs. And the reason is obvious.

The foreign policy of a country is the outcome of many years of past history, integrated by weighty questions of history, geography and politics. There is if the foreign policy of a nation was to be subject the winds and gales of elections, if it was to from side to side according to the change and flux party politics, it would wither, it would crumble would die.

We then start with the basic, cardinal principle of our foreign policy, namely that we shall maintain wherever possible, an effective neutrality. On strength and ability to keep control of international affairs and guide them according to the fundamental concept of our foreign affairs policy, depends future of India, if not of the whole of Asia, greatest contrib tion towards peace is our neutrality.

We then come to the next question: "What neutrality? Is it the *laissez faire* of ancient days it the isolationism preached by some of the reactionary political philosophers of the U.S.A.? Is it the attitude 'I am not my brother's keeper'?" The answer is emphatic *No*. For the way we are shaping our foreign affairs, we have proved to the peoples of the world that ours is a dynamic foreign policy, based on the fundamental concept of strict international neutrality. A masterly intervention in world affairs, within the strict self-imposed chain of neutrality is a new concept in international politics, difficult to grasp and more difficult to appreciate. Yet we have successfully shown that we can do it.

Well then, neutrality, which shall not be inactive, neutrality which shall not be blind, neutrality which shall be dynamic, are the three new concepts in our foreign affairs policy. Now neutrality can have two meanings. One is the narrow, technical meaning laid down in books of international law and the obligations as recognised by international law may be summarised in terms of "abstention," "impartiality and prevention." It is customary for states

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declare their neutrality upon the outbreak of war by a formal proclamation issued by the head of the Government. Just a passing example. On September 5, 1939, President Roosevelt issued what is now known as conventional neutrality proclamation under international law and a second proclamation under the Neutrality Act of 1937 imposing an embargo on the exports of arms, ammunition and implements of war to Germany, Poland, France, Britain, India, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa and Canada. To give a more recent example, the following note appeared in *The Times of India* of the 17th instant:

"New Delhi, November 15—The Government of India, in pursuance of their policy of non-interference in the internal affairs of Nepal, have issued instructions to the Governments of Bihar, Uttar Pradesh and West Bengal not to allow any movement of armed men as well as arms and ammunition in either direction across the border.

"It was officially stated today that, on receipt of reports of some aircraft having flown over Nepal, distributing leaflets, the Government of India had issued instructions to ensure that no plane left India on such undertakings."[1]

But to be more explicit, to convey to the reader the exact concept of neutrality as recognised by international law I shall quote a passage from a book which has become the bible of international politics in America. Prof. Frederick L. Schuman says in his book *International Politics* at page 171 as follows:

"A state which has declared itself neutral has a right to have its neutrality respected by the belligerents, by abstaining from any participation in the conflict and by preventing its citizens from engaging in certain acts regarded as breaches of neutral obligations. A neutral state may not permit its territory to be used as a base of hostile operations by either belligerent against the other. It may not permit its armed forces to be employed to the advantage of either belligerent, nor may it officially loan money or sell war supplies to warring governments. . . . A neutral state must prevent the enlistment of troops for war purposes on its territory, and it must intern belligerent troops and aircraft forced into its jurisdiction. Neutral governments are likewise obliged to prevent their nationals from fitting out, in neutral ports, vessels designed to take part in the war."[2]

This passage will show what are the rights and obligations of a state which wants to have itself declared as a neutral country in the midst of storms and shadows of war. But we are adopting the meaning of the word 'neutrality' not in the narrow technical sense of international law. Our neutrality is not a policy in war but also a policy in peace.

If then our neutrality (policy) is to be dynamic and not static, global in concept and not merely parochial, then we must have the wherewithal to remain neutral. And that brings us to the crux of this article. Many of us had the advantage of seeing a motion-picture *Victory through Air Power* (1943) and some of us may have had the advantage of reading a book of the same name by Major Alexander P. de Seversky. Major Seversky has now written a sequel to his first volume entitled *Air Power: Key to Survival*[3] which is on its way to become a best seller in America. A summary of this book has just appeared in the *Reader's Digest* (September, 1950) under the title "The Military Key to Survival." Some of the statements that appear in that book are not only amazing but breath-taking.

It is extremely difficult to summarise his conceptions in simple language but the best we can do is to quote his own words. He says:

> "The only strategy which will win any war under the conditions of modern technology is a strategy of global airpower."[4]

Major Seversky very vehemently advocates a strategy for victory, a strategy geared for global command of the air exercised directly from the American continent. But of course we have not the over-all superiority of an advanced civilisation, nor have we at present the science, the technology, the industrial know-how, which we suppose is the essential prerequisite of a huge aerial armada. It is also very pleasing to imagine but difficult to conceive of masses of our bombers casting oblique shadows over the globe.

Major Seversky points out the futility of Aircraft-carriers. He also goes on to say that even in the epoch of sea power it would have been folly to try to establish command of a patch of ocean in the face of a superior naval fleet. He says:

> "In this aerial age it will be folly no less to try to maintain control of a patch of air in the face of a hostile air fleet."[5]

Thus he rules out summarily *local* air dominance, strategy resting on outlying bases closer to the enemy continent than that of America. He thus argues that no strategy for victory can rest on a "stepping stone" approach to the enemy. He says that

> "The highly appealing idea that war tied to overseas bases would keep the fighting away from one's own shores is merely wishful thinking."[6]

But in the case of India, we have no such islands to use as fortresses of defence or as bases for attack. Nor have we got a navy which can command any area of any sea in the face of a powerful hostile power. Even if we had a navy it would be useless in the present concept of global strategy which is dominated by aerial technology. The reduction of navies to

1. *The Times of India*, 17th November, 1950.
2. *International Politics* by F. L. Schuman, Mcgraw Hill Book Co., Inc.
3. *Air Power : Key to Survival* by Major Alexander P. de Seversky. Summon & Schuster.
4. *The Reader's Digest*, September, 1950, page 19.
5. *Ibid*, page 22.
6. *Ibid*, page 24.

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secondary roles is imposed not merely by superiority of aerial strategy but by the march of science. This is truly the aerial age of man. The aircraft-carrier which is a sort of double-sexed creature, having the mannish quality of the navy and the stream-lined feminity of aeroplanes, is even now a defunct instrument of war.

It is very significant that the only Aircraft-carrier for America which is envisaged by Major Seversky which could be anchored off the European continent is the British Isles.[7] He goes on to say that to keep such a "carrier" afloat and operative will call for the exertions of the whole British air force and the entire British population, plus substantial American support. He says:

> "The magnitude of the defences that will be required to hold the British Isles as a base is a sufficient measure of the folly of trying to hold flimsy floating bases anywhere within the orbit of a Soviet air power."[8]

We have thus seen that the trend of military thought in America is to substitute aerial global supremacy in place of a mixed strategy of air and naval dominance. But even in America this is only a trend and not a reality. Even Major Seversky has to admit that the premises on which strategy is now being formulated in Washington are fallacious and "have in them the seeds of disaster."

In England though a great weight is being placed in the highly technical advance of jet aircraft, still a mixed strategy of army-navy-airforce is respected. It is worth noting that Mr. Cyril Falls, the Chichele Professor of the History of War, Oxford, who gives a monthly commentary in the pages of the *Illustrated London News* under the column "A Window of the World" stated again and again while commenting on the early phases of the Korean campaign that the Korean adventure had proved to the world that mere air dominance is not a key to victory in a single battle or in a series of battles which make up the sum total of war. But as the campaign has proceeded even he admits the advantage of a powerful aerial umbrella. In the issue of the *Illustrated London News* of October 7, 1950, he remarks:

> "This has been very much an infantry and, to a lesser extent, an armoured war. The part played by sea power, is however, quite clear and generally appreciated, but full justice is not done to the part played by the air arm, which seems to be taken for granted. It is as well to bear in mind that in no large-scale war which can be imagined will air predominance on one side be as complete as it has been in Korea, and therefore that in no campaign will land forces be able to operate so freely. The Americans have been fortunate in this respect and it can hardly be doubted that, if conditions had been reversed, they would no longer be on the Korean peninsula. *They were able to move as they chose under air cover.*"[9]

We have read in newspapers that thousands of bombers were employed by the Americans to help making surface advances by ground troops. Through all was the most amazing spectacle of North Korean troops advancing without the heavily geared position of the umbrella of air armadas. But ultimately air supremacy did prevail and turned the tides of war though temporarily. This vindicates the statement strategy attributed to General Montgomery:

> "First of all you must win the battle of If you examine the conduct of my campaigns, you find we never fought a land battle until the battle was won."[10]

Hitherto we have not said a word about the third side of the triangle—the ground forces. It was Minoo Masani who injected into us a pride for our population. He starts his book *Our India* by saying that

> "One man in every five is an Indian. The next four are let's say an American, a European, a Negro and a Chinese."[11]

With this mass population there would be a natural temptation to develop a huge land army. Both our natural disinclination and physical disability were not developing an army of vast proportions.[12] would a huge land army alone help us in a global conflict.

We are at the germinal stages of the development of our military strength and strategy. We still to ponder over, and fashion a military which could guard our frontiers and preserve neutrality. The trend of world thought seems to development of aerial power. We could then our neutrality both in theory and in practice ultimate preservation of peace national and global the reality for which our Prime Minister is night and day. In our capacity to remain neutral development of a powerful air force, discarding mixed strategy of land-air-naval forces, lies the of Asia. The political map of the whole globe changing from day to day. Governments are frontiers are changing with regular but awe-inspiring monotony. No nation can afford to remain complacent The desire for peace alone will not guarantee Our strength and ability to meet any eventuality the ultimate guarantee of peace.

We do not need a huge air armada, for we no territorial ambitions, no political appetites have no axe to grind, no "isms" to propagate, no to impose our political ideology on the peoples ing in other spheres of the world. But we do need a powerful airforce which can effectively guard sea-boards, which can keep away invading

7. *Ibid*, page 214.
8. *Ibid*, page 214.
9. An article entitled "American Initiative in Korea" by Cyril Falls in *The Illustrated London News*, October 7, 1950, page 567.
10. *The Reader's Digest*, September, 1950, page 22.
11. *Our India* by Minoo Masani. Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press, page 1.
12. See the Prime Minister's statement in the Parliament on November 17.—*The Times of India*, November 18, 1950.

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from the skies over the Arabian Sea, the Indian Ocean and the Bay of Bengal.

As we lay stress on aerial strength we can hear dissenting murmurs. We are reminded that we are the followers of Mahatma Gandhi, that we should adopt Satyagraha and non-violence as our political creed, that we should not become crazy in building up mere aerial strength. To that our reply is that Mahatma Gandhi never advocated non-violence at the price of cowardice.

There has been a lot of discussion on the views held by Mahatma Gandhi on the instrument of Satyagraha but we can say without fear of being contradicted that to the father of our nation Satyagraha was the shield of the brave and not a cloud for retreat for a coward. That this was the true meaning of non-violence will be further seen from the views expressed by S. Radhakrishnan. He says in *Mahatma Gandhi*.*

> "Satyagraha or non-violence is not for Gandhi a quiescent or negative attitude. It is positive and dynamic. It is not non-resistance or submission to evil. It is resistance through love."

And then let us see the words of Mahatma Gandhi in *Young India*, September 16, 1927:

> "My creed of non-violence is an extremely active force. It has no room for cowardice or room for weakness. There is hope for a violent man to be *some day non-violent but not for a coward*. I have therefore said more than once in these pages that, if we do not know how to defend ourselves, our women, and our place of worship by the force of suffering, that is non-violence, we must if we are men, *be at least able to defend all of them by fighting*."

And he states in *Young India*, September 28, 1934:

> "The world is not entirely governed by logic. *Life itself involves some kind of violence, and we have to choose the path of least violence*."

Therefore the true follower of Mahatma Gandhi would meet force by non-violence but in the last resort, after he had exhausted all the avenues of Satyagraha, he would greet force by force. And that is why when we assumed power we did not summarily close down all our armament factories or demob our soldiers. That would have been and would be a national suicide in the context of world events. Therefore our exertions should be towards guarding ourselves by an effective air force and not merely savouring pious hopes that none shall attack us.

To summarise, ours shall not be merely a juristic neutrality blind to the ravages of the world, but a dynamic neutrality, active when activity is necessary. Our military strategy shall not be the indiscriminate development of all the three arms of our forces but the most effectual development of air-force geared for a high-tension defence. Our desire for peace should not be a cowardly retreat but a burning love for peace born out of our consciousness that peace alone is desirable. Our love for peace shall not make us immobile, inert, frigid, sterile. It shall make us doubly conscious of our vast heritage. It shall not be the peace of the grave. It shall be in the final summation, *Peace through Power*.

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* *Mahatma Gandhi* by S. Radhakrishnan. Allen & Unwin Ltd., page 353.

"THE POPULATION OF INDIA AND PAKISTAN"

By TARAKNATH DAS

The work under review,* the fifth study of major population undertaken by the Office of Population Research of Princeton University, is the first to deal with an Asian people.

Misconceptions about population growth in Asia are widely prevalent. Hence, it is gratifying to note Professor Davis' statement at the very outset that India's modern population growth is not exceptional, but rather slightly less than the estimated world average from 1850-1940, and less, too, than the average in Europe and North America.

The author comes to the conclusion that theoretically, at the present rate of increase, it will take about 58 years to double the population of India and Pakistan. He raises the very pertinent question:

> "Can it (India) actually double its 1947 population in 58 years, the hardening in the year 2005 something like 840 million human beings, more than a third of the world's present population? If so, how will she support them? If not, what is going to stop the trend?" (p. 28)

To get an adequate answer to the above question, the author in 23 chapters of the book and appendices, enters upon a comprehensive study of various phases of human fertility, death rate and efforts for its reduction, social structure and social changes affecting the population problems of India. The author's conclusion is that the solution for India's poverty and for her standard of living will depend upon (*a*) industrial expansion, (*b*) increased production from land and, (*c*) birth control practices to be widely spread among the people.

Regarding the actual state of Indian industrial development the author writes:

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"Potentialities of this region for industrial development are great; (but) its actual performance in this field seems tragically below what might be expected."

He considers Britain's economic policies during the century and a half of occupation largely responsible:

"England's policy towards her (India), while always mixed with other motives and interests, was the policy of an industrial nation towards an agricultural colony. Such industry as was allowed to develop in India was often for the profit of the citizens of the paramount power. . ." (p. 216)

Professor Davis is careful to exonerate Britain from blame for India's economic vassalage on the ground that

"If the British had not come to rule, some other foreign country would have done so, since India at the time was weakened by political chaos and a feudal economy."

Dr. Davis contends that in all probability British rule did a more efficient and fairer job of governing India than any other foreign nation would have done, but that the enormous task of transforming a people from a peasant economy to an industrial nation in a short time is apparently one that only an indigenous government can perform.

Professor Davis' contentions regarding the British contribution to India's progress casts a rather odd light upon the criticism generally levelled against the Japanese occupation of Korea, for the Japanese role there is quite analogous to the British India. We seem to be confronted here with a double standard of international morality. At any rate, the reviewer agrees with Professor Davis that a subject-nation cannot bring about such an industrial transformation as may affect the interests of an alien conquering power. To effect the much-needed industrialisation of India which was deliberately neglected by its erstwhile British rulers, the people and the Government of India will have to carry out a large-scale, planned program.

India has millions of acres of undeveloped land which can be put under agricultural production. This is particularly necessary in view of the fact that, with the increased population, the acreage in cultivation per person has declined by 15 per cent from 2.23 in 1891-92 to 1.90 in 1939-40. At the same time, as Dr. Davis points out, productivity per acre has not improved and is, in fact, "below that of most agricultural areas." There is thus ample room for agricultural development to provide for a better standard of living in India, quite as desert land is being made productive in Israel today.

The key to India's population problem seems to the reviewer to lie in this type of increased agricultural production and in intensified industrialization. These are the necessary conditions for decent living stadards even in countries with low birth rates. Witness the Scandinavian countries where because both the birth and death rates are low, the actual rate of population increase is about the same as India's. In other words, birth control alone will not solve India's population problem, though Dr. Davis, like most Western sociologists and population experts, emphasizes it as the most important measure to be taken.

A chapter of the book is devoted to the question of the partition of the sub-continent of India. The author, like most of the western experts, thinks that the religious difference between the Hindus and Moslems was the real cause of partition. Yet, even after the partition of India and creation of Pakistan, 40,000,000 Moslems live in the Indian Union without any interference with their religious and cultural life and enjoying equal rights and civil liberties guaranteed by the constitution of the Indian Union. The slogan "Islam will be in danger" under the Government of India where Hindus will be in majority is thus proven to be quite unfounded. It was political pan-Islamism supported by the British Government that was the principal cause of partition of India. This fact is ignored by the author.

As the importance of India and Pakistan in world affairs is growing, this study of their population problems has special value and significance. The work is a mine of information. Excellent maps, graphs and statistical tables, appendices, bibliography and indices will be of great value to students of the problem. In spite of the differences of opinion expressed above, the reviewer regards the study to be one of the best technical analyses of the problem so far published. The author, his associates and the Foundation which supplied the needed funds for the research should be congratulated for this solid achievement.

* *The Population of India and Pakistan*: By Kingsley Davis. Princeton, N. J. Princeton University Press. 1951. Bibliography, Author Index, Subject Index, pages 263. $7.50.

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Book Reviews

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EDITOR, *The Modern Review*.

ENGLISH

A SHORT HISTORY OF THE SIKHS (Vol. I): *By Teja Singh and Ganda Singh. Published by Orient Longmans, Ltd. 1950. Pp. 203. Price not mentioned.*

This is a valuable contribution to the growing literature of the history of the Indian provincial peoples in recent times. The joint authors, who have already a number of monographs on Sikh history and religion to their credit, claim to have made here "the first attempt to write a history of the Sikhs from a secular standpoint," to show, in other words, that the history of Sikhism was an organic growth with the principle of life remaining unchanged, though it underwent a constant transfiguration (but not transformation) under local influences. In particular, the authors altogether discountenance the view of some contemporary scholars that the development of the Sikh character was one-sided, being peaceful at first and military afterwards. On the contrary, they contend (and herein lies their special claim to originality) that the development of the Sikhs was harmonious and many-sided because of a happy combination of geographical and racial factors (Preface p. iii and p. 2). The authors have based their work mainly on original sources which they have used with proper care and discrimination. Thus in regard to the Persian chronicles which have necessarily been their main source-material for the period of Sikh-Muslim clash, they have made allowance for the partisan character of many of those works. Especially they have referred to "the gross inexactitude which appears almost purposeful at times," that disfigure the English translations of these works, making it necessary for the whole thing to be done afresh by "some one more dispassionate or better-equipped with the Persian texts." (Preface pp. iii-iv).

The book consists of two parts entitled *Religious Foundations* (describing the period of the ten Gurus), *Political Foundations* (relating to the stormy career of Banda), and *Persecution Leads to Power* (giving a factual account of the life-and-death struggle of the Sikhs with the Later Mughals and the Durranis ending in their dramatic conquest of Lahore in 1765). From this summary it will appear that this work deals with the formative period of Sikhism from its origin to its emergence for the first time as a political power. While such is the general interest of the work, its treatment of detailed topics is often marked by refreshing originality. Such is the account of the distinctive features of Guru Nanak's teaching as compared with that of contemporary religious reformers (p. 1 and *n*), the vigorous criticism of the current authoritative view about the sudden change in the character of guruship from Hargovind onwards (pp. 36-38) and the estimate of the life and work of Banda (pp. 106-109). The book is written in a clear and easy style which makes it interesting even to the general reader. A good bibliography with works classified under four heads (Punjabi, Persian, Urdu and English) and a full index bring this useful work to a close.

U. N. GHOSHAL

THE CONSTITUTION OF CEYLON: *By Sir Ivor Jennings. Published by the Oxford University Press. Pp. 262. Price Rs. 10.*

This is an authoritative book on the new constitution of Ceylon of 1946-47. The process of development of the present Constitution began in 1943 when at the request of the Ministers under the Donoughmore Constitution of 1931, the British Government issued a Declaration of Policy on Constitutional Reform in Ceylon. Sir Ivor Jennings acted as the Constitutional Adviser. The history of the negotiations has been given in this book and the author, who had a hand in the drafting the Constitution, has used his knowledge to explain the new Constitution. It is not an attempt at a legal exposition, the author's aim has rather been to explain the ideas which underlie the constitution and now the ideas have been carried out. The inclusion of the Constitutional Documents has greatly enriched the book.

D. BURMAN

FORT WILLIAM—INDIA HOUSE CORRESPONDENCE, Vol. V, 1767-1769: *Indian Records (Public) Series. Edited by Narendra Krishna Sinha. Published by the Government of India. Pp. 14+670. Price not stated.*

Thanks to the munificence and generosity of the National Government of India and the labour and perseverance of several scholars under the able guidance of the general editor, Dr. S. N. Sen, documentary materials for rebuilding the history of India under the East India Company are now being again made accessible to the general public. These are letters written just previously to the great famine in Bengal—the terrible *Chhiyattarer Mannantar*. The National Archives Department of the Government of India has resumed the task of rendering real service and thus justifying its existence. Though this is Vol. V, it is published first and others are to follow. We shall anxiously await the completion of this great series and, in the light of the new facts revealed, a complete remodelling of a portion of the history of India.

BRAJENDRA NATH BANERJEE

1. POST-WAR EUROPE THROUGH INDIAN EYES (Illustrated): *By Suresh Chandra Banerjee. Published by A. Mukherji and Co. Ltd., Calcutta. Price Rs. 2/-(four shillings).*

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2. I COVER EUROPE: *By J. M. Dev. Hind Kitabs Ltd., Bombay. Price Rs. 3-12.*

In the first-named book Dr. Suresh Chandra Banerjee, once a Congress stalwart, who later on shifted to the labour front, and has lately come out of the Congress, gives within a narrow compass his impressions of the Seven European countries he visited in 1948 and 1949. The views expressed by him are in some cases superficial, but they ring with a tone of sincerity characteristic of the man.

Dr. Banerjee has a good word or two for every country he visited. But he seems to be a bit hard on Czechoslovakia where in his opinion there is a grave discontent over the restriction of fundamental rights by the Communist Government. The author found only gloom in the country which was rapidly developing into a totalitarian State. Non-Communists are regarded as enemies by the government. According to not a few Czechs, says the Doctor, the Communists are "even worse than Hitler." Sweden, according to him, is one of the most progressive countries in the world and England the most highly taxed. What the latter has done for education and to keep down unemployment by a well-thought-out plan for vocational education should be an eye-opener to the authorities here. Our rulers and leaders should talk less, and think and work more. Not many will disagree with the author's casual remarks that the Germans are the finest people on earth and that the Congress is not up and doing in the matter of establishing a classless democracy in India. Hard words indeed! But true nonetheless. The proof-reading of the book should have been more careful.

The second book under review describes at some length the author's reactions to what he saw and experienced in England, France, Eire, and South Africa in 1946. The name *I Cover Europe* is therefore a misnomer. The insincerity and hypocrisy of the United Nations and the international suspicion and distrust prevailing in post-war Europe did not escape the journalist-author's discerning eyes. The world seems to be in for another global war. Good sense among nations and the emancipation of the colonial peoples—the "neglected estates" of humanity—are essentially necessary to save the world from the horrors of World War III, the shadow of which is lengthening every hour. Shri Dev speaks of the tendency of the British press to blackmail the Indian National Congress and its leaders in pre-independent days. It is ignorant of India and her problems. Indian news is systematically blacked out. Of Britain's 1577 newspapers, *The Daily Worker*, the organ of the British Communist Party alone, is fair to India. The Parliament too was indifferent to India. The members' galleries were deserted on India debate days.

Shri Dev points out how very similar has been the history of India and of Ireland under England, how perfidious Albion went back on solemn pledges to both, how vivisection has been her parting kick to both. He also describes the striking resemblances between Mahatma Gandhi, India's Bapu, and de Valera, the maker of Eire. The author paid a flying visit to France and found the average Frenchman sympathetic but ignorant of India. Everywhere in Europe the people are ignorant of India,—Czechoslovakia and Eire being the only exceptions. Our country "needs to be introduced to the people of the West." The Government of India and the External Affairs Ministry in particular will please note. Shri Dev must be thanked for giving us quite a readable book and some food for thought.

SUDHANSU BIMAL MUKHERJI

THE DRAFT MANIFESTO OF THE INDIAN YOUTH MOVEMENT: *Published on behalf of the Preparatory Committee for the Indian National Youth Movement by Sarama Dutt Mazumdar from 1 Apurba Mitter Road, Calcutta, 26. Pp. 37. Price four annas.*

This pamphlet of about 50 pages including a Foreword by Sri Niharendu Dutt Mazumdar and the Author's Letter by Anthony Elenjimittan proposes to "state with utmost frankness the case of the Indian Youth" and "seeks to survey the nation-wide issues and problems in the perspective of India's historic past," to quote words from the Foreword. One is tempted to dismiss these few pages of undigested enthusiasms with flippant remarks. But as the writer of this review has yet left a few of the crumbs, he will not adopt this easy method. All the same he cannot say that a "case" has been made for "the case of the Indian Youth" as a separate entity in India's society. The author is a Syrian Christian of Indian parentage, and his virgin enthusiasm for Indian traditions has yet to find its balance. In drawing up "the balance-sheet of the last millenium of India's political slavery," he has not been an authentic historian. To idealize the past is a natural human foible. To characterize the Muslim period of about six hundred years as "one of the darkest blot and liability on Indian nationals" accords ill with the compliment paid to Moulana Azad's and Badshah Khan's sterling characters a line below. These aberrations are all due to the lack of "basic education" in India's traditions, of the dimming of understanding of the causes of India's failure to preserve and defend her freedom; therefore do these make British policy as mainly responsible for Hindu-Muslim estrangement. The author and the class whom he represents appear to forget that *ved-niti* has a longer history than Britain's connection with India; that Hindu and Muslim values of life or deviations therefrom created the fertility on which flourished the seed spread over by Britain.

I devote this amount of space to this small pamphlet because it is a symptom of the mental confusion that has made our youth such easy victims to slogans, victims of a "divided" mind. Unless they can get out of the ivory tower of fashionable ideologies, their Conventions, Congresses or Conferences can only lead to multiplication of futile organizations.

SURESH CHANDRA DEB

SAINTS AND SAGES OF INDIA: *By Prof. Pritam Singh, M.A. With a Foreword by Sir Gokul Chand Narang, M.A., Ph.D., Bar-at-Law. Published by New Book Society of India, Devnagar, Karolbagh, New Delhi. Pp. 152. Price Rs. 3-12.*

The learned author is a retired Reader in Economics in the University of Allahabad, and has grown grey in life-long study of the different religions of the world. The book under review contains forty-two biographies of Indian saints—Hindu, Muslim, Sikh, Parsee and Christian. The accounts are brief but informative. Short studies of reform movements, such as Radhaswami Sect, Arya Samaj and Theosophical Society are also given in the book. In the five appendices mysticism, new theism, yoga, spiritism, etc., are discussed.

Sir G. C. Narang in his Foreword observes that the author's view regarding the ancient Aryans being polytheistic this book is not likely to find favour with the members of the Arya Samaj in particular. But this criticism appears to me uncharitable and unjustified since the author has duly discharged the duty of a historian. He upholds no view of his own, but records

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unbiased accounts of religious men and movements as a student of history. Even granting that his view is polytheistic Sir G. C. Narang should not be impatient with it, for it is an important tune in the great symphony of Indian religion. The book may be regarded as a pocket dictionary of religious lives. Its cosmopolitan character is sure to appeal to votaries of all religious communities. The frontispiece contains a beautiful picture of Swami Ramatirtha and the book is dedicated to Mahatma Gandhi.

SWAMI JAGADISWARANANDA

OUR BENGAL: *By Suparna Home. Paramita Prakasani, 77, Dharamtalla Street, Calcutta 13. Price Rs. 2.*

This brochure of 138 pages with profuse illustrations has been written, so we have in the Preface, "with the object of acquainting readers with social and political developments in contemporary India with particular reference to Bengal." A cursory glance through the pages will at once show that no exaggeration has been indulged in, in these words. In the first four chapters, *viz.*, New Age Dawns, Clouds Gather, The Storm Bursts and The Battle Won, the authoress has given in a nutshell the story of Indian Renaissance in Bengal, as well as that of India's struggle for independence for the last one hundred years and more. Bengal has a distinct contribution to our freedom movement, and to the non-Bengali reader this is not known in much detail, as most of the books on the subject have been written in Bengali. Mrs. Home has rendered valuable service by tracing the events in this brochure, for which credit is due to Bengal more than any other province. She has drawn the story to-date. The last or fifth chapter, The City Expands, gives us a running account of the history and constitution of Calcutta with especial emphasis on its cultural achievements, since its foundation by Job Charnock. The book is interesting reading, and will prove useful to the general reader.

JOGESH C. BAGAL

ROTARY GUIDE TO CAREERS—No. 9 (All-India Services): *Published by Oxford University Press, Mercantile Buildings, Lal Bazar, Calcutta. Pages 16. Price eight annas.*

This pamphlet is issued under the auspices of the Vocational Service Committee of the Bombay Rotary Club for the guidance of those entering upon their life-work. It gives brief details of the personal and educational qualifications and essential training required for All-India Services and pay-scale of posts, such as I.A.S., I.P.S., I.F.S., Indian Audit and Account Service, Imperial Customs Service, Military Accounts Service, Indian Railway Accounts Service, Indian Postal Service, Posts under the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, etc. This series is likely to be helpful to bright and ambitious youth of the country as it gives them an indication of the various avenues of service-life.

NARAYAN C. CHANDA

STRAY JOTTINGS OF A ROSE GARDNER: *By B. K. Kerr. Himalaya Publications, Patna. 1946. Price Rs. 4-8.*

This book contains many useful and valuable hints from a real rosarian, who is very practical and no theorist. He has dealt with several aspects of rose-culture, *e.g.*, cultural hints, hybridization, etc. and given some suggestions for holding such rose exhibitions and their guidance. I am sure every rose-lover will be profited by its perusal, as the author has dealt with this complicated subject very lucidly and comprehensively. But in these days of fine printing, the pictures should have been more brilliant and the get-up of the book much improved. The price is a bit high. I may suggest that the author would do immense service to the subject, if he takes the trouble of incorporating in the next edition several pictures of the Indian rose varieties with their proper descriptions for identification, as has been done by J. Ramsbottom in his book *A Book of Roses* (The King Penguin Books, England, 1939).

R. M. DATTA

LOCAL SELF-GOVERNMENT IN INDIA: *By M. P. Sharma, Published by Hind Kitabs, Bombay. Price Rs. 2-8.*

The principal object for writing this book is to stress the need for reform of the existing form of Local Self-Government in India. This reform, Dr. Sharma of Allahabad University says, has been long overdue.

The local bodies constitutionally stand upon the same foundations as were determined by the Montagu-Chelmsford proposals, and according to him, unless we develop the various social services prevalent in the advanced countries in the West, the "harrowing" tragedies of the early days of Western industrialism are sure to occur in this country.

With this note of caution Dr. Sharma goes on to define the existing functions of the various local bodies, municipalities, district boards and *Panchayats*. He also describes the constitutional structure of local bodies, the present conditions of local services, the system of government control of the local bodies and the different features of local finance.

In making some conclusive observations on the reform of Local Self-Government in this country Dr. Sharma suggests that while Local Government may remain a provincial subject, the Government of India should set up a central organization for the purpose of co-ordination of policy, research and collection of statistics and information for Local Self-Government. He also suggests that the Provincial Government should arrange for both extensive and intensive publicity for the activities of the local bodies; they should help the members of the local bodies in various ways to understand their powers and duties. He further suggests that Local Government should form a subject-matter for study at schools, colleges and universities.

Dr. Sharma has viewed improvement of the workings of Local Self-Government from one angle only. He could suggest the formation of an All-India Institute of Local Government, the like of which is in existence in Bombay with a restricted scope of activities. This institute will be entirely a non-governmental body, able to criticize undue government interference in local activities. Such interference has been so very much regnant that it is time we pay necessary attention to this problem as well.

SANTOSH CHATTERJI

THE FOREIGN TRADE OF INDIA 1900-1940: A Statistical Analysis: *By H. Venkatasubbiah. Published by Indian Council of World Affairs, New Delhi. Pages 83. Price Rs. 3-8.*

The first part gives an analysis of the study of *India's foreign trade from the beginning of this century* to the First World War. Then comes the period after the first World War and the various Empire measures for the furtherance of the Empire trade. The method of British Imperialism was to keep India

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as a supplier of raw materials for feeding the British industries at home and utilize India as the market-place for British products. Besides, India had to remain a large exporter for paying home charges and dividends on invested capital and other invisible imports in the form of various commercial services. But even during the British rule we notice various changes in the trend of imports and exports particularly of raw cotton, textile, iron and other goods. The emergence of Japan as a competitor of Britain and slow industrialization of the country had the natural reaction of her trade position with empire countries, as well as countries outside the empire. As the book does not give figures nor discusses the altered position due to Second World War, further reaction on trade could not be given in these pages. The author could not possibly get figures for the entire war years. The second part mainly consists of various valuable comparative tables so very necessary to the students of economics and commerce and also to the statesmen of India who shall have to plan economy and trade for the country. Since the close of the Second World War and inauguration of the International Monetary Fund and International Bank, the international trade has entered a new phase based on national and international economy built upon cautious plans and adjustments. In this new world, the problem of international trade is based more on co-operation than competition in the old sense and as such a study of the past is more useful than a mere historical study.

A. B. DUTTA

SANSKRIT

TATTVOPAPLAVASIMHA *of Jayarasi Bhatta. Edited with Introduction and Indices by Pandit Sukhlalji Sanghavi and Prof. Rasiklal C. Parikh. Gaekwad's Oriental Series No. LXXXVII. Price Rs. 4.*

Materialism has found many exponents in India, though it is known as the land of spiritualists. References to and criticism of their views in works of all philosophical systems point out to the importance of their contributions. Students of Indian Philosophy will be grateful to Pt. Sukhlalji and Prof. Parikh for bringing to light in a handsome edition a complete and early work of this system. It critically examines the different epistemological views of the orthodox and non-orthodox systems and shows at length that none of them has been successful in explaining the intricacies of the physical and mental phenomena. It also seems to indicate that the critical method followed by the materialists considerably influenced the protagonists of other systems in the presentation of their views.

In the short but learned introduction, the editors have discussed many important issues regarding the work and its author. They have spared no pains in evolving a correct text and suggesting important emendations when the single MS. seemed to be inaccurate. And the division of the text into paragraphs with suitable headlines has been highly useful.

ANANTALAL THAKUR

HINDI

JEEVANSHODHAN: *By K. G. Mashruwala. Translated from Gujarati by Haribhau Upadhyaya. Pp. 300. Price Rs. 3.*

JADAMULASE KRANTI. *By K. G. Mashruwala. Translated from Gujarati by Ramachandra Billore. Pp. 102. Price Re. 1-8.*

Both published by Navajivan Prakasan Mandir, Ahmedabad.

Shri Mashruwala is a thinker of unusual clarity and conclusiveness, though so great is his humility that he hedges all his conclusions with the proviso "subject to change in the light of further reaches and ranges of Truth." The two books, under review, embody his thoughts on the true aspirations, aims and activities of human life, on the one hand, and on the urgent problem of an all-round radical change in our present perspective and practice of them on the other. This problem is viewed in the context of contemporary situations, educational, economic, political, social and religious. He warns us against the two dangers of facile succumbing to the ideals of other countries without a previous proper analysis and assessment of them in the light of the Eternal Verities, and of accepting unintelligently the traditions and truisms of our ancestors. For, it is bold and brave thinking alone which lends meaning as well as magic to life and endows one with *bhakti* and *shakti*, devotion to, and dynamism of, Truth, thus enabling him to model himself in accordance with the injunctions and instructions of the highest and holiest in him. These two books are indeed of immense help to the educated people, who desire to make their own contribution to the creation of a true kingdom of God on earth. The translators deserve legitimate praise for the excellence of their performance.

G. M.

ASHRAMKI BAHANONKO: *Edited by Kaka Kalelkar. Navajivan Prakashan Mandir, Ahmedabad. May, 1950. Price Re. 1-4.*

These letters of Gandhiji were written during three years preceding 1930 from time to time to the women resident at the Ashram. Their number is 87; and there is an appendix containing notes taken by Maniben Patel from Gandhiji's talks during 1926 when she was a frequent visitor at the Ashram at Sabarmati. Gandhiji could make time to write such letters in order to emphasise bread labour, craftwork, devotion to cleanliness and the cause of purity and also to remove the erroneous idea from the minds of his correspondents that education is literary merely, and to instil in them the idea that true education aims at character-building. Many of these letters were penned on his silence day. The letters were not mere exhortations to any particular code of life, but there was an exchange of ideas, the desire to get as well as give news. The style, moreover, was the man, and I am sure an acquaintance with the book will prove stimulating to many.

P. R. SEN

GUJARATI

ARTHA SHASTRANI PARIBHASHA: *By Vithaldas Maganlal Kothari. Published by the Navjivan Karyalaya, Ahmedabad. 1948. Paper cover. Pp. 65. Price fourteen annas.*

This is a most useful book in the light of the changes which are being made in the medium of education, which is now to be the mother tongue of the District. There are hardly any works in Gujarati on economics, its theory and practice. The first requisite for its teaching is a large vocabulary of equivalents in Gujarati of English terms. This Mr. Kothari has given, carefully explaining the import and use of each such word or phrase. It is a welcome work, first-class and sound.

K. M. J.

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INDIAN PERIODICALS

Lesson for India

In the course of an article on Education in Business and Public Administration *Science and Culture* writes editorially :

The enviable prosperity which American business has enjoyed through the application of sound business administration methods is a good example to show what can be achieved in a free enterprise economy. By adopting the policy of "less government in business and more business in government," the Americans have successfully applied the principles of scientific management to the administration of their municipal, public, military and other governmental undertakings also.

The rapid progress which Soviet Russia has achieved by applying for the first time the principles of rational management on a national scale is a very good example to show what can be achieved by a Government in a Socialistic economy. Not only did the Russians draw upon the experience of the American and the Western European countries for technical 'know-how,' but they also adopted the principles of scientific management to successfully execute their plans within the periods scheduled.

The quick recovery which England has made from the devastated condition in which she emerged out of the recent war indicates what can be achieved through a prompt appreciation of the need for better management in a mixed economy. The sincerity with which the British people supported the better management movement in the post-war years, the interest they have shown towards organized 'education for management' and the keenness with which they are studying the American methods of production to increase their productivity as evidenced by the reports recently published by the Anglo-American Council on Productivity should serve as the finest lessons that India can possibly take.

Nowhere the need for better management is more urgent than in a country reduced to the subsistence level of living standards. Never can the need for better management be more urgent than during the period in which a substantial share of the country's limited financial resources are being invested in large-scale development projects and the period in which industrial and business enterprises are taking their birth in such large numbers and in such varied sizes both public and private.

"Never can the way be more open for achievement than now, when habits, and institutions, and ideals, and economies have been shattered, and we set ourselves to the great task of assembling the parts, revealing them, rearranging them, and building a new world that affords life, liberty, assured livelihood, and the pursuit of happiness, commonly shared the world over."

Never can the need for organized education and training for management be, therefore, more urgent in India than to-day. This is the time to regulate the development and growth of a management profession and to prescribe standards of education and training for all those who may wish to enter the field, both in the public and in the private sectors of our economy.

We draw the attention of the public to the following observations of the University Commission (1948-49) on this subject, in the hope that speedy action will be taken in the light of their weighty recommendations :

"If India is to become an effective industrial country, with high standards of living for the average worker, business must be looked at as a profession and prepared for as thoroughly as any other. The difference between a craft and a profession has been described as the difference between a job and a career. But the difference is greater than that. As in engineering, the technician deals chiefly with empirical skills, while the professional works not only with skills but with natural laws, organized knowledge, and the application of general principles; so in business there is a difference of kind between commerce course and the profession of business. Following the tradition of the requirements of British administration, much of our course in Commerce have been on the craftsman's level. Equipment for business education on a professional level will require careful preparation and substantial support. Such education should not be introduced in a partisan spirit, but should prepare for a high quality of business administration whether for public business, private industry, labour union management, or the management of the business affairs of educational institutions".....

"India inherited a public administration process made up of a vast accumulation of obsolete bureaucratic routine, one of the chief principles of which seemed to be that responsible discretion should not be delegated, but should be tightly held at the top. The admirably high quality of public administration in England was scarcely transmitted to Indian administration. Comparing the operation of this cumbersome, wasteful system with modern, efficient administration, it seems possible that with radical improvement of administration the entire public work of India might be accomplished with less than half its present expenditure. What such a change would mean in relief from financial pressure and in extension of such vital services as education, power development, the extension of irrigation, agricultural production, and in other ways, can scarcely be imagined. Many factors must enter into such a change, but they are interrelated, and an improvement in one factor tends to the improvement of others. For instance, cumbersome, involved, wasteful procedures lead to a sense of irresponsibility and to a lowered ethical tone. On the other hand, clean-cut, intelligible and effective procedures, with clear and reasonable focussing of responsibility, sharpens the sense of personal responsibility, and gives support to ethical standards."

"In the higher levels of government there is need for clear comprehension of broad principles of government and of administration. Those who formulate or give effect to important policies should know what is involved in their action. They should know how similar issues have been met in the past, and with what success. They should understand how the policies they are dealing with will affect other policies and issues."

Industrial, business and public administration represents professions whose efficiency may well determine the progress and prosperity of a country.

As in other professions, no one person can become competent solely by his own thought and effort. The very

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essence of a progression is that it undertakes to organize, to advance and to transmit the whole body of accumulated wisdom, knowledge, standards and skills in its field. Such preparation, with few if any exceptions, calls for organized professional education."

Cultural Traditions of Afghanistan

H. E. Dr. Najibullah Khan writes in *Pakhtoonistan Fortnightly* :

Afghanistan with an area of 300,000 square miles and about 12 million inhabitants has a history of more than 3,000 years. It has always been existing from the dawn of the human history with a distinct identity between Indus and Oxus and between India ant Persia.

The separate existence of this country is confirmed in the works of Greek geographers like Eratosthenes and Strabo. Its historical events and racial formation has been mentioned in the works of historians like Herodotus, Ktesias, Arrien, etc.

Only the ancient names of the provinces of the present Afghanistan in itself are expressive of the historical significance of the country in the past, like Bakhtrians or Bahlika of the Vedic literature with her central town—Balkh, mother of the cities, Tukharistan or Talla of the Chinese authors, cradle of the Kushana empires, Arya, Herat of today with all its cultural importance in the antiquity, Middle Ages and modern times; Sakastiana, the present Seistan; countries of the Saka kings with its ancient civilization; Arachosia or Zabulistan of the Middle Ages, the valley of Vedic Harivati or Arakhotos of the Greeks, the present Kandahar with the role that it played in the history of Central Asia; Gandhara the valley of Kabul river with its artistic importance in the world of Greco-Budhistic sculpture.

Pakhtia, the land of the Pakhtoon tribes and the Parompamisus, the heart of the country with the snowy peaks, which is sung in the Vedic hymns, are other such examples.

The names of Kubha (Kabul), Swasti (Swat) and the other places of importance are cited in the different hymns of Rigveda.

Only this enumeration can give you an idea of the land of Ariana Antiqua which is called today Afghanistan. Scholars know that the first Hymns of Rigveda have been sung in Afghanistan and the first rishis were the people who lived at the southern and eastern slopes of Hindu-Kush—mount of rivers.

Greco-Buddhistic Art

From the time of the Indian Emperor Asoka the Maurya, Buddhism entered Afghanistan and developed there and from there spread to China and the Far East. The Buddhistic art meeting the Greek art gave birth to the Greco-Buddhistic art, which reached its zenith under the Kushans.

The greatest monuments of Buddhism and its Afghan art in Afghanistan are two colossal statues of Bamyan or Bamikan of the ancient times and the painted frescoes in its caves.

In the Islamic period the cultural importance of Afghanistan did not cease and, on the contrary, Afghanistan or the greater Khorasan of the time became one of the very important centres of Islamic culture.

Scholars, philosophers and poets of Herat, Balkh, Mery-Urrod (ancient Mergiana), Zabulistan, Sagistan and other provinces of Afghanistan have a very prominent share in the elaboration of Muslim scientific and literary inheritance; Arabic, Persian and Pushtu were the medium of their expression. There were philosophers like Farabi of the northern boundary land of Afghanistan, Abu Maashar Balkhi, Abouraihane Biruni, Avicenna of Balkh and others who have their indisputable place in the world of philosophical speculations.

Poets and Mystics

There were great poets and mystics like Ibne Edhem of Balkh, Abdullah Ansari of Herat, Sanai of Ghazne, Nasir Khusro of Kabadian, Busti of Bust, Huiwiri of Ghazne, Maulavi of Balkh, Jami of Harat, Rehman and Khush Hal Khan of Khattak of Frontier, etc., who are well-known in the history of Arabic, Persian and Pushtu literature. Artists like Behzad of Herat and Banai of Herat and many caligraphers and architects left their masterpieces in the world of painting, caligraphy and architecture.

During the reign of Mahmmud of Ghazna, the philosopher and astronomer Abureihan Beruni was sent to India to study Indian Philosophy, religious beliefs, sciences, habits and traditions. In his book *India* Beruni studied the matter not only objectively, but also with tremendous love and passion. Beruni became one of our greatest scholars in the field of classical Indian literature and the ancient sciences of India.

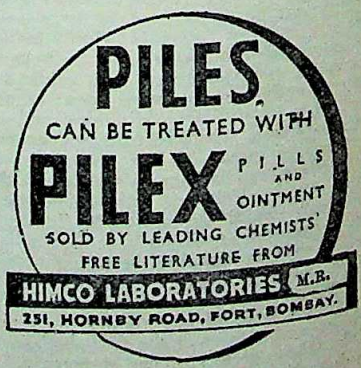
The study of Sanskrit was considered important in Afghanistan of those days, and there is in the Museum of Bombay a coin of Mahmmmoud of Ghazna in Devanagari script. His name is written with the Sanskrit translation of the Islamic motto.

Musoud-i-Saad of Lahore, who belonged to an Afghan family staying in India for many years, and Abul Faraj Rauni of Rauna, are the best specimen of the precursors of Persian literature in India. They were followed in the later years and centuries till recent times by a multitude of poets, philosophers and writers in Persian, like Moin-Uddin Chishti, who settled down in Ajmer, Amir Khusro of Delhi, Nizamuddin Aulia Hassan of Delhi, Faizi and Abul Fazal of Deccan, Bidel of Patna, Mazhar of Gujrat, Ghani of Kashmir, Waqif of Lahore, Ghalib of Delhi and Iqbal of Kashmir, who died a few years ago.

The Indian philosophy and theosophy impressed upon the Muslim minds, like the Neoplatonism of Alexandria and the Christian mysticism in the elaboration of Muslim mysticism, along with the mystical sides of Quorranic teachings.

The contiguity of Afghanistan with India is one of the important reasons that Khorasan became the real heart of Mystical philosophy of Islam in Central Asia and near East.

The Persian language which is called Dari and which became the common language of Persia and Afghanistan is not born in Persia proper. This language had its origin in Khorasan and the Eastern Plateau of Iran, *i.e.* Afghanistan.



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The other language of my country is Pushtu-language which is the direct descendant of the ancient Bakhtrian language—sister of Sanskrit. In Pushtu you will find many Vedic words which are used without the slightest alteration even to-day. This language had its cradle in Ghor and Gharjistan of Midlle Ages, and spread eastward to Pakhtia and Indus.

The most ancient written works of this language are dated somewhere in the end of the seventh century A.D. and from those documents it seems that this language at that time, was a very literary and developed one. So we can deduce that the beginning of its written literature was dated at least 200 years back *i.e.*, in the 5th century A.D.

The Pushtu and Persian languages developing side by side in the present Afghanistan and the land of Pakhtoons, i.e., North-West Frontier Province and a part of Baluchistan of to-day, formed the cultural legacy of Afghan nation.

Folk Songs and Dances

The folk songs, stories and dances as well as customs and dresses in Afghanistan are more or less varied from province to province and, in some cases, even from valley to valley.

Pushtu folk songs have a different kind of metric rhymes and rules of versification from the clossical Persian or Arabic verses. They reflect the life of the tribes in all its glory and beauty and also in all its poverty and hardship.

The martial character of the Afghan people is a fact. They have resisted foreign domination all through their history. The struggle of the people during these 3,000 years, defending their freedom and soil against the Assyrians, nomads of the North, Persians, Greeks, Chinese, Arabs, Tartars and the great Moghuls of India and last of all against the British and Tzarist Russia, is very well-known to students of Asian history.

In the beginning of the 19th century, Afghanistan found itself between two antagonistic and conquering powers: (1) Great Britain and (2) Russia. The internal condition of the country was very bad then with feudalism and wars among the princes of the ruling dynasty.

From 1880 to 1900 the Afghan Government was busy with the establishment of a central power and in removing feudalism. During that period boundaries were drawn and the fiscal and economical policy of the Government was shaped and civil and military organisations were brought into existence. From 1900 to 1919 modernisation of the country started slowly and the first school and newspaper were established.

In 1918 after the third Anglo-Afghan war, Afghanistan freed itself from the restrictions imposed on it in the domain of its foreign relations. So it is only from 1919 that my country entered on the modern basis in the family of nations and formed its modern constitution.

From 1919 to 1929 Afghanistan continued its progress depending on its own resources, facing all the difficulties created by different factors and with many uprisings and reactionary insurrections.

National Constitutions

Since 1930 Afghanistan of to-day has been progressing on the basis of a national constitution and a national policy. The first constitution of a constitutional monarchy with a responsible Government to the Parliament, composed of two houses, has been formed. The compulsory free education till the end of higher studies at the expense of the Government has been established.

The national economy of the country with the establishment of national and State banks and Co-operative Societies has taken shape. New roads, new dams, new canals and new towns have been constructed. The industrialisation of the country has begun and the cottage industries are being encouraged.

The campaign against illiteracy has been speeded up all over the country. The University of Kabul and other institutions of higher education have come into being.

All these things have been done without any investment of foreign capital.

Andre Gide

On 20th February, 1951, at his Paris residence Andre Gide breathed his last at the ripe old age of 82 after a protracted illness. *The Present* observes :

The Nobel Laureate in literature 1947, Gide was a remarkable literary figure of modern Europe. His towering influence upon modern European literature has been dominating for a considerable space of time and possibly it will continue to impress upon the literary figures yet to be born. We, in India, are hardly familiar with his creative genius and overall influence, which really have an overwhelming superiority over contemporary litterateurs.

Gide is probably the most controversial literary figure of the modern age. Among his readers there are two very strong and opposite groups—one group admiding his penmanship and obsérvation and the other totally rejecting his thought-models as immoral, vulgar and mischievous. The critical approach of the latter group seems to have a motivated origin. Gide was anti-Soviet and was consequently an anti-communist. His impressions on Soviet Russia where he had been on an invitation were not very appreciative. In his two booklets, *Return from the U.S.S.R.* and *Afterthought on U.S.S.R.*, he has expressly mentioned his anti-communist sentiments. This resulted in his being treated as a renegade and monster by the staunch supporters of Soviet Russia, and even in our country we are very much inclined to consider him to be so due to an all round anti-Gide propoganda.

Yet his anti-Soviet mentality was not the only reason why he was and still is disliked by some people in his homeland and abroad. From the very start upto his last days Gide was a revolutionary in the field of literature. "To cultivate the art of being disagreeable—unpalatable to the reader, to disturb, that is my role,"—this he proclaimed at the start of his literary career. The assertion was bold and provoking, and had undoubtedly far-reaching consequences. The critics could not tolerate his desperate attitude and the readers his "disagreeable and unpalatable" elements. Yet it was he who exposed truths of human life, so long unseen and undiscovered. He trekked through the unknown tracts of human heart and hardly suffered from the remarks of those who were either unable or reluctant to travel the

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path. Gide was, of course, conscious of his critics. About the "fundamental disloyalty of some critics," he wrote in his Journals :

"I fear I shall soon have to struggle against a false image of me that is being built up, a monster to which my name is given, which occupies my place, and which is terrifyingly ugly and stupid."

We are sure his struggle did not prove futile ; otherwise, he would not have been awarded the Nobel Prize in literature.

A strong liking for variety and diversity is inherent in Gide's writings. The characters of his books are abnormal, desperate and sometimes dangerous. Desultory mind is the true human mind—this was his accepted view of life. He never aspired after creating a stereotyped man, regulated by the laws of morality. He often vindicated the so-called immoral activities of man and proved that moral laws of society and its consequent restrictions hamper the greatness in a man. Remove his bindings, give him a free life, he will prove a superman.

It is most natural that such an attitude towards society would hurt the critics, and Gide had to suffer scathing criticisms. His critics even pleaded for legal steps against him. To defend him Bernard Shaw had to write :

"There is much that is unpalatable in Gide. But who is there to deny his extra-ordinary greatness, his intellectual height."

During his literary career for about half a century, Andre Gide wrote about fifty books. His best novel is probably *The Immoralist*, wherein he gave a strong blow to the moral laws of the human society and proved their futility. *Straight is the Gate* is a novel of "young love blighted and turned to tragedy by the sense of religious dedication in the beloved." The magnificent contribution of Gide is his *Journals*, which depicts his career of twenty-six years. An unkind critic of his own self, Gide has put down in it his reminiscences, his struggle within himself and the search for his own mind. Unless the *Journals* were published, the real Gide would have been obscure.

The world should admire Gide, the author of the *Journals* and not Gide, who was only a Nobel Laureate.

Does it Belong to the Jews?

England's 'Stone of Destiny,' as the newspapers call it, which has disappeared from Westminster Abbey is one of the most ancient religious relics in existence to-day. Writes a correspondent in *The Mahratta* (Poona) :

In the "Old Testament" of the Christian Bible (Genesis, verses 44-49) we find: "And Jacob took a stone and set it up for a title. And he said to his brethren, 'Bring hither stones' and they gathering stones together made a heap and they ate upon it. And Laban called it the 'Witness Heap' and Jacob the 'Hillock of Testimony,' each of them according to the propriety of his language. Laban said, 'This heap shall be a witness between me and thee this day' and therefore the name thereof was called Galaad, that is, 'The Witness Heap'."

Further, Genesis Chapter XXXII, verses 23-30, are as follows :

"And when all things were brought over that belonged to him, he (Jacob) remained alone, and behold a man wrestled with him until morning. And when he saw that he could not overcome him, he touched the sinew of his thigh, and forthwith its rank. And he said to him: 'Let me go for it is day.' He answered: 'I will not let thee go except thou bless me.' And he said: 'What is thy name?' He answered 'Jacob.' But he said: 'Thy name shall not be called



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Jacob but 'Israel,' for if thou hast been strong against God, how much more shalt thou prevail against men?' Jacob asked him: 'Tell me by what name art thou called?' He answered: 'Why dost thou ask my name?' And he blessed him in the same place. And Jacob called the name of the place Phanuel, saying, 'I have seen God face to face and my soul has been saved'."

Jacob-Israel, the father of the twelve sons, who in turn were each the father of one of the twelve tribes of 'Israel,' each tribe taking its name from the son of Israel, who was the head of that particular family, hence 'Jacob' or 'Israel' as he became, is the original father of the Jewish people, and is daily mentioned in their prayers.

Jacob's Stone: This stone was carried by the 'Children of Israel,' as the Jews were called throughout their wanderings, until the break-up of their nation after the fall of Jerusalem in B.C. 587 at which time the Prophet Jeremiah with a remnant of the Jewish people or that branch or tribe which were the sons of "Judah" (one of the 12 sons of Jacob), journeyed to Egypt. (Jer.: 43—4—8 in the Bible). From Egypt, ancient history has it that Jeremiah proceeded to Ireland, having with him Tea Tephi, one of the daughters of Zedekiah, the last king of the Davidic line to reign in Jerusalem. The Prophet also took with him 'David's Stone.' [Here history gets confused with legend, as very old Irish legends tell us that Jeremiah also took, with him the 'Ark of the Covenant,' which, according to these stories, lies buried somewhere in the hill of 'Tara' (strangely 'Tara' is also a Jewish name and not an Irish one).] Again, according to tradition, it was the ships of the Israelite tribe of 'Dan' which conveyed Jeremiah and Tea Tephi to Ireland where Eochaid, an Israelitish prince had just been elected Hermon of all Ireland. This prince promptly fell in love with Tea Tephi and made her his Queen.

Irish history tells us that in later times, one king of Ireland was invited to Scotland where he was crowned 'King of Scotland,'—and for the coronation he took with him the ancient 'Stone of Jacob.' In later years when the wars between England and Scotland were fought, England captured this stone, realising its great significance, for all old legends of the Irish and Scots have it that whichever country possesses this stone and her kings are crowned upon it, that country will hold the balance of World Power.

When Ireland was fighting England for her independence, during the time of the Sinn-Fein risings, and even earlier, there were countless plots to get this Stone into Irish possession. But, Irish Independence was achieved, apparently so also did their intense desire for the possession of this Stone decline. Now only Scotland is left still attached to the 'United Kingdom' and so Scotland too has, from the time of England having taken away the Stone, periodically plotted to recapture it for her own. But from the Nation to whom this stone rightfully belongs, we hear nothing. For, until the Jewish people once more possessed their own country, it was useless to claim their own. But now that the country of 'Israel' is once more, the rightful home of this stone is with the Jewish people.



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FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Andre Honnorat
(1868—1950)

We reproduce below from *UNESCO Courier*, a very interesting sketch of the life and activities of Andre Honnorat, founder of the "University City of Paris":

Parisians in the early twenties were somewhat loath to take their visitors on a tour of the city's southern borders. A muddy street was all that separated the pleasant "parc Montsouris" from the dismantled fortifications where, amidst rubble and debris, the vacant lots of suburbia aimlessly awaited the speculators and their blocks of tenement houses. Beyond, midst the smoke and dirt of factories, lay the "red belt" as Parisians called it, a mass of corrugated iron or tarred makeshift hovels, sunk in the pitiless depths of misery.

To this barren waste a man sometimes came to ponder, a distinguished-looking man whom passers-by took to be an architect or a poet. In point of fact he was the Minister of Education. Yet the passers-by were not mistaken, for Andre Honnorat was both a poet and a builder. He used to wander through the brambles and the rubble, a tall figure under the heavy skies. His gaze seemed to miss the ruins and the hovels; in their stead he saw a spacious city, with buildings bordering on tree-lined avenues, on wide sports grounds. Down these avenues, through the broad gateways, came groups of young men and women, laughing, talking together in every known tongue.

An Instrument of Peace

This was Andre Honnorat's dream : a city planned entirely for students, the pupils of the world's most cosmopolitan school—the University of Paris. Striding over the fortifications with a friend, the Minister was no longer a mere dreamer ; he became a prophet : Honnorat could almost count the students and mapped his "city" down to the last detail.

In the centre, he planned to build an International House, and a vast Hall-Library to replace the humble 11th century church, traditional meeting-place of the "nations" of Paris University, which the mediaeval students in their poverty had dedicated to Saint Julian the Pauper.

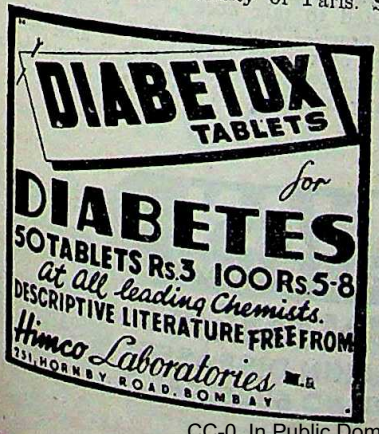
The thousand-year-old Sorbonne never failed to arouse the Minister's enthusiam : his first gesture upon taking office had been to restore to the University the autonomy which Napoleon had abolished. The Sorbonne of which he dreamed was more than a seat of learning and research, it was to become an instrument of peace. The future of peace . . . the idea obsessed Honnorat; he dwelt upon it in all his speeches, at every meeting: "Do you believe that all the problems which war has brought before the human conscience can really be solved by Government action alone ? Is not the best solution to teach the peoples to understand each other; and to teach such understanding, what better way can be found than to bring the elite of the younger generation into contact with one another?"

Enthusiasm Stimulated Friends and Benefactors

For the general public the Minister of Education was little more than a respected politician. His career was fairly typical of that of many French public servants. Coming of a poor family, he had started life as a journalist and later had been secretary to several ministers. For forty years he represented his native "departement," the mountainous Basses-Alpes, first in the Chamber and later in the Senate. Yet his friends knew Honnorat to be an extraordinary man. He was simple, loyal, sincere. These qualities alone would probably not have distinguished him. But the nobility of his character, the warmth of his human sympathy and his power of vision were truly exceptional.

This creative imagination, which of all human gifts is perhaps the most rare, might have been enough in itself to account for the statesman's extraordinary achievements. A University City in the heart of the "red belt"! The very idea dismayed "serious" people. Yet, in the space of a few years, the dream was to come true. By 1925, the now famous "foundations" were being erected. They were to house hundreds and later thousands of students. Gardens had replaced the rubble and debris, and sports grounds were planned.

The venture owed a large measure of its success to Andre Honnorat's gift for making friends. He never once applied for Government subsidies. His enthusiasm was such that he was always able to stimulate generosity in others and the Cite Universitaire came into being in much the same manner as the mediaeval cathedrals, thanks to the donations of countless benefactors: Jean Branet, David-Well, Emile Deutsch de



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la Meurthe, to name but a few of Honnorat's close collaborators. Finally, in 1936, an imposing International House was built; it owed its existence to another friend of the founder, John D. Rockefeller Jr.

Such an undertaking would have been the life-work of any ordinary man, but it was only one of Honnorat's many and varied activities. These included the improvement of public health and social insurance, the promotion of international cultural relations and of historical research. As member of Parliament, he worked to give his constituency roads, post offices and power plants.

It was at his instigation that, in 1915, the French Parliament voted the first sums for the anti-tuberculosis campaign and it was thanks to his efforts and to those of Leon Bourgeois that the first anti-tubercular dispensaries were organized. As president for many years of the National Committee of Defense against tuberculosis, he launched the well-known stamp campaign. This undertaking, which came under heavy criticism, raised 175 million francs last year for French sanatoria and dispensaries.

"He Lived Intensely"

A great lover of history, Honnorat undertook the task of preparing the ground for future historians. He could not bear to think that coming generations should be hampered in their research by the lack of indispensable data, and he therefore set about assembling and distributing to competent bodies a heterogeneous collection of contemporary objects, including books, papers, catalogues, statuettes and even toys and oil lamps—which would be of vital interest to future historians.

"He lived intensely," said one of his friends, "poised between past and present." It can therefore be readily understood that he had a particular fondness for the Society of History of the Great War and for the library which he founded in 1916 and which is called today the Bureau of International and Contemporary Research.

International . . . the word recurs again and again in each of Honnorat's ventures. The smallest undertaking served him as a pretext for breaking down frontiers and for overcoming some new obstacle on the path of international exchange. At his instigation, the Government adopted measures to enable the children of French immigrants in Mexico to complete their education in France. This led him to plan wider cultural exchanges. He was responsible for the Franco-Norwegian school at Rouen, the Franco-Norwegian and Franco-Danish Associations in Paris, and was instrumental in setting up special bodies at the Sorbonne for the study of Germanic, Italian and Japanese civilizations. Finally, it was on his initiative that the National Foundation for the Study of Foreign Civilizations and Sciences was created.

"You Have a Responsibility"

Then came the war of 1939, and Andre Honnorat saw the temporary destruction of many of his achievements. Living in retirement, he continued to work and hope, aided by his wife and a few friends. With the liberation of France he returned to Parliament and to tasks too heavy for his age and health. His life's work was once more a living reality; yet Honnorat was not content to rest. He felt the urgency of strengthening and enlarging his accomplishments. The Cite Universitaire, which had been closed for five years, was reopened and students from thirty nations filled its 22 houses.

Honnorat now sought to expand the University of Paris, hemmed in by its old walls. For this new project he demanded 160 acres of land. Replying to parliamentary critics who considered his proposals premature, he said: "If, in 1840, you had been asked to appropriate land for the Pasteur Institute, you would have refused. You have a responsibility towards the scholars of a hundred years hence. How are you going to accomodate them?"

Andre Honnorat was now an old man of failing health, and the burden of public office proved too heavy for him. He was obliged to abandon many of his official duties. Though he no longer had the strength to make history, his power of vision was as strong as ever. Courteous, sensitive, understanding, he still made friends wherever he went.

He was now over eighty but he worked, as he had done all his life, from four o'clock in the morning to midnight.

Faith in "These Men"

Early in the summer of 1950 his health failed and the doctors ordered him to rest. But from the room which he had finally accepted at the Cite Universitaire he continued to watch over the freedom, the welfare and even the finances of his foundation. The war in Korea affected him far more than his own sufferings. "This world is mad," he said. "these men want to die." Yet he never despaired of "these men." He never lost faith in the United Nations and international organizations and tried to help them to the end. One of the last things he said to his doctor, between two painful attacks, was this: "You know, the more I think about the World Health Organization, the more I realize it must succeed."

He died on the 24th of July. Two months earlier, disregarding all advice, he left his sick-bed to receive the Queen of Holland at the Cite Universitaire. He wanted to talk once again to "his students," to talk of peace—"True peace, to which all men aspire, is not born of written texts alone, it must come from a new attitude of mind . . . from new links between the young minds of all nations."



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Goethe: A Universal Mind

Leonard B. Gray writes in *Unity*, November-December, 1950:

November 7, 1775, was a great day in a little German town, in the life of Germany's greatest writer, and in the history of literature, for on that day Johann Wolfgang Goethe entered Weimar.

Oh, those glorious first few months Goethe spent in Weimar! How exciting they were for the central figure and for the townspeople who were entranced by the irresistible spell this fascinating and incomparable young man cast upon them! The little provincial town was shaken out of its dull conventionality and complacency. Aristocratic society to which the newcomer was first introduced became alive and agog. Indeed, life for everybody was stirred, toned up, and lifted out of its regular course. People everywhere idolized, lionized, and worshipped the newly famous poet partly because of the startling things he had written but chiefly because the magnetic man himself was far more interesting than his writings. They read and reread *The Sorrows of Werther*, his recently published work, that was running like wildfire over much of Europe.

In all history we have read or heard of no lionization of a writer equal to this save that given by Edinburgh to Robert Burns when he appeared in that city with the halo of sudden fame around him. The two enthusiastic receptions were alike in that they were aroused more by the poets' personalities than by their poetry. That given by the large city with its huge population and larger number of learned and distinguished men was more widely spread and more glamorous, but this in the German town—being localized in a smaller area with fewer interests and novelties to attract the attention of the people—was probably more intense. Indeed, the latter centered around a poet who was then and always much more of a man than a poet—was unparalleled in its intensity.

We describe those first few months of Goethe's life in Weimar not chiefly to present a bit of interesting history, but rather to describe Goethe and the extraordinary effects that his sudden fame and his personality had upon people. The poet was then in the full bloom of his fair youth. Seldom, if ever, was there a more magnificent and magnetic young man. He looked so strong, muscular, imposing, and manly that most people felt with Napoleon, who said after first meeting the poet: "There's a man for you." And not a few felt like Lavater, when he said: "You would idolize Goethe. He is the most fearful and amiable of men. He is the incomparable, the fearfully exalted among men." And like Heinse, when he said of the youth, "From top to toe genius, power, strength, a heart full of feeling, a mind full of fire and equipped with the wings of the eagle. Resistance is impossible; he carries everything along with him." It was impossible for strangers to keep their eyes off him, some have testified, and not to feel that an extraordinary youth had come into their midst when he entered a room. It was easily observed that in any company he carried the conversation without trying to do so.

Yes, Goethe was then in the full bloom of his fair youth and in the full bloom of his first fame and popularity among the masses. Seldom again was he to be popular, for his fame henceforth was to be restricted chiefly to the intellectual few. Schiller was to be more widely read and is today, an ex-Nazi youth recently told me, more popular in Germany. But at that time everybody was reading our poet. Young men all over Germany were wearing the Werther costume. In public markets Werther was shown painted on cloth or canvas. In a few years three French translations of the poet's first great work were to appear, and Napoleon was to take it with him on his campaign to Egypt in 1798 and read it seven times, and study it so carefully that he could discuss it point by point with the author in 1808.

How interesting and significant is Goethe's own account of how he came to write *Werther* and why this piece of writing leaped into such meteoric popularity! There had come upon many German young people, the poet tells us in his autobiography, a weariness with life which not infrequently led to suicide. This weariness was due in no small measure to the serious nature of the German mind which leads to a contemplation of the transient nature and worthlessness of earthly possessions and of earthly existence itself. Also, the serious, sensitive youth was unusually troubled and pained by the unceasing return of its faults. And this seriousness and disgust with life on the part of the German youth at that time was greatly increased by much reading of English literature which, especially in its poetry, was full of earnest melancholy. Serious English poetry, especially that of Shakespeare, undermining the worth of human nature, was suitable to the peculiar type of German mind just then and it was by far the favorite of the German youth. Particularly Hamlet and his soliloquies haunted the minds of Goethe and his young friends. Almost everyone, it seemed, knew the chief passages of the play by heart and loved to recite them. Frustrated and tortured by unsatisfied passions and by what they considered harsh and confining surroundings, such reading greatly assisted not a few German young people to imagine that their lot was worse than it actually was, as one person expressed it before *Werther* appeared:

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To griefs congenial prone,
More wounds than nature gave he knew;
While misery's form his fancy drew
In dark ideal hues and horrors not its own.

Thus the mind of young Germany was perfectly conditioned to respond to the particular chord Werther would strike. Goethe himself found that he was in this psychological predicament, and he considered various ways of committing suicide, the chief being with a handsome, well-polished dagger which he laid by his bedside every night.

At last a combination of circumstances touched off the poet. Just when he was suffering most from his attachment to the wife of one of his friends Goethe heard of the death of Jerusalem occasioned by a similar attachment. Prohibiting the visit of friends and casting out of his mind everything except this subject and almost unconsciously like a somnambulist without any prearranged scheme of the whole, the poet poured out his long pent-up feelings like the bursting forth of a mighty stream and wrote *Werther* in four weeks. And then like a man who has made a great confession Goethe felt freed of his "stormy element," as he put it, healthy-minded and happy again, and ready for a new life.

The book exactly hit the temper of the times. It was a match that blew up an immense mine, that suddenly brought demands, unsatisfied passions, and imaginary wrongs to an eruption. Its success was quick and immense. It was read by high and low. It spread like a raging fire across the continent and to foreign lands. It treated the theme of an unhappy love affair in such a way that it expressed the passions and yearnings of an entire age. Countless people felt that for them was portrayed the right and wrong of their overflowing hearts in their relations to the harsh workaday world and to their strivings for freedom amid the confining circumstances and frustrations in such a world.

Not a few people claim that *Werther* is Goethe's greatest work, while perhaps the majority give the laurels to *Faust*. Anyway, the poet was never again to hit the popular mood so precisely. Among the great poets Germany's greatest was one of the few along with Byron and Burns to be suddenly clothed with fame in early youth.

After graduating from Strasbourg on August 6, 1771, Goethe went home to Frankfort to practise law which he did very little. During those years his lifelong tendency to become easily excited by new interests and to throw his energies in many directions was the most intense. When a subject took strong hold of him he would shut himself off from people and write for days at a stretch, as he did when he wrote *Werther*. Then for a considerable period he could not produce anything at all, even when he most wished to do so, and often he would suffer from ennui. To keep life zestful and to exercise all his faculties he was obliged, he tells us, to devote the intervals when Nature (spelled by him with a capital N) ceased to influence him, to worldly occupations. Evidently he regarded creative writing as the expression of his true nature or Nature expressing itself through him, and not a worldly occupation. He would travel extensively for weeks, especially with distinguished men such as Lavater and Basedon. Then he would give himself to a long and thorough study of some historical or scientific subject. From it he would quickly turn to the writing of a critical article. With extraordinary exuberance of spirit and love for fun-making he would throw himself into some gay social affair. Tiring of this he would roam the countryside in solitary walks at times with feelings of melancholy and depression. Vigorous activity and lifelessness, intense study and intense creative writing, love-making and fellowship with boon companions, joyousness and dejection alternated in him, often rapidly. No wonder his friends said that he could not be expected to act like anyone else. But all the time with his manysidedness, with his historical range and perspective, and with his seeing the varied life about him with every pore of his skin he was forming the universal mind that is one of the great amazements of history.

Also, during his last few years in Frankfort, we note Goethe's growing reference to interior truth, a characteristic of the German mind, Emerson said, but unusually developed in our poet. Back in his student days at Leipzig that tendency to write out of himself had begun. After much floundering about in his consideration of many types of subject-matter and of many methods of writing, he was compelled, he says, to seek for everything within himself. This habit of putting his delights, his troubles, his inspirations, in fact all things that took strong hold of his mind into poems came to its full blossoming in Frankfort. Finding his motivating force, his suggestions, and his material in himself is what largely sets Goethe apart from Shakespeare and the greater Greek poets who for the most part took what happened to other people as the primary motive of their works. Our German poet poetized his own joys and woes. Nearly every one of his characters was his own mouthpiece. Werther was Goethe at one time in Goethe's life. Faust was the essential Goethe all through Goethe's life. Since the poet reacted intellectually and emotionally so strongly to a many-sided life, felt so widely and deeply and richly within himself, his writing out of his own mind and heart accounted in no small measure for the universality we find in his writings.

That his writing out of himself did not prevent him from being objective is both an evidence and a cause of Goethe's universality. We admire his detached and disinterested way of looking at a thing. He could regard a matter purely for what it was in itself, apart from preconceived ideas that he and others held about it, free from bias, from any wish to make it other than it was, from



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any desire to use it for a special interest or cause. And so he could say, "Whatever is useful is only a part of what is significant," and make a character in *Wilhelm Meister's Travels* say, "We do not want to establish anything or to produce any outward effect, but only to enlighten ourselves."

Unable to see that he related every fact or cause to universal nature and judged it by its ability to promote universal truth, many Germans regretted his lack of intense nationalism and called him unpatriotic. Unable to get him to adopt their particular religious beliefs and ways of life, many called him unreligious, and even anti-religious. Those who ridiculed the Bible got no sympathy from him, while he offended the narrow-minded literalist by urging honest investigation of the Bible. And he was probably condemned by most religious sects for commending a person who was trying to found a sect to be called Hypsistari, or communion of those who would choose the best out of all religions. This universal mind saw segments, partialities, half-truths, political parties, nationalities, and religious sects with their limitations and judged their worth in their relations to universal truth. It belonged to no particular age or country or race or religion but to the best in all. How men are divided, Goethe thought, by religions, patriotisms, and politics! So he greatly rejoiced, especially during the latter years of his life, in the growing cosmopolitanism of art and science as one of the most healthy and promising signs of the time. High above all frontiers this great humanist would raise the common human ideals of the good, the true, and the beautiful. He would unite the best men of all lands in a common zeal for the exaltation of letters, science, and art. Enlightenment would spread from such men, he believed, and gradually permeate the masses.

There are always people who think they know what is best for other people. There were such people in Goethe's day and they tried their best to keep our poet in the narrow track they had set for him. They urged him to get out of state affairs and they tried to laugh and ridicule him out of scientific experimenting and writing. Partly because they thought that in science a poet was out of his realm and partly because they were not ripe for his advanced scientific theories, the scientists of his day, except a few great ones, either ignored or scorned Goethe's scientific writings. To be sure, they did have some reasons, for the poet did make himself ridiculous in his claim that he had disproved Sir Isaac Newton's discovery that by the aid of a prism glass white light can be broken up into prismatic hues. But our poet-scientist did, however, make some important and far-reaching discoveries in geology, mineralogy, meteorology, osteology, and biology, and he was remarkably anticipatory of modern ideas in botany, Linne, the great Swedish botanist, was the dominant thinker in this branch of science at that time, and most people went along with him when he declared that so many thousand species had been brought into being on Creation Day, that each rigidly adhered to its type, and that the work of the botanist was merely to register and describe these unchanging species. But Goethe forecast one of the chief principles of evolutionary botany in finding both centripetal and centrifugal tendencies at work, that is, inner tendencies or impulses to keep the type and also, in different surroundings, tendencies to diverge from the type, and that under the influence of some surroundings the species did actually change. And so this great poet showed himself to be an advanced scientist in believing in historical evolution at least twenty years before his great contemporary, Jean Baptiste Lamarck, propounded the theory. Indeed, for his time, Goethe's grasp of living nature was extraordinary. This original, independent thinker in science was given his deservedly eminent place when Helmholtz, a distinguished German physiologist, wrote, "To Goethe belongs the great fame of having first conceived the leading ideas to which science in those days was tending and through which its present form is determined."



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Anyway, at least we see the universal man in the wide, rich culture that Goethe derived from the best in all ages and manifested in his varied and great accomplishments as poet, novelist, art critic, translator, editor, lawyer, counsellor of state, dramatist, theatre manager, actor, and scientist.

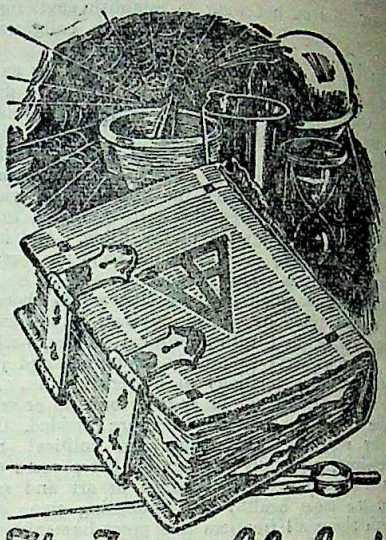
With the influence of Spinoza, his favorite philosopher, upon him, our German thinker held that God and nature are identical. In one of his poems in a short series called *Gott und Welt* he wrote: "God must be one who moves the world within, nature in Him, Himself in nature holding," and again, "There is a universe within the soul." So far as God was a person, He was identical with Goethe's own personality, the very inmost core and essence of that. While he greatly admired Christ as man and teacher and shared much of the religion of the New Testament, he had little use for the religion embodied in abstract propositions and creeds. His position was near to that developed by Hellenism and the neo-Platonists. To him the religious life was one of balance, calmness, serenity, free from strife and discordant elements, lived in complete harmony with the divine cosmic order.

Goethe was olympian. He stood on the mountain heights. Not in the power of any mood or passion, not as the servant of any particular dogma or cause, with no axe to grind or private interest to promote, he looked calmly and disinterestedly from the lofty heights and with mental superiority surveyed the systems of thought and the human life of the ages as they were. To be sure, he was not always on the heights. He was a manly man who heartily enjoyed the game of life in its myriad forms, especially such practical matters as conducting state affairs and managing a theatre. And yet there was that original, independent stamp upon his writings that comes chiefly from a man who gets away from life and calmly views it from a distance. This combination of letting life pour through him as he intensely and richly lived it and of solitary, aloof looking at life accounts for his profound depth and wide range that Carlyle admired so much. This combination accounts for his keen penetration into the minds and souls of men and for his dealing with the spirit of life, as he did especially in his novel *Wilhelm Meister*, while so many other writers dealt merely with the costume and condition of life. This combination accounts largely for his being such an inexhaustible fountain of knowledge and wisdom, for his being, as few men have, the incarnation of humanity and of the ages.

To Emerson's claim that Goethe was the soul of his age, we would add that he was the soul of the ages. His perspective ran over all history and he wrote about universal and timeless matters. How he bewildered the people of his day by being at various times the poet of passion, the superb creator of character, the keen investigator, the royal sage, and nature's serene and great interpreter! And he amazes us today by his universality that greatly helps to lift us out of our limitations and to free us from the bondages that religious bigotries, racial prejudices, and intense nationalisms so often put upon us. Goethe encourages us to have large minds, to seek truth honestly and eagerly from all sources, and to follow the truth we find.

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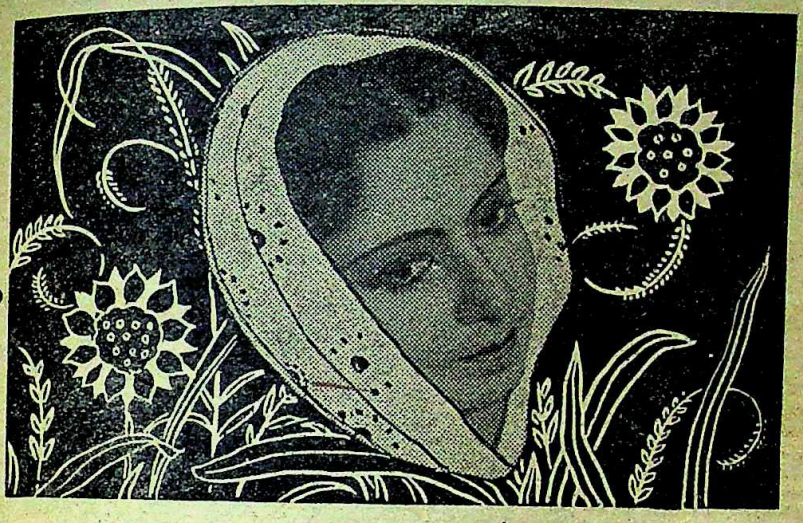
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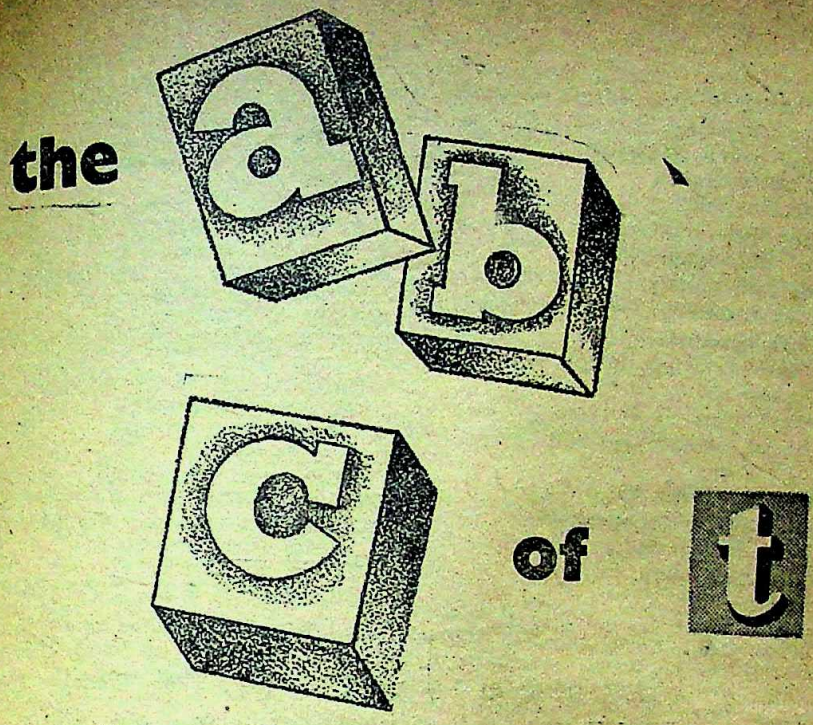
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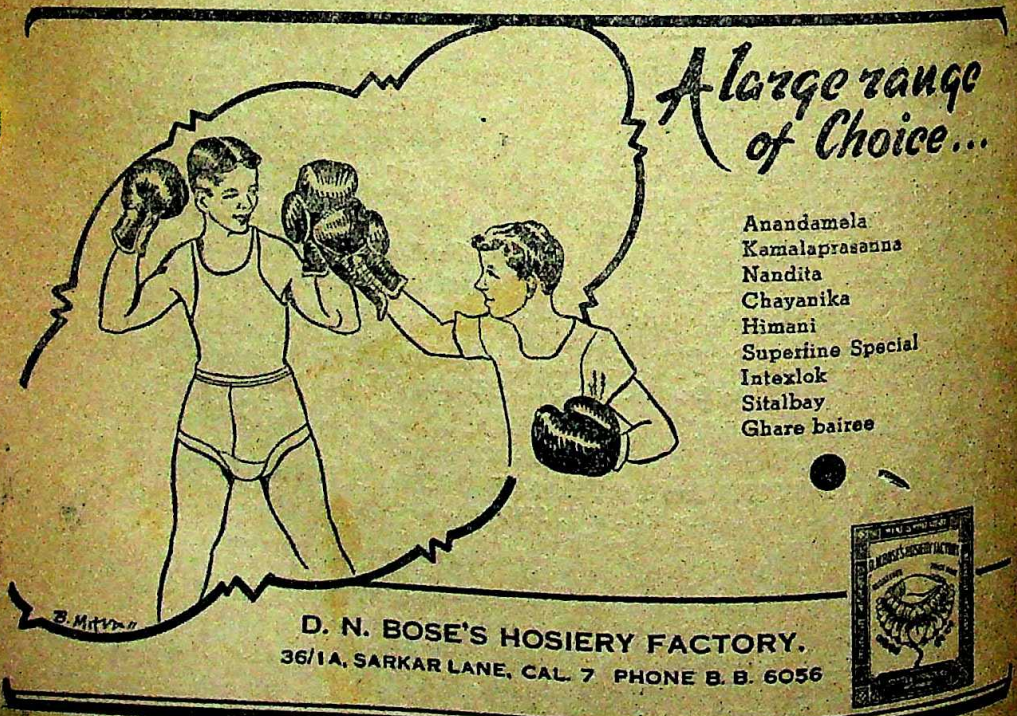
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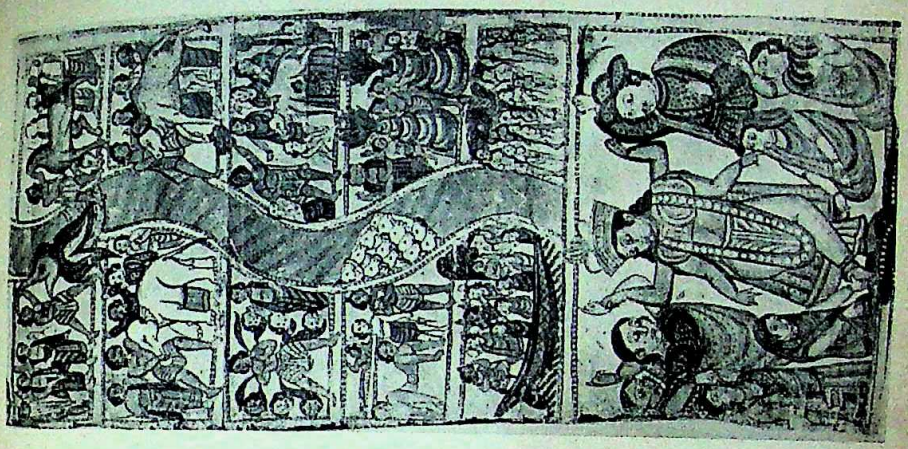
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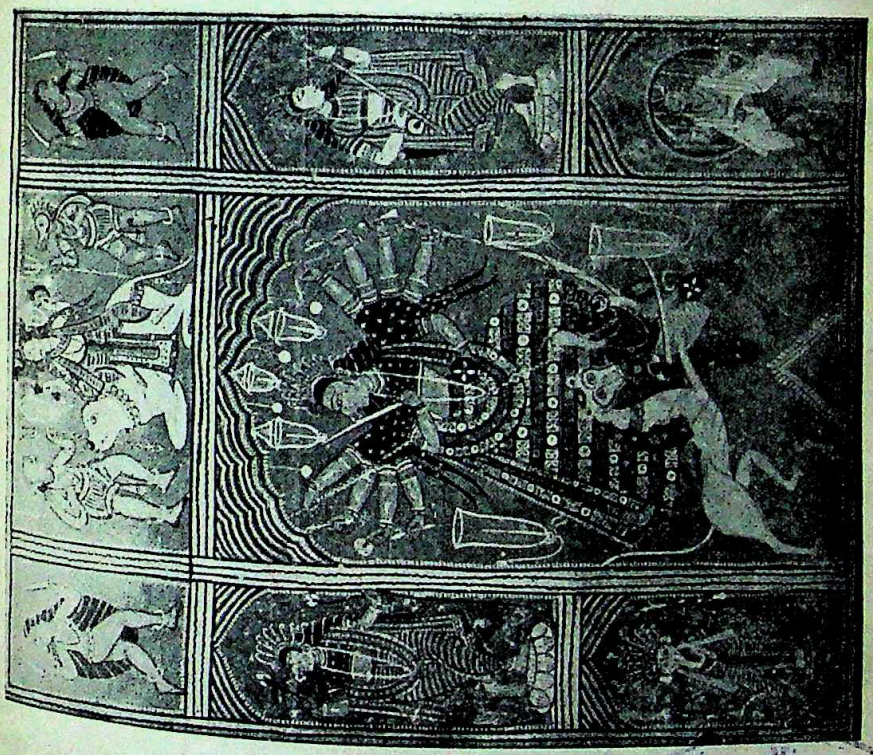
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THE MODERN REVIEW

JUNE 1951

VOL. LXXXIX, No. 6 WHOLE No. 534

NOTES

Freedom, the Constitution and the Press

There is a story in our Sanskrit classics about three scholars who were returning home after having mastered alchemy, occult sciences, etc. When they entered a big and gloomy forest, a fourth man, older than the others but not so full of learning, joined them for company and protection. And so they proceeded, the scholars deep in argument and the older steeped in his thoughts.

When they were deep in the forest, they came upon a heap of a large skull and big bones, evidently picked clean by vulfures and scattered. The little group stopped and there was much speculation as to of what animals those remains were. Then said the youngest: "Behold, I know of a *mantra* that will assort and put together the bones in their proper places."

And so he took up some water in the cup of his hand, uttered some incantations and sprinkled the water on the bones. And forthwith the bones moved to their proper places and the full skeleton of a huge animal was apparent to all.

Next spoke another scholar: "Behold, I know how to clothe these bones with flesh and skin, as will be shown to you."

And he in his turn took up water in his hands, pronounced some incantations, and sprinkled the water on the skeletal remains. And, lo and behold, the bones were covered with flesh and skin, and a gigantic carnivore of fearsome aspect lay there, plain to the eye, awful even though lifeless.

Then spoke the third, full of learning and wisdom: "This is but child's play, for behold, I will bestow life on this animal with life."

The fourth man who so far had been a silent spectator now spoke up in alarm: "Stop, stop, think what might happen if this fearsome monster came alive."

But the scholars were too full of learning and too much imbued with arrogance and so the first two urged the third to prove his learning. The fourth man in terror took to flight and had barely managed to climb a tree when the carnivore came to life with a thunderous roar and tore to bits and devoured the feckless learned ones.

If we put our Constitution drafters and makers and our learned men of the Law Courts in the role of the three scholars and the common citizen of the Union of India as the fourth man, then it would truly illustrate our present Constitutional muddle.

Millions of words have been uttered and millions more would be, but as yet no one seems to have any clear idea about the issues involved. There is so much talk about "Freedom," but has any one so far defined how much freedom there exists today for the common man? He is being freely looted by the blackmarketeers and the few miscreants—or alleged ones—who are apprehended are being set at liberty by the High Courts of Litigation. He is prevented from exercising his common rights at every step, either by official obstructionists or by organised disruptionists and again all judgments go against him, for officialdom must be held sacrosanct and the disruptionists have champions galore in our High and Supreme Courts of Justice. Bribery and corruption is on the increase and the course of the law and that of justice is becoming "curiouser and curiouser" instead of being "Apparent," as it should be by all the laws and customs of democracy.

Today the hankering for power and applause seems to have afflicted all who are in the public eye. No one seems to be able to weigh the consequences of such chaotic speech and thought. Freedom in the absolute would mean converting the Constitution into the Law of the Jungle, where only the richest and the most lawless of the strong ones will survive. On the other hand, absolute power in the hand of bureaucracy will bring in autocracy of the despot.

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Meanwhile the debate is on and therefore we shall have to postpone a critical survey for a subsequent issue. For the present, we can only put on record what has transpired so far, with a few comments.

Dr. Ambedkar has put his Cabinet's case in an admirably lucid fashion. We may not agree with all his arguments but there is no ambiguity. He has made it clear that the Bill has come because of the opinion of the Learned in Law that the Constitution is like the Laws of the Persians and the Medes, once written it should last for ever—until disaster overtook the nation, hide-bound in law like the Persians and the Medes. He has further made it clear that though as a lawyer he is bound to obey, he is not bound to respect such decisions.

In this we fully agree. Law to the common logically thinking man is an instrument for obtaining social and personal justice. And justice must be apparent, to the same common citizen and not merely to the vastly learned. And if the Law fails to fulfil its purpose, it must be discarded despite whatever may be written, said or argued. Now let us turn to the debate.

Three main changes have been made in the Constitution Amendment Bill by the Select Committee. By the insertion of the qualification "reasonable" before the proposed restrictions of freedom of speech and expression, the Committee has sought to make justiciable any legislation on the subject which the Parliament may adopt. An extension of the scope of the clause in the Bill seeking to protect backward classes is recommended by specifying "advancement" generally instead of limiting application to social, educational and economic fields. Care has been taken, by means of the third change, to ensure that future state legislation for acquisition of estates becomes immune from judicial challenge only after receiving the President's assent. Although the insertion of the word "reasonable" softens the rigour of Section 19 as sought to be amended, it is evident from the minutes of dissent that the change does not go so far as the critics of the amendment desired. In extending the scope of the amendment to Article 15, relating to backward classes, the Committee has been guided by the Supreme Court verdict on the "Communal G. O." of Madras. Special reference is therefore made to Article 29(2) which forbids discrimination in admission to educational institutions maintained by the State or receiving State aid on grounds only of religion, race, caste and language. According to an additional clause in the proposed Amendment, Article 29(2) shall not prevent any State "from making any special provision for the advancement of any socially and educationally backward classes of citizens or the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes."

Amendment to Article 19 has been the most controversial. The Standing Committee of the A.-I.N.E.C. had led a deputation to the Prime Minister and had some correspondence with him. In his letter the President categorically stated that "we hold that the proposed amendment to Article 19(2) practically nullifies the fundamental right of freedom of the Press guaranteed to the citizens under the Constitution." But at the Parliament he agreed with the Prime Minister that the change made by the Select Committee in introducing the word "reasonable" had considerably removed the sting in the original draft. According to him, this was a substantial gain and he "expressed appreciation of the spirit of accommodation shown by the Minister."

This matter of the "Freedom of the Press" should have been put before an emergency session of the A.-I.N.E.C. for a clear discussion as to what are the intrinsic constants of this freedom, since the matter is of so grave national importance. The Press in general we must say, has been ignored. The Press as it is today have themselves merited this slight. Throughout the war, and earlier during the Civil Disobedience Movement, there were a large number of newspapers which refused to voice truth and stand for fundamental rights. During the 1942-movement a large majority of the newspapers of this country did not hesitate to print the Government advertisement that "Congressmen were *goondas*." *Today while oppression of the vilest kind has been let loose on the Bengali-speaking people of the Manbhum District in Bihar, not one of them has raised its voice in defence of the poor oppressed people. Satyagrahis of the purest type, one time co-workers of Dr. Rajendra Prasad, are being assaulted by hired "goondas," and the truest followers of Gandhiji are being sent to jail on trumped up charges of rioting and theft, taking advantage of the fact that Satyagrahis as they are, they will not defend themselves. One-sided trials are being held within the four walls of the jail.* Terrorisation on a mass scale has been let loose. The Bihar Government have refused to recognise the Satyagraha movement against oppressive laws and orders in the province and is trying their best to give it the colour of ordinary crime. Their latest actions show that falsehood and villainy have no limit. *This is going on under the very nose of our Press Lords without any protest.* We know it for certain that the Satyagrahis have sent all materials to many newspapers but nothing have come out, ostensibly for fear of losing circulation of a few copies. If this be the character of the Press, if this be their concern for fundamental rights, we must say that we of the Press do not deserve any protection. Some of us will not need any, because of having proved in the past, as in the present, that there should be no cause for any action from the Government. The few daily, weekly or monthly journals who have so long stood for civil liberties and fundamental rights might be exposed in the future to repression as they have been in the past. They know how to take care of themselves, and they will fight.

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Prime Minister's Speech on the Bill

Sri Nehru said, Government had given the "most careful thought and scrutiny to the problem" and brought forward this Bill because, "We thought if these changes are not made, not only great difficulties would arise as they have arisen in the past few months, but perhaps some of the main purposes of the very Constitution may be defeated or delayed."

The Prime Minister said, this Bill was not a very complicated one, nor was it a big one. Nevertheless, it was of "intrinsic and great importance, because anything that deals with the Constitution is important and anything that deals with the fundamental rights incorporated in the Constitution is of great importance."

Therefore, in bringing this bill forward, Government did not do so "in a spirit of light-heartedness, nor in haste but after the most careful thought and scrutiny given to the problem," he added. "We have been thinking about this matter for several months, consulting people, State Governments, Ministers of Provincial Governments, consulting a number of members of the House, referred to various committees and the like, taking such advice from competent legal quarters as we could obtain.

"So, we have proceeded with greater care than we could possibly give to it. We have brought forward now, after all that care, a Bill in the best form that we could give to it, because we thought the changes mentioned in the Bill are necessary, and of course, desirable, because we thought that if these changes are not made, not only great difficulties would arise as they have arisen in the past few months but perhaps some of the main purposes of that very Constitution may be defeated, or delayed."

"There had been criticism not only in our country as there should be, but also in some foreign countries, where some of our friends have got into the habit of criticising us for whatever we might do. When we seek peace they criticise us; if we do something else, they say we are not doing the right thing. So there has been a great deal of criticism and we welcome this criticism, because in a matter of this kind the greater the scrutiny the better."

He said, it was not the desire of the Government to hurry the matter through. He had mentioned an early date for the report of the Select Committee. "I do not myself know how the prolongation of this Bill, a relatively small Bill however important it may be—enables us to give greater thought to it."

Various types of criticism had been raised. One rather curious criticism was that this House having been elected on a narrow franchise, not being representative of the country or the organised will of the community, was not justified or competent to deal with such amendments. These very people raised the criticism about the right not of this House but of its predecessor, the Constituent Assembly in drafting the Constitution, because they were elected on certain franchise.

"Now that Constituent Assembly which has become part of this history of India is no more; but we, who sit here, nearly all of us continue that tradition, that link. In fact, it is we, who were in the Constituent Assembly and drafted it. Now to say that we are not competent to touch the work we did is rather an odd argument."

Government had come up here naturally because after the experience of one and half years or so, they had learnt much, they had found out some error of judgment or possible interpretation to be put on what they had provided for.

"The House would remember that when the Constitution was considered, an Article was proposed that within five years any change in the Constitution should be relatively easy. Why? Because it was thought, and rightly so, that after a little while many little things would come to notice which they should rectify with relative ease. Rather unfortunately that Clause was dropped.

"Nevertheless, so far as this House was concerned, it could proceed in the manner provided for in the Constitution to amend it if this House so chose.

"Now there is no doubt that this House has that authority. I am not talking of legal, or constitutional authority, but moral authority because it is, roughly speaking, this House that drafted the Constitution.

"It was they who actually hammered it into shape after years of debate, and now they had come to this House for amendment because they had noticed some lacunae. Some difficulties had arisen because of various interpretations.

"It had been pointed out by the judicial authority that some lacunae existed. So far as interpretation of the Constitution is concerned, it is the right and privilege of the highest court of the land to do it and it is not for us as individual or even as Government to challenge that right. Judiciary must necessarily stand above, shall I say, political conflicts of life or political interpretation. They have interpreted it in the light of law and we respect them.

"We must obey them. *But having followed their interpretation, it is our business as Parliament to see whether the purpose we aimed at is fulfilled. If it is not fulfilled, then the will of the community does not take effect. If the will of the community does not ultimately take effect, then serious difficulties may arise at any time. At a time like this when powerful and dynamic forces are at work, when changes take place not only here but in other parts, we cannot think of anything static in the world.*

"Nevertheless, it becomes our duty to decide whether the Constitution was or is rightly interpreted and whether it is desirable to change it here and there to give effect to what was our intention. Therefore, I

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come before the House not to challenge any judicial interpretation, rather to take the assistance of the House in clearing up doubts, in removing certain difficulties which have prevented us from going ahead in measures of social reform."

"This House know very well that there are many kinds of Constitutions in the world. There is Constitution which is not written, for instance, the Constitution of the U.K. where Parliament is absolutely supreme and can do and say what it likes and that is the law of the land and no court can challenge it however they may interpret it.

"Then there is the written Constitution, like the Constitution of U.S.A., where the Constitution to some extent limits the authority of the legislature in so far as certain fundamental rights or other provisions are concerned. Now in U.S.A. by a long course of judicial decisions healthy conventions have been laid down and the power of the legislature has been widened somewhat because of the interpretations by high judicial authority and because of those conventions the extreme rigidity that perhaps a written word might have given to it has been made more flexible in the course of generalisation.

"I have no doubt that if we live through a static period, gradually these conventions would arise here too, relaxing that extreme rigidity of the written word and that our courts would help in relaxing that rigidity. But, unfortunately, we have no time. It is barely a little more than a year since we started functioning under this Constitution and to begin with, therefore, it is only the word in all its rigid aspect that apparently counts and not the many inner meanings that we sought to give to it.

"But we are deprived of that slow process of judicial interpretation and development of conventions which the other countries with the written Constitutions have gone through like U.S.A.

"Therefore, because we live in these rapidly changing time we cannot wait for that slow process. We have to give a slightly different shape to the written word. In effect we are doing what in the normal course judicial interpretation might have done and probably would have done and we come up before this House for that purpose.

"Now a great deal has been said about the desire of this Government to put any kind of curb or restraint on the freedom of the citizen or Press or of groups. First of all, may I remind the House that this Bill only perhaps clears up what the authority of Parliament is. We are not putting down any kind of curb or restraint. We are removing certain doubts so as to enable Parliament to function if it so chooses and when it chooses. Nothing else happens when this Bill is passed except to clarify the authority of Parliament.

"May I also point out to this House that we in this Government and we in this House have not got a very long life. This session is coming to a close and after this session there is likely to be a brief session again before the General Elections take place in the country.

"Even the present Parliament will give place to another, larger one, perhaps different one. The Government may give place to another and whatever changes we may make in the Constitution today, it is highly unlikely that this Government or this Parliament will take advantage of them by passing laws to that effect unless some very severe crisis, national or international, arises.

In fact, therefore, it is not this Government that is trying to seek power or consolidate itself and certainly I repudiate the suggestion which has been made here and there that any of these amendments are meant to be utilised for political or party purposes. We do wish when we walk away from this present scene before the election or after to leave something for the succeeding Parliament and for the younger generation that will come up—something that they can wield and handle with ease for the advancement of India and not something which will come always in their way and deflect them from the set purpose we have in view. Therefore, it is from this point of view that we have put forward this Bill."

Continuing Sri Nehru said that if they had examined the various proposals made in the Bill, they would find that a number of amendments were secondary in importance not concerning any vital matters or principles. For instance, one of the Articles laid down that this House should meet twice a year and the President should address them. Now a possible interpretation of that was that this House had not met at all this year. It was an extraordinary position considering that this time this House had laboured more than probably at any time.

The amendments to Article 87 and also to Articles 174 and 176 of the Constitution were somewhat secondary in importance. They related to the functions of the President in Parliament and that of the Governors in State Assemblies. So also the amendments to the Articles 341 and 342 related to the function of the President where, there is no Rajpramukh at all. The amendment to Article 372 related taxation laws and so also the amendment to Article 376 enabled the Government to appoint as Chief Justice a person who was not a citizen of India. These were the minor of the amendments proposed.

"But the really important provisions which I am putting before this House," Sri Nehru continued "relate to Article 19, Article 31 and also to Article 15 of the Constitution."

Dealing with Article 15 first, the Prime Minister stated that it had been proposed to add certain provisions to that article. It had been considered

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desirable to add them in the light of the experience of working the Constitution.

"The real difficulty before us is this : The Constitution has laid down certain Directive Principles of State policy and, if I may point out, the Constitution has also laid down certain Fundamental Rights.

"While the purpose behind the Constitution was not to effect any conflict between the two sets of principles, somehow or other the working of either is to some extent hindered by the static element in the Fundamental Rights. We have therefore to find out some way.

"The amendment which I seek to move is no solution of this basic problem and what the amendment proposed to give is to give authority to Parliament or to the future Parliament to deal with the matters as they arise.

"I may also point out that we should try to remove possible impediments in the way of implementing the Constitution. It is suggested by some that it is proposed to devise a method of bringing about some kind of communal element by a number of these amendments. I want to make it perfectly clear that so far as we are concerned and our Government is concerned, we do not wish to have any element of communalism anywhere. But you have to distinguish between the backward classes who are specially mentioned in the Constitution. You have to help them in order to advance them educationally and economically.

"But sometimes this intervention by the Government or a party presents difficulties, because we have to give a certain type of education, technical or other, to the backward classes. The question therefore is that we should give some encouragement, some reasonable encouragement, to their education and give representatives of the backward classes who otherwise would not come up at all. Therefore, there is no question of Government giving any special assistance to any community on the ground of religion, etc.

Coming to another difficulty in the working of the Constitution, Sri Nehru said that difficulty related to the interpretation of Fundamental Rights and the protection of individual and personal liberty.

"The question now to be considered is this : in the protection of individual liberty you would give also individual group inequality. In that case you come to a conflict. Is it the guarantee of Directive Principle of the State policy or the moral advance of the group in general that constitute a more rapid advance possible and in which way there is less and lses inequality or more and more equality.

"Now, if any kind of individual liberty is treated as very important, then an appeal is made to the continuation of the existing inequality. Then there is difficulty; there is a conflict between the rights of individuals and the relation of individuals to the society. We shall have to deal with those cases and I feel the present amendment of mine seeks to give authority to Parliament to deal with it."

Articles 19 and 31

"Then we come to two important articles of the Constitution, which this Bill proposed to amend. They are Articles 19 and 31. Article 19 deals with Fundamental Rights. It is said that this Government seeks to curb or restrict the freedom of the Press. Members are fully aware of the state of affairs today. I do not think there is any country in the world today and at the present moment which offers so much freedom for any one in regard to publication of news and views as in India. I have often given expression to my appreciation of the way in which journalists and newspapermen have conducted their functions in this country; and I would like to say the same about them every now and then. But I have also to draw the attention of the House to the ways in which less responsible newspapers are conducted."

"It has become a matter of daily occurrence," he added, "that some of these news-sheets are often indulging in creating insecurity and disunity in the country and day after day they indulge in this general degrading of not only intellectual quality but also in the degradation of moral standard." (Cry of shame, shame).

"I do not consider it merely as a political problem. I do look at it as a moral problem. How are we to preserve our moral standards if such news-sheets by indulging in such moral deterioration day after day carry on their poisoning effect and demoralise the younger generations in the colleges and schools.

"It is true that everybody should have the freedom to carry on his own views; but freedom is also associated with certain responsibilities and obligations."

"It must also be realised by members in the House." Sri Nehru continued, "that it is the duty of the Government to protect the freedom of the country from external invasion by use of the Army or Navy or Air Force at its command. But I may also say that this type of control does not alone solve the problem while individual responsibility to preserve that freedom is not fully realised. It has to rely on both the resources, the resources of armed strength and individual moral strength, which in my opinion is most effective.

"Therefore, it is not that I want to impose any controls on the expression of free and individual opinion. But the moral standards of the country also have to be kept in view. Intelligent people think that morals are as important as any other force towards the progress and preservation of the group or of the individual. But unfortunately, there is a total lack of this restriction on our part. I am not concerned about the election. But if there is no sense of responsibility and obligation, what are we to do? How are we to stop the corroding influence that is gradually increasing? That is my difficulty."

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The present amendment, Sri Nehru continued, is only an enabling measure. It really clarifies the powers of Parliament in regard to such matters when its authority happens to be challenged.

"The principle underlying this bill therefore," Sri Nehru explained, "does not deal with any particular group or individuals. The measure is only an enabling one clarifying the power of Parliament. To what extent and in what manner that had to be done I do not know.

"Now one of the difficulties that I have referred to is the difficulty in dealing with the Press," Sri Nehru said. Press is one of the vital organs of modern life, more especially of democracy. The Press has got tremendous powers and tremendous responsibilities. The Press has to be restrained and restricted in its tone. But at the same time, the Press should have some authority to carry on their functions also independently."

Striking a personal note the Prime Minister said, in his younger days he too had something of a journalist in him and therefore, whatever he said about the functions of a journalist was out of practical experience. He appreciated the extent of their powers and the difficulties under which they had to function. He also understood the difficulties with which journalists are faced.

"But what is a Press if it does not represent the national opinion?" Sri Nehru asked, *"Is it the great organised public opinion that had to be taken as the Press of the country or some two sheets of paper that is brought out overnight without any regularity and which is fully used for blackmailing certain people?"* Nobody in the country, he felt, would support such kind of Press which failed to appreciate its obligations and then its functions in a proper and adequate manner. Therefore, there was then necessity for imposing a limit to the licence which was being indulged in order to poison and vitiate the entire atmosphere of the country.

Coming to the amendment to Article 19(2) of the Constitution, Sri Nehru said it contained three different aspects which were, friendly relations of India with foreign countries, public order and incitement to offence.

Nobody in the country or in the House need apprehend, he continued, that by the proposed amendment the Government of India wanted to stifle criticism. What was contemplated was only to enable Parliament from time to time to determine what was best suited to the maintenance of good relations with foreign countries and to prevent the deterioration of such friendly relations as quickly and rapidly as possible. That power to devise those steps had been proposed to be given to Parliament under the amendment, and that was necessary for the preservation and maintenance of the friendly relations with foreign countries that India had at present.

The other two things contemplated in the proposed amendment, were public order and incitement to offence. Again, those were principles over which there could be no serious controversy.

"In this connection I may just mention," Sri Nehru said, "of the coercive parties which made use of the powers of authority in Hyderabad and Telengana. We could not wait for the development of democratic methods. We were faced with a challenge to authority and that challenge had to be taken up."

The other article which the Bill proposed to amend is Article 31, Sri Nehru said. That article, he said, had recalled to his mind a gamut of pictures that he had dreamt of. That was the question of abolition of zemindari, and bringing about a system of land and agrarian reform. If at all the Congress stood committed to anything, it was the abolition of zemindari and agrarian reforms. Of course, many other countries had also effected such agrarian reforms rather quickly and rapidly, with or without payment of compensation or payment of nominal compensation. Here in India also they had to deal with the question quickly, for the stability of the State.

But the Article 31 of the Constitution gave rise to a difference of interpretation in the courts of law and the amendment proposed sought to clarify the power of Parliament in regard to this matter.

"Many of us who were responsible for drafting the Constitution," Sri Nehru said, *"were lawyers. Nevertheless, lawyer represents litigation. Somehow, therefore, we have to find a way out so that this magnificent Constitution of ours is not kidnapped by the lawyers."*

Sri Nehru said that from a recent article on India by an American author he read, the American author had put India's problems in five words. Those five words were—land, water, babies, cows and capital. There was much truth in those five words. Unless they solved the problem of land, no stability could be established in the country either socially or economically. That was why he had brought in the Bill to amend Article 31, of the Constitution, he said.

Amendment of the Constitution

The following is the full text of the Constitution Amendment Bill :

Be it enacted by Parliament as follows:

1. *Short Title*—This Act may be called the Constitution (First Amendment) Act, 1951.

2. *Amendment of Article 15*—In Clause (3) of Article 15 of the Constitution, after the word "children," the words "or for the education, economic or social advancement of any backward class of citizens" shall be added.

3. *Amendment of Article 19 and Validation of certain laws*—(1) *In Article 19 of the Constitution*—

(a) For Clause (2), the following clause shall be substituted, namely:—

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have been originally enacted in the following form, namely :

"(2) Nothing in Sub-Clause (A) of Clause (1) shall affect the operation of any existing law in so far as it imposes, or prevent the State from making any law imposing, in the interests of the security of the State, friendly relations with foreign States, public order, decency or morality, restrictions on the exercise of the right conferred by the said sub-clause, and, in particular, nothing in the said sub-clause shall affect the operation of any existing law in so far as it relates to, or prevent the State from making any law relating to, contempt of court, defamation or incitement to an offence."

(B) In Clause (6), for the words beginning with the words "nothing in the said sub-clause" and ending with the words "occupation, trade or business," the following shall be substituted, namely :

"Nothing in the said sub-clause shall affect the operation of any existing law in so far as it relates to, or prevent the State from making any law relating to,—

(I) The professional or technical qualifications necessary for practising any profession or carrying on any occupation, trade or business, or (II) the carrying on by the State, or by a corporation owned or controlled by the State, of any trade, business, industry or service, whether to the exclusion, complete or partial, of citizens or otherwise."

(2) No law in force in the territory of India immediately before the commencement of the Constitution which is consistent with the provisions of Article 19 of the Constitution as amended by Sub-Section (1) of this Section, shall be deemed to be void, or ever to have become void, on the ground only that, being a law which takes away or abridges the right conferred by Sub-Clause (A) of Clause (1) of the said Article, its operation was not saved by Sub-Clause (2) of that Article as originally enacted and notwithstanding any judgement, decree or order of any court or tribunal to the contrary, every such law shall continue in force until altered or repealed by a competent Legislature or other competent Authority.

Explanation—In this Sub-Section the expression "law in force" has the same meaning as in Clause (1) of Article 13 of the Constitution.

NEW ARTICLES

4. *Insertion of new Article 31 A—after Article 31 of the Constitution* : The following Article shall be inserted, and shall be deemed always to have been inserted, namely :

"31A. Saving of laws providing for acquisition of estates, etc.—(1) Notwithstanding anything in the foregoing provisions of this part, no law providing for the acquisition by the State of any estate or of any rights therein or for the extinguishment or modification of any such rights shall be deemed to be void on the ground that it is inconsistent with, or takes away or abridges any of the rights conferred by, any provisions of this part.

(2) In this Article,—

(A) The expression "estate" shall, in relation to any local area, have the same meaning as in the existing law relating to land tenures in force in that area ;

(B) The expression "rights," in relation to an estate, shall include any rights vesting in a proprietor, sub-proprietor, under-proprietor, tenure-holder or other intermediary and any rights or privileges in respect of land revenue."

5. *Insertion of new Article 31 B.*—After Article 31 A of the Constitution as inserted by Section 4, the following Article shall be inserted, namely :

31B. Validation of Certain Acts.—Without prejudice to the generality of the provisions contained in Article 31A, none of the Acts specified in the Ninth Schedule nor any of the provisions thereof shall be deemed to be void, or ever to have become void, on the ground that such Act or provision is inconsistent with, or takes away or abridges any of the rights conferred by any provisions of this part, and notwithstanding any judgment, decree or order of any court or tribunal to the contrary, each of the said Acts shall continue in force until altered or repealed by a competent Legislature."

6. *Amendment of Article 85.*—For Article 85 of the Constitution the following Article shall be substituted, namely :

"85. Sessions of Parliament, Prorogation and Dissolution. (1) The President shall from time to time summon each House of Parliament to meet at such time and place as he thinks fit, but six months shall not intervene between its last sitting in one session and the date appointed for its first sitting in the next session.

(2) The President may from time to time—(a) Prorogue the House or either House, (b) Dissolve the House of the People."

7. *Amendment of Article 87*—In Article 87 of the Constitution :

(1) In Clause (1). for the words "every session" the words "the first session of each year" shall be substituted ;

(2) In Clause (2), the words "and for the precedence of such discussion over other business of the House" shall be omitted.

8. *Amendment of Article 174.*—For Article 174 of the Constitution, the following Article shall be substituted, namely :

"174. Sessions of the State Legislature, prorogation and dissolution. (1) The Governor shall from time to time summon the House or each House of the Legislature of the State to meet at such time and place as he thinks fit, but six months shall not intervene between its last sitting in one session and the date appointed for its first sitting in the next session.

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(2) The Governor may from time to time—(a) Prorogue the House or either House; (b) Dissolve the Legislative Assembly."

9. *Amendment of Article 176.*—In Article 176 of the Constitution,—(1) in Clause (1), for the words "every session" the words "the first session of each year" shall be substituted; (2) In Clause (2), the words "and for the precedence of such discussion over other business of the House" shall be omitted.

10. *Amendment of Article 341*—In Clause (1) of Article 341 of the Constitution, for the words "may, after consultation with the Governor or Rajpramukh of a State," the words "may with respect to any State, and where it is a State specified in Part A or Part B of the First Schedule, after consultation with Governor or Rajapramukh thereof," shall be substituted.

11. *Amendment of Article 342*—In Clause (1) of Article 342 of the Constitution, for the words "may, after consultation with the Governor or Rajpramukh of a State," the words "may with respect to any State, and where it is a State specified in Part A or Part B of the First Schedule, after consultation with the Governor or a Rajpramukh thereof," shall be substituted.

12. *Amendment of Article 372*—In Sub-Clause (A) of Clause (3) of Article 372 of the Constitution, for the words "two years" the words "three years" shall be substituted.

13. *Amendment of Article 376.*—At the end of Clause (1) of Article 376 of the Constitution, the following shall be added, namely: "Any such judge shall, notwithstanding that he is not a citizen of India, be eligible or for appointment as Chief Justice of such High Court or as Chief Justice or other judge of any other High Court or of the Supreme Court."

14. *Addition of Ninth Schedule.*—After the Eighth Schedule to the Constitution, the following schedule shall be added, namely:

Ninth Schedule (*Article 31B*): (1) The Bihar Land Reforms Act, 1950 (Bihar Act XXX of 1950), (2) The Bombay Tenancy and Agricultural Lands Act, 1948, (3) The Bombay Maleki Tenure Abolition Act, 1949, (4) The Bombay Taluqdari Tenure Abolition Act, 1949, (5) The Panch Mahals Mehwassi Tenure Abolition Act. 1949, (6) The Bombay Khoti Abolition Act, 1950, (7) The Bombay Paragana and Kulkarni Watan Abolition Act, 1950, (8) The Madhya Pradesh Abolition of Proprietary Rights (Estates, Mahals, Alienated Lands) Act, 1950, (9) The Madras Estates (Abolition and Conversion into Ryotwari) Act, 1948, (10) The Madras Estates (Abolition and Conversion into Ryotwari) Amendment Act, 1950, (11) The Uttar Pradesh Zamindari Abolition and Land Reforms Act, 1950.

Objects and Reasons

During the last fifteen months of the working of the Constitution, certain difficulties have been brought to light by judicial decisions and pronouncements specially in regard to the chapter on Fundamental Rights. The citizen's right to freedom of speech and expression guaranteed by Article 19(1)(A) has been held by some courts to be so comprehensive as not to render a person culpable even if he advocates murder and other crimes of violence. In other countries with written Constitutions, freedom of speech and of the Press is not regarded as debarring the State from punishing or preventing abuse of this freedom. The citizen's right to practise any profession or to carry on any occupation, trade or business conferred by Article 19(1)(G) is subject to reasonable restrictions which the laws of the State may impose "in the interests of the general public."

While the words cited are comprehensive enough to cover any scheme of nationalisation which the State may undertake, it is desirable to place the matter beyond doubt by a clarificatory addition to Article 19(6). Another Article in regard to which unanticipated difficulties have arisen is Article 31. The validity of agrarian reform measures passed by the State Legislatures in the last three years has, in spite of the provisions of Clauses (4) and (6) of Article 31, formed the subject-matter of dilatory litigation, as a result of which the implementation of these important measures, affecting large numbers of people, has been held up.

The main objects of this Bill are, according to amend Article 19 for the purposes indicated above and to insert provisions fully securing the constitutional validity of Zamindari abolition laws in general and certain specified State Acts in particular. The opportunity has been taken to propose a few minor amendments to other Articles in order to remove difficulties that may arise.

It is laid down in Article 46 as a directive principle of State policy that the State should promote with special care the educational and economic interests of the weaker sections of the people and protect them from social injustice. In order that any special provision that the State may make for the education, economic or social advancement of any backward class of citizens may not be challenged on ground of being discriminatory, it is proposed that Article 15(3) should be suitably amplified. Certain amendments in respect of Articles dealing with the convening and proroguing of the sessions of Parliament have been found necessary and are also incorporated in this Bill. So also a few minor amendments in respect of Articles 341, 342, 372 and 376.

Annexure to Bill

The following is the annexure to the Constitution of India (First Amendment) Bill introduced in Parliament by Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru:

Extracts from the Constitution of India

Article 15: (3) Nothing in this Article shall prevent the State from making any special provision for women and children.

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Article 19 : Protection of certain rights regarding freedom of speech, etc.: (1) All citizens shall have the right (a) to freedom of speech and expression; (b) to practise any profession, or to carry on any occupation, trade or business.

(2) Nothing in Sub-Clause (A) of Clause (1) shall affect the operation of any existing law in so far as it relates to, or prevent the State from making any law relating to, libel, slander, defamation, contempt of court or any matter which offends against decency or morality or which undermines the security of, or tends to overthrow, the State.

(6) Nothing in Sub-Clause (G) of the said Clause shall affect the operation of any existing law in so far as it imposes, or prevent the State from making any law imposing, in the interests of the general public, reasonable restrictions on the exercise of the right conferred by the said Sub-Clause, and, in particular, nothing in the said Sub-clause shall affect the operation of any existing law in so far as it prescribes or empowers any authority to prescribe, prevent the State from making any law prescribing or empowering any authority to prescribe, the professional or technical qualifications necessary for practising any profession or carrying on any occupation, trade or business.

Article 85 : Sessions of Parliament. Prorogation and Dissolution. (1) The House of Parliament shall be summoned to meet twice at least in every year, and six months shall not intervene between their last sitting in one session and the date appointed for their first sitting in the next session.

(2) Subject to the provisions of Clause (1), the President may from time to time—(a) Summon the Houses or either House to meet at such time and place as he thinks fit ; (b) prorogue the Houses ; (c) dissolve the House of the People.

Article 87 : Special address by the President at the commencement of every session. (1) At the commencement of every session the President shall address both Houses of Parliament assembled together and inform Parliament of the causes of its summons.

(2) Provision shall be made by the rules regulating the procedure of either House for the allotment of time for discussion of the matters referred to in such address and for the precedence of such discussion over other business of the House.

Article 174 : Sessions of the State Legislature, prorogation and dissolution (1). The House or Houses of the Legislature of the State shall be summoned to meet twice at least in every year, and six months shall not intervene between their last sitting in one session and the date appointed for their first sitting in the next session.

(2) Subject to the provisions of Clause (1), the Governor may from time to time—(a) Summon the House or either House to meet at such time and place as he thinks fit; (b) Prorogue the House or Houses; (c) Dissolve the Legislative Assembly.

Article 176 : Special address by the Governor at the commencement of every session. (1) At the commencement of every session, the Governor shall address the Legislative Assembly or, in the case of a State having a Legislative Council, both Houses assembled together and inform the Legislature of the causes of its summons.

(2) Provision shall be made by the rules regulating the procedure of the House or either House for the allotment of time for discussion of the matters referred to in such address and for the precedence of such discussion over other business of the House.

Article 341(1) : Scheduled Castes—(1) The President may, after consultatoin with the Governor or Rajpramukh of a State, by public notification, specify the castes, races or tribes or parts of or groups within castes, races or tribes which shall for the purposes of this Constitution be deemed to be Scheduled Castes in relation to that State.

Article 342(1) : Scheduled Tribes—(1) The President may, after consultation with the Governor or Rajpramukh of a State, by public notification, specify the tribes or tribal communities or parts of or groups within tribes or tribal communities which shall for the purposes of this Constitution be deemed to be Scheduled Tribes in relation to that State.

Article 372 (3) (A): Nothing in Clause (2) shall be deemed—(a) To empower the President to make any adaptation of or modification of any law after the expiration of two years from the commencement of this Constitution.

Article 376 (1): Provisions as to Judges of High Courts—(1) Notwithstanding anything in Clause (2) of Article 217, the Judges of a High Court in any province holding office immediately before the commencement of this Constitution shall, unless they have elected otherwise, become on such commencement the Judges of the High Court in the corresponding State, and shall thereupon be entitled to such salaries and allowances and to such rights in respect of leave of absence and pension as are provided for under Article 221 in respect of the Judges of such High Court.

Opposition's Objections

Referring to the proposed amendment of Article 19 of the Constitution, Dr. Mookerjee remarked that the changes are fundamental and they go to the very root of some of the vital provisions of the Constitution, not only the constitution of this country, but the constitution of any country in which people are anxious to retain freedom and liberty of thought and action.

This is a challenge which the Prime Minister has thrown up to the people of India. Does he feel, asked Dr. Mookerjee, that he is incapable today to carry on the administration of the country unless he is clothed with more and more powers to be arbitrarily utilised so that his will may be the last word on the subject?

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Referring to the Prime Minister's observation that the Bill was a permissive measure giving power to Parliament, Dr. Mookerjee asked: Was the Parliament being really trusted? Was not even in the matter of considering this amendment to the Constitution a party whip issued on Congress members?

Speaking about the vulgar and the gutter Press of which mention had been made by the Prime Minister, Dr. Mookerjee pointed out that already adequate provisions existed in the Constitution to proceed against them.

As regards public order and incitement to crime also, the existing laws, preventive as well as penal, were quite adequate to meet the requirements of the situation.

As regards the question of foreign relations, Dr. Mookerjee said he was not aware of any precedent in any part of the civilised world where by law under the provisions of the Constitution criticism of foreign Powers is taboo. This proposed amendment would create an impossible situation; even any reasoned criticism of a foreign Power or any reply to any scurrilous writing or propoganda by a foreign country against India might not be permitted under this provision. Dr. Mookerjee cited in this connection a book written in Chinese issued by the present Chinese Government which contained filthy abuse of India, her culture, her leaders starting from Mahatma Gandhi and ending by saying that England is the following dog of America and India today under Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's leadership is the running dog of Britain.

He felt that a situation had not arisen yet when any change in Article 31 was called for.

The Prime Minister had assured that it had not been brought forward in a spirit of lightheartedness nor in haste and that he had consulted various people. But any changes in the Constitution which might be considered by Parliament had to be considered not in secrecy by Government and its chosen people but opinion must be obtained from the people at large outside.

It was most unfair, complained Pandit Kunzru, that the House should have been called upon to consider a measure of this description without having been supplied with any materials on which a correct judgment could be based.

The most important of the changes related to Article 19, and these changes were so drastic and sweeping, that it would bring the provisions of Article 19 on the same line as those of the Preventive Detention Act, the only difference being that one is preventive while the other will be punitive.

The addition of 'foreign relations,' 'public order' and 'incitement to crime' would constitute so fundamental a change in the right of free speech and free expression, that it would amount to complete abrogation of those rights.

The Prime Minister, said Pandit Kunzru, had made a surprising statement that the amendments proposed would merely enable Parliament to make laws in regard to Fundamental Rights and did not affect the existing position. But Fundamental Rights, asserted the speaker, are meant, not to confer powers on Parliament, but to protect the rights of individual citizens against the tyranny of changing majorities of Parliament.

Referring to proposed changes about State acquisition of zemindary, Pandit Kunzru observed that these amounted to virtual repeal of Article 31 of the Constitution.

The Prime Minister, he observed, should have chosen a simpler and more straightforward course rather than the indirect and cumbersome process he had adopted of deleting Article 19 and Article 31 of the Constitution.

The reason behind the extraordinary course of amending Article 31 without waiting for the verdict of the Supreme Court was a political purpose with the coming elections in view, remarked Pandit Kunzru.

Lala Deshbandhu Gupta expressed grave disappointment that the freedom of the Press, which though not specifically mentioned in the Constitution, but nonetheless, guaranteed through freedom of expression, was now being taken away. The amendment of Article 19 of the Constitution had been proposed in a light-hearted manner and there was no occasion for this measure. This country, which had inherited the largest number of repressive laws on the statute book, was given complete freedom of Press under the sovereign Constitution. Let not that distinction be sullied now, appealed Lala Deshbandhu.

He joined issue with the Prime Minister that the Bill would not affect the existing position, and asked: Would not the many oppressive and obnoxious laws, such as the Press Emergency Powers Act, Section 153 I.P.C., Section 144 Cr. P.C. and other similar laws, be automatically revived with the enlarging of the limitations attached to the Fundamental Rights under Article 19 of the Constitution?

Dr. Ambedkar's Explanation of the Bill

Dr. Ambedkar said: "I have carefully studied both these judgments of the Supreme Court and with all respect to the Judges of the Supreme Court I cannot help saying that I find this judgment to be utterly unsatisfactory."

The Law Minister who initiated the debate with a well documented speech lasting one hour and 40 minutes gave an illuminating exposition of the legal and constitutional position with copious references from American constitutional interpretations, and British Common Law, and put up an able advocacy of the Bill.

He said that in the course of the debate yesterday Pandit Kunzru had said that the Government had done great injustice to the House by not explaining the necessity and the purpose of the various Clauses in the Bill and that some one on the side of the Government should discharge this duty to the House.

"I do not know that any member in this House will believe that a person of the intelligence of Pandit Kunzru does require explanation of the Bill."

Dr. Ambedkar continued: "However, as Pandit Kunzru had expressed the wish of many members of this House, I think it incumbent on my part to intervene in

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this debate and clarify the position so as to dispel two arguments which have been used in the course of the debate, namely, that there is no necessity for the amendment of the Constitution, and secondly, the Government could wait for the public opinion of the country for such a long time and not rush through this measure."

Coming to Clause 2 of the Bill, the Law Minister explained that the Clause proposed to amend Article 15 of the Constitution. The necessity for such an amendment had arisen on account of the judgment recently delivered by the Supreme Court in two cases which came up before them from the Madras State.

One case was Madras State vs. C. Hampakam Dorai Raj and the second one was Venkataraman vs. The Madras State. In the latter case the question involved was the interpretation of Article 16 (4) of the Constitution and in the case of Hampakam vs. Madras State the question involved interpretation of Article 29 (2) of the Constitution.

In the one case the question involved related to the reservation of certain number of posts for the so-called backward classes in public services and in the other case the question involved was the reservation of backward classes in educational institutions.

Both the questions were commonly known in Madras and elsewhere as the Communal G. O. of the Madras Government.

The argument on which the Communal G. O. of the Madras Government was declared as void was based on the interpretation of Article 29 (2) of the Constitution, which did not have the saving Clause like the one attached to Article 16 (4) of the Constitution.

The House will remember, Dr. Ambedkar continued, that in Article 16 (4) special provision had been made to enable the Government to give suitable representation to backward classes in the services. Such a provision is not found in Article 29 (2).

With regard to Article 16 (4) the Supreme Court came to the conclusion that it involves a discrimination on the ground of caste and, therefore, it was invalid.

"I have carefully studied both the judgments of the Supreme Court," continued Dr. Ambedkar, "and with all respect to the judges of the Supreme Court I am convinced that the judgements are utterly unsatisfactory."

Sri Naziruddin Ahmed at this stage raised a point of order as to whether it would be right for any Minister or member to criticise the judgment of the Supreme Court, which would amount to a disparagement of the Supreme Court.

The Speaker asked Dr. Ambedkar whether what he meant by 'unsatisfactory' was 'unsatisfactory' from the point of view of the proposals before the Government.

Dr. Ambedkar: My views is that the judgment does not appear to be in consonance with the Article of the Constitution. That is my submission.

The Speaker: I am afraid the Hon'ble Minister will not be right in thus criticising the judgments of the Supreme Court.

Sri Rajagopalachari : I think in the Hon'ble Minister's mind a doubt has arisen on account of the judgments of the Supreme Court.

Dr. Ambedkar: My view is that in Article 29(2) the most important word is 'only'. This means that no distinction should be made only on the ground of religion or caste, etc., the emphasis is on the word 'only'. It does not exclude any distinction being made on grounds other than those mentioned in this Article and I respectfully submit to the House that the word 'only' does not seem to have received the same consideration as it should have.

With regard to Article 16(4) Dr. Ambedkar continued, my submission is this: That it is really impossible to make any reservation which would not really exclude somebody out of it. It is to be borne in mind that there is no Hindu, who has no caste; he is either a Brahmin, Kumbakar or other. There is no Hindu without a caste. Consequently, if you make a reservation in favour of the so-called backward classes, some other castes have to be excluded.

Therefore, in the circumstances of this country it is impossible to avoid reservation without excluding some people who have got a caste, he said.

"On this point, therefore," Dr. Ambedkar continued, "I don't think personally that the judgment of the Supreme Court is a very satisfactory judgment. In this connection I should like to state notwithstanding what the House knows and what I have been telling the presiding judges when I was a lawyer, I am bound to obey the judgement; *but I am not bound to respect it.* This liberty every lawyer enjoys and I must have the right to tell the judge that his judgment is wrong; and I am not prepared to give up that right."

"It has to be borne in mind," Dr. Ambedkar went on, "that Article 46 of the Constitution embodied in the directive principles of State policy have put an obligation upon the Government to do everything possible, in order to protect the welfare and interests of the country and in regard to the backward classes and such other classes who are for the moment unable to stand for themselves, for instance, scheduled castes and scheduled tribes.

"It is, therefore, incumbent not merely on the Government but upon this Parliament as well to do everything possible to see that Article 46 and the intentions behind that Article are fulfilled and if that fulfilment is to be given I cannot see how one can escape the amendment proposed so as to prevent Article 29(2) and 16(4) being interpreted in the way in which they have been interpreted. That is why the necessity for amending Article 15 of the Constitution.

"Now I come to the provisions of Article 19 in discussing which considerable excitement arose in the minds of members.

"First I propose to say that in amending Sub-Clause 3(1) of the Article it is proposed to add three new heads. They are, friendly relations with foreign States; public order and incitement of offence.

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"The question is asked, what is the necessity for introducing the three new heads. The necessity for introducing them has arisen out of certain judgments which have been delivered both by the Supreme Court as well as by the various provincial High Courts."

As instances, Dr. Ambedkar quoted the judgments in the case of Ramnath Thapar, Brij Bhushan's case, Master Tara Singh's case in the East Punjab and several other cases in the Punjab, Patna and Madras High Courts.

In these cases, which involved the validity, Dr. Ambedkar continued, in view of the provisions contained in Sub-Clause 2 of Article 19 of the Constitution, courts had already held that none of the Acts involved were valid although they might have been valid before the Constitution came into existence and all those laws were now null and void in the light of the Fundamental Rights.

"I would ask the House to consider what is the effect of these decisions of the Supreme Court and various provincial High Courts on the citizens. If many of the Sections of these laws were to be held as void as have been recently declared by the High Courts and Supreme Court what would happen to the country ?"

Dr. Ambedkar particularly referred to Section 4 of the Press Act under which provincial governments had power to enforce certain restrictive measures on freedom of Press and expression if there was an incitement or encouragement or even a tendency to that for committing offence or murder and violence.

If the decision of the Supreme Court and the provincial High Courts were to be upheld, would members of the House be content that everyone in the country by virtue of the Constitution would have the right to preach murder and violence? How could then public order be maintained? How could then the security of the State be maintained? Therefore, it should be open to Parliament to make laws for the maintenance of public safety and the security of the State. If there were no such power to Parliament, in view of the interpretation of the Constitution by the Supreme Court and provincial High Courts, unfettered freedom of speech and expression would only create public disorder in the country, he said. That is clearly the justification for amending Article 19 of the Constitution.

U. S. Constitution Compared

Comparing the Fundamental Rights in the U.S. Constitution and the Constitution of India, the Law Minister stated that although there was no apparent restriction in the freedom of speech and expression in the American Constitution, the Supreme Court of the United States had interpreted those fundamental rights consistently with reference to the security of the State. Limitations on the Fundamental Rights had been imposed in practice if not explicitly mentioned in the text of the Constitution at least by implication. Nobody in the United States claimed that the Fundamental Rights were absolute or that the Congress had not the power to limit or regulate them.

"In our country," went on Dr. Ambedkar, "we are in the midst of a paradox. We have Fundamental Rights. We have limitations imposed on them; and yet the Supreme Court and the various Provincial High Courts have said that we shall not limit the Fundamental Rights."

What was the attitude that the Supreme Court had taken in this country in interpreting the Constitution, he asked. *The Supreme Court had said that they would not recognise the doctrine of "Police Power" which was prevailing in U.S.A.* The reason why the judges of the Supreme Court did not propose to adopt the doctrine of "Police Powers" was that the Constitution had incorporated specifically the heads in Sub-Clause (2) under which Parliament could impose restrictions on the Fundamental Rights as to the freedom of speech and expression.

As the Parliament had expressly laid down the heads under which these limitations would be allowed they themselves would not add anything to any of the heads.

"Therefore, as the Constitution itself does not authorise Parliament to make law for the purpose of public order, according to them, Parliament has no capacity to do so and they will not authorise parliament to do this."

Press Law

In the case of Press Emergency Law, they had also said the same thing. "Personally, I take the view that there is ample scope for recognising the doctrine of implied powers and I think our directive principles are nothing else than provisions which contain implicitly in them the doctrine of implied power.

"These directive principles," he emphasised, "are nothing but obligations imposed by the Constitution upon the various Governments in this country that they should do certain things. If these are the obligations of the State how can the State discharge these obligations unless it undertakes to legislate to give effect to them. If the obligations necessitate the imposition and enactment of laws it is obvious that the fundamental principle of the Directive Principles implies that the States with regard to matters mentioned in the Directive Principles have the implied powers to make laws.

"Therefore, my contention is this that so far as the doctrine of implied powers is concerned, there is authority in the Constitution itself to permit Parliament to make legislation although it may not specifically be covered by the provisions contained in the Chapter of Fundamental Principles.

"On account of the decisions of the Supreme Court that this Parliament has no capacity to make law in certain heads, the question before the House is, can we allow the situation to remain as it is as created by the judgments or will we endow Parliament with power to make law? At this stage I do want to make a distinction and I do so for the reason that Dr. Mookerjee said that we are taking away the freedom of the people.

"I think it is necessary to make a distinction between the capacity to make a law and the enactment of a particular law. The question whether any particular law encroaches upon the freedom of the people is a matter which can be considered when the law is made. Today

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are not dealing with the law. We are only dealing with the capacity to make law."

Foreign States

Taking up the third category, namely, friendly relations with Foreign States, the Law Minister said at present they had a law enacted in 1932 dealing with the matter. It was true that law had not come for adjudication before the Supreme Court or any High Court and it had not so far, been declared ultra vires.

"But in view of the Rules of interpretation adopted by the Supreme Court that nothing was within the capacity of Parliament to legislate unless that particular head of legislation was mentioned in Sub-Clause (2) and as friendly relations with Foreign States did not find a mention in Sub-Clause (2), I do not think it requires an astrologer to predict that when the question comes before the judiciary they will follow the same rule.

"It was for this reason they had thought it necessary to include a new head of friendly relations.

"There was some amount of confusion in the minds of people about the meaning of the phrase 'maintenance of friendly relations'. Most of the members were under the impression that if this category was added they would not be in a position to criticise a Foreign State. That was a complete misunderstanding of the position. It did mean nothing more than the extension of the principle of libel and defamation, that they should not do anything, say anything or circulate anything which would involve a Foreign State in any kind of ignominy."

Trade and Profession

Clause (3) (ib) sought to amend the article relating to trade and profession. It permitted a State to make different classification between private persons carrying on trade and the State carrying on the same trade. The necessity for the introduction of the amendment arose on account of the judgment of the Allahabad High Court regarding the U.P. Government's scheme of nationalisation of motor transport, under which certain territory was monopolised by them and certain other territories were left to private bus owners.

Clause 4 of the Bill introduced a new Article 31A. What the Article suggested was to permit a State to acquire what were called estates, and, secondly, if any legislation was undertaken to acquire an estate, nothing in the Fundamental Rights should affect such legislation.

Power to President

Great objection had been taken to the procedure in which certain laws had been saved by the ninth schedule. Prima facie, it was an unusual procedure. All the laws fell under Article 31A, *i.e.*, they were laws which were intended to acquire an estate. Whenever a law was made for the acquisition of an estate, neither the principle of compensation nor the principle of discrimination should stand in the way of validity. From the point of view of sentiment there might be objection but from the practical point of view, "I do not understand how they should not be declared legal." The only other method would be to give power to the President to revise these laws and restrict them and to bring them strictly in conformity with the provisions of Article 31.

Amendment to the Article 372 had extended the power of the President to make adaptation of any existing laws for another year. On account of pressure of other business it had not been possible for the Government to examine all the existing laws in order to find out how many of them were not inconsistent with the Constitution. The period of the adaptation had been extended by one year so that means might be found out in order to see which laws were not inconsistent and a consolidated order might be issued hereafter.

Amendment to Article 376 was to enable Government to deal with the cases of four non-national Judges continuing in service from one High Court to another.

Nehru's Reply to Criticism

The State or Parliament, Sri Nehru maintained, had the right to impose restrictions on individual freedom in the interest of public order or friendly relations with other States.

Sub-clause (2) of Article 19 itself lays some restrictions on the statement of freedom of speech and expression, but this was merely indicative and not by any means an exhaustive list of restrictions, stressed the Prime Minister.

Referring to revival of the old repressive laws that had been invalidated by the Constitution, the Prime Minister said that there was not much fear in the present day context of things of misuse of these laws which were already half dead. He hinted that all these laws might be suitably revised, although he was not quite categorical about it.

Prime Minister Nehru said that he had brought forward the Bill with full conviction and wished to proceed with it. Not only members of Parliament but newspapers in India and even in foreign countries, he said, had talked about this Bill having introduced all kinds of restrictions on the Press and individual. One member had described the measure as one treating the Constitution as a scrap of paper.

Was it even good sense talking this way about this measure, saying that this swept away the right of the people and that the executive was arming itself with all kinds of powers? These had nothing to do with this measure. He would ask the House to understand the measure as it was and not to import other considerations. He wanted the House to consider the measure coolly and dispassionately.

"I do affirm with full faith" said the Prime Minister, "that far from changing the Constitution these amendments give full effect to the Constitution as we intended it to be (cheers). I say with full faith that what is implicit in the Constitution, what we discussed then again and again in the Constituent Assembly and what is implicit in every Constitution, is said here in the course of the amendments. This measure had nothing to do with making fresh laws. That is for the Parliament to do—

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for this Parliament or some other Parliament that may succeed it. Therefore, to talk of the executive trying to grab power is completely outside the mark. Whatever it decides, it has to decide in terms of the Constitution."

Speaking about the amendment to Article 19 (2), namely, introduction of the words "friendly relations with foreign power, public order and incitement to offence," Sri Nehru said that in his speech he dealt with only the principle underlying them and not the wording. He had no doubt that if better wording was suggested, it would commend itself to the Select Committee. He would rather lay stress on the principle underlying it and not the wording. As regards the legalistic aspect of the measure, there were better lawyers than he who could deal with it more effectively. This morning the House heard a "very able, exhaustive and illuminating address from my colleague and Law Minister," and he would therefore put before the House the broad approach to the question only. Article 19(2) itself was a restriction on the bald statement in 19 (1) (A).

No Complete Freedom

"There is no such thing as hundred per cent freedom for individuals," remarked Sri Nehru, "to act as he likes in any social ground. This idea of individual freedom arose in the days of autocracy in every country where autocratic ruler or group of rulers suppressed individual freedom. *In democratic society the idea of individual freedom should always be balanced with social freedom and relationship of individuals with social groups.* The basic concept of individual freedom was given in Article 19(1) and Clause 2 was a restriction on the bald statement of freedom."

Sri Nehru contended that the restrictions in 19(2) "are not the only possible restrictions," but was an indication of restrictions that might legitimately arise. There were hundred and one social restrictions on individual freedom and the restricting sub-Clause (2) did not contain an exhaustive list. Normally speaking, it might not have been necessary to say very much about it: but because some doubt was cast about "other implied necessary and inevitable" restrictions, it became necessary to make it clear.

Every State had to defend itself against external and internal enemies. No constitution could possibly take away that right of the State. It could only take away the right of undue and unfair exercise of such powers.

The amendments, Sri Nehru said, did not make an iota or atom of real change in the Constitution. They only sought to bring about what was implicit.

Referring to the use of the words "friendly relations with foreign powers." Sri Nehru said that there was no act at present covering restrictions in regard to this matter. But whether there was an act or not, however much an individual might enjoy freedom, if he did something which might result in a war, it was a very serious matter, No State in the name of freedom could submit to action which might result in a wholesale war and destruction. It was an implied power of the State to stop anything like that happening. It might be that the State might do something wrongly or rightly; but no one could take away the power of the State to prevent a great catastrophe happening.

Sri Nehru said that in view of India's policy of friendship with other nations, it became necessary that "we should not encourage activities which will lead to the injuring of our relationship with other powers."

Some members had referred to the bitter criticism of individuals and governments by Peking Radio and some newspapers abroad. He thought that some Indian newspapers had sometimes used strong language, but he did not wish to interfere. But a time might come when they might shoot off the danger mark or injure the international interest or relationship with those powers. It was then for Government to come in and the Parliament should determine to what extent it should go.

Public Order

As regards public order, Sri Nehru said that they were merely indicating the power of Parliament and removing certain doubts, cast by the judgment of the Bihar and the Punjab High Courts. It was quite possible ultimately in the course of time that certain conventions regarding interpretations could be established by the Supreme Court which would remove doubts from the public mind. At present, doubt persisted.

Even if the Supreme Court brought certain measure of uniformity, it would be confined to a particular issue. It could not be brought in the course of two or three months. It was desirable in public interest to define clearly the policy which was implicit in the Constitution. The word "incitement to offence" no doubt covered a wide field, covering both minor and major offences. But he would remind the House that they were not enacting any law. At the moment, they were dealing with the broad powers of Parliament. It was difficult to make a list of offences, the incitement of which could be restricted, and incorporate the list in the Constitution as a schedule. When Parliament dealt with a specific law, the members would see to it that there was no opportunity for misuse of the provision by Government.

As regards the laws which the Bill would revalidate, Sri Nehru said that to what extent a particular law was valid or not would depend upon whether it was valid or not in terms of the Constitution as amended. But looking at the practical aspect of the question, India had been functioning for over three and half years as an independent country, while those judicial pronouncements had come only in the course of the last few months. But Government had hardly ever used most of those laws. Parliament could put an end to them or have something in a revised form as it chose; but, from the practical point of view, those acts were not alive. And, if not wholly dead, were half dead. Generally speaking, there need be no fear of any misuse of them.

Freedom of Press

"So far as I am concerned and Government are concerned," said Sri Nehru, "we believe firmly in the freedom

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of the Press. But there is another matter. We talk of freedom of the Press, but how much freedom of the Press have we got today. One thinks that the freedom of the Press only means suppression or lack of suppression by Governmental authority. But when huge Press chains spring up, preventing all individual freedom of the Press, when practically the Press in India is controlled by three or four groups or individuals, how much freedom of the Press is there? (Loud cheers).

Sri Deshabandhu Gupta: "The remedy is to dissolve these chains.

Sri R. K. Sidhva: "Pass my Bill."

Coming to the validation of Zamindari Abolition Acts, Sri Nehru said that the object of the Constitution was deliberately to take away the question of zamindari and land reform from the purview of the courts. The Bihar High Court applied to land reform Article 14, which said that the State should not deny to any person equality before the law or equal protection of the laws.

The majesty of the law, said Sri Nehru, was such that it looked with an even eye on the millionaire and the beggar. Whether a millionaire stole a loaf of bread or a begger, it sentenced him alike.

But the millionaire had not much incentive to steal a loaf of bread, while the starving begger might perhaps have and this business of equality before the law might very well mean, as it had come to mean often enough, making rigid the existing inequalities before the law. But that would be completely opposed to the whole structure of the Constitution.

True, the Allahabad and Nagpur High Courts held a view contrary to that of the Bihar High Court. But the important point was that there was confusion and doubt. "Are we to wait for this confusion and doubt gradually to resolve itself while powerful agrarian movements grow up?" he asked.

This question of land reform, he said, was most intimately connected also with food production. Neither the poor zamindar nor the poor tenant could do anything about it if there was uncertainty and instability. Therefore, these long delays and arguments and repeated appeals and all that are dangerous from the State's point of view, the security point of view, the food production point of view and from the individual point of view, whether it was that of the zamindar or tenant or any intermediary."

Amendment to Article 15

Referring to the amendment to Article 15, Sri Nehru said: "For my part, this amendment is not intended to be a communal amendment or to help in any way a communal approach to this problem. But we must distinguish between a communal approach and the approach of helping one of our backward brothers and sisters. Although it is my amendment, thinking about it I do not particularly like the words "backward classes of citizens." I hope the Select Committee may find a better word.

It is the backward individual citizen we should help. Why should we brand groups and classes into backward and forward. It is a fact that certain groups and classes are backward, but I do not wish to brand them as such. Perhaps a group or class which deserves greater sympathy from this House are the tribal folk.

Sri Nehru continued: "We have many of our colleagues here representing the Scheduled Castes and they help us, not only in our work, but keep us up to the mark in regard to the necessities of the Scheduled Castes. But we have very few persons in this House who speak for the Scheduled Tribes. Therefore, it should be the particular concern and care of this House to look after the interests of the Scheduled Tribes and to advance them in every way (cheers). When we add these words, or may be any other words, to Article 15, we certainly include the Scheduled Tribes."

Nationalisation

As regards the amendment necessitated by the Allahabad High Court's judgment on nationalisation of public transport services in Uttar Pradesh, Sri Nehru said, "We have been following a mixed policy. We encourage private enterprise and at the same time, we extend the activities of the State in regard to these matters. This is a process which is going on all over the world; even in a country like the U.S.A., which is more committed to the individualistic and particularly capitalist form of State than any other country. In counries situated like India, where private enterprise, howsoever you might encourage it is limited in its scope and resources, inevitably the State has to come in and the State must have the power to nationalise completely or partially."

Sri Nehru said that he was rather surprised when Pandit Kunzru asked why Government wanted to make these changes when there was the Preventive Detention Act. Sri Nehru said that surely, Pandit Kunzru and the House did not like the use of the Preventive Detention Act all the time or, at any time for the matter of that "unless one is compelled by some circumstances to do it for a short while. So to make that as a stand-by is a dangerous thing. We want to put an end to it, not to use it as far as possible."

Manbhum Satyagraha

The 30th April issue of the *Sakti* (Strength) and the 13th May issues of the *Nava-Jagaran*, the Bengalee-language journals published from Purulia (Manbhum) and from Jamshedpur respectively has tried to make us understand the cause or causes of the Manbhum Satyagraha Movement and the Jharkhand Movement respectively. In pp. 4, 5 and 6 of the former is published a statement, dated 24th April last, of Shree Atul Chandra Ghosh, Director of the Satyagraha Movement, describing how officialdom in Bihar has been allowed to run amuck. *The leaders of the Satyagraha Movement, one-time colleagues of Babu Rajendra Prasad in our fight for freedom, have been charged with theft and rioting; the Bihar Police lathi-charged a Satyagraha meeting at Jhaldah; later we came to know that Ministers were present at some of these meetings, and, it has been asserted that they encouraged the police by their silence on these*

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The report in *Nava-Jagaran* (New Awakening) spoke of the conference held at Ranchi on the 28th and 29th April last with a member of the Central Legislature as chairman. The conference reiterated previous resolutions demanding the setting of Jharkhand Province or State out of Bihar to be constituted by the major portion of the Santhal Pergannahs and Chota-Nagpur. In course of the main resolution passed at this conference, the words "Biharee Imperialism" were used, indicating the common link between the Satyagraha Movement and the Jharkhand Movement, though these were separately organized under the leadership of persons who were not generally agreed on principle except that of impatience with wrong.

The present controllers of the Congress regime in Bihar are opposed to both these movements. For, if these succeed, their rule of grab will end. Therefore, have they raised the cry of what has come to be known as "Provincialism" or "Linguism"—both the words being cover for maintaining their grip on the power and profit of the State. This has been brought in pp. 8 and 9 of *Nava-Jagaran* where Shree Sailajananda Pal illustrated his contention by instancing the state of things in the Dhalbhum Sub-Division. 70 per cent of its population are "tribals"; the "higher" class have Bengalee as their mother-tongue; the "lower" class follow them generally.

This writer also refers to "Biharee Imperialism" to explain part of discontents prevailing in the area, and says that the use of these words demonstrate that Biharee leaders have failed to conciliate the minorities, including the "tribals." We are sorry to have to comment on this sorry development. We have made no secret of our sympathy for the Jharkhand Movement and allied Movement for the setting up of "Linguistic" States as affording the most easy method for building up the peoples' culture based on the language which they learn from their mother. Gandhiji had early in his career recognized this fact. And it was his initiative that divided India on linguistic principle. His successors have miserably failed, and created difficulties that maim them for many a forward move. The sooner they recognize their error the better for all concerned.

The Two Pictures

While the Indian public has for sometime been doing its best and worst to expose the many sores in their body politic, to present themselves as great sinners against some "inner light," we are upheld by the thought that we are not worse than others in the world. The *Newsweek* (New York) of April 8 last has an article entitled "Time for a Moral Spring Cleaning?" which is illuminative.

"Like a drunk the morning after, the United States woke up last week with a frightful hangover, took a quick look at the mirror, and shuddered. Harry S. Truman said that what it saw was only an opitical illusion. And yet that bleary face in the mirror looked so much like the face of corruption that millions of Americans were revolted.

There had first of all been revelations of favoritism in the RFC, and then along had come the disclosure of Federal job selling in Mississippi. And now the Kefauver inquiry had uncovered scandalous alliances between the underworld and big-city political machines.

Was the nation disintegrating morally? As conservative a commentator as Anne O'Hare McCormick, famous foreign correspondent of *The New York Times*, felt impelled to ask the question. But the fact that she asked it—and that millions of Americans were asking it—gave a clue to the answer. For a nation which could be shocked by itself probably was a nation with sufficient inner strength to reform.

It wasn't question of passing a law or throwing a couple of crooked politicians in jail. Democratic Sen. J. William Fulbright of Arkansas pointed out that the shenanigans in the RFC, which his committee had uncovered, were not illegal. They were immoral. To Fulbright, the appalling thing was that no one in this agency seemed to recognize the immorality.

Calling for a moral revival in government, Fulbright declared :

"This question of the moral strength of our people is not just an internal domestic matter. It has grave possibilities in our international relations. Without confidence in their government, the people will not make the sacrifices necessary to oppose Russia successfully. [Arnold J.] Toynbee, in his well-known historical study, demonstrates clearly how the vast majority of great civilizations have been destroyed, not as a result of external aggression, but as a consequence of domestic corruption.

"A democracy can recover quickly from physical or economic disaster, but when its moral convictions weaken it becomes easy prey for the demagogue and the charlatan. Tyranny and oppression then become the order of the day."

"The brightest aspect of the situation was that Americans had begun to realize its seriousness," Mrs. McCormick said: "The outside observer of this buoyant, teeming, restless land, buzzing with talk and electric motion, could call it many things, but not decadent."

We turn to the Soviet Union, the Mecca of Communists. Within four years of Lenin's victory discontent with the leadership and material conditions had broken out. Many will find parallels between Lenin and Nehru in their dilemmas. We cull this story from what an eminent British historian and jurist, Leonard Schapiro, said :

"Next to Lenin, who had by then almost retired from public life, the best known figures in the revolution and in the civil war were Trotsky, Zinoviev, Bukharin, Kamenev and Rykov. Fifteen years after Stalin's appointment as General Secretary all these men and many more had been hounded to their deaths as traitors, leaving Stalin as the undisputed autocrat of all Russia. It was no accident.

This, Stalin's first really important appointment, certainly put into his hands all the weapons he needed to consolidate his own personal supremacy over his rivals. But the emergence of

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the dictatorship of one man over the Party was an inevitable consequence of the circumstance of Stalin's elevation.

The appointment of the new General Secretary by the Central Committee elected at the 11th Party Congress in 1922 marked the end of a bitter struggle inside the Party. It had begun in 1920. The end of the civil war found the Russian Communist Party in a state of ferment. The ruthless dictatorship of the small Control Committee headed by Lenin had been tolerated while the struggle for survival lasted. But after the defeat of all armed opponents of the Bolshevik dictatorship, the rank and file of the Party began to assert themselves. They complained that all local initiative in the Party was being stifled and that they were expected to carry out orders without having any say in Party policy. They criticised the growing bureaucracy, the selfishness and corruption of Party leaders, and their indifference to the interests of the workers. They resented the fact that appointment from the centre to party organs was replacing local election. The small Communist minorities who controlled the trade unions by chicanery and by force, were clamouring for more power and for greater independence regarding Party control.

But the discontent with the Party leadership within the Party was nothing compared to the hatred of Communist rule outside the Party. The peasants rose in thousands and were with difficulty put down by the Red Army. In Kronstadt the sailors of the Baltic Fleet mutinied against the Party dictatorship.

A clear gulf divided the revolt inside the Party from that outside it, in the country as a whole. The dissident Communists wanted more freedom for themselves: they had no intention whatever that it should be extended to anyone else, to the Socialist Parties, for example, who commanded a growing support in the trade unions and among the peasantry. (Zinoviev in 1921 admitted that any free trade union election would give a 95 per cent victory to anti-Communist, Moderate Socialist Parties).

Yet, had the discontented Bolsheviks paused to think, they might have recalled that as far back as 1902 Lenin had already formulated his Party policy: the small disciplined leadership, the obedient rank and file, implicit obedience to the Party line, the surrender of all personal judgment. Now, in 1920, having followed Lenin to the violent victory of a small minority over the great majority, they revolted against the main factor in that victory.

So far as the Socialist Parties were concerned, their opposition was to dictatorship as such. While they were able to voice their opinions, they demanded freedom for all Socialist Parties. Their demands echoed throughout the weary country.

Lenin was faced with clear alternatives: either he would yield to the demand in the country and modify the rigours of his dictatorship, or he could preserve that dictatorship by restoring strict discipline in his Party, and by quelling the opposition throughout the country to his rule with the aid of increased terror. He unhesitatingly chose the latter course. His policy in 1921 was at the time and has been ever since portrayed by Soviet historians and their echoes in the West, as designed to save Soviet Russia from counter-revolution.

It was, however, not counter-revolution which then threatened the Communist dictatorship, but ordinary, moderate trade union and agrarian Socialism. The anti-Communist White Armies had been defeated by November, 1920. The threat of Allied intervention no longer existed.

The new policy began early in 1921 with the wholesale imprisonment of the Socialists still at large and the final supression of the Socialist Parties. The next step was the re-organization of the Communist Party itself.

At the 10th Party Congress in March, 1921 Lenin eliminated from the secretariat of the Party three men of comparatively moderate views—Serebriakov, Krestinsky and Preobrazhensky. They favoured more freedom of discussion inside the Party and stricter control over the Party officials. They were replaced by new men of Lenin's choice, headed by Molotov, a close associate of Stalin since 1912. The year of office revealed that these new men were not up to the task.

At the Party Congress in 1922, the delegates still dared to be openly critical of the Central Committee and actually outvoted it on a proposal that three of its severest critics should be expelled from the Party. Their offence had been that they complained to the Communist International of the treatment which they were receiving in Soviet Russia. Such "indiscipline" called for the sternest measures, and the best man for the unsavoury task was Stalin. There is nothing to suggest that his appointment in April, 1922, as General Secretary was otherwise than with Lenin's full approval.

Where Molotov had failed, Stalin before long succeeded. The party of obedient automata which he built up by a system of espionage, terror and control of key appointments, was realisation in practice of Lenin's dream of 1902. The many veterans of the revolution who revolted against Stalin's system in the years which followed, found, too late, that control of the party machine gave him all the power he needed to brand criticism as indiscipline, and indiscipline as treason. Their fate was predetermined on 4th April, 1922."

In India, Communists are found loud in their protest against Congress dictatorship. They should be reminded of this episode in their spiritual home's history, and some of the more impulsive amongst our Socialist party leaders should stop to

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think before they feed the people further with their adulterated communism.

"Social Action"

We desire to thank M. Lallemand of the Indian Institute of Social Order, Poona 1, for sending us the first number of this Magazine. From a glance through its pages, we get the impression that it stands for certain values which the Communists have been doing their worst to debase. The writers are not stand-patters; one of them, N. Nevett, takes a detached view of this danger. He quotes Douglas Hyde, an ex-Communist, as saying: "The most evil thing in communism is that it claims some of the best men and moulds their minds and twists their consciences so that they can be used for the worst." This is indeed a great tragedy and will be repeated among us unless our young men and women can be inspired with a noble cause.

All the same he points to the real danger:

"One is saddened to find that none of the contributors on leaving Communism found peace and tranquillity and are once again left with a terrible void in their life. Unlike the Communists who are doubly anchored, they are left drifting, like ships in cross currents with no definite port in view. But it is false to state that 'the true ex-Communist can never again be a whole personality.' This he could be were he to embrace a beilef which would fulfill his aspirations for social justice, true liberty, and happiness."

Sri Aurobindo's Politics in Pondicherry

Now that Sri Aurobindo is beyond the controversy of Indian politics, it is worthwhile having a record of his ideas on the same, as these were indicated by him to Joseph Baptista, a devoted adherent of Lokamanya Tilak. The letter he wrote on January 5, 1926, has been publicized by the *U. P. I. News Agency* on April 20. Sri Aurobindo wrote:

"I came to Pondicherry in order to have freedom and tranquillity for a fixed object having nothing to do with the present politics—in which I have taken no direct part since my coming here, though what I could do in my own way I have constantly done—and until it is accomplished it is not possible for me to resume any kind of public action. But if I were in British India I should be obliged to plunge at once into action of different kinds. Pondicherry is my place of retreat, my cave of *tapasya*,—not of the ascetic kind,—but of a brand of my intention. I must finish that, I must be internally armed and equipped for my work before I leave it."

In the matter of work itself Sri Aurobindo wrote: "I do not at all look down on politics or political action or consider I have got above them. I have always laid a dominant stress and I now lay an entire stress on the spiritual life, but my idea of spirituality has nothing to do with ascetic withdrawal or contempt or disgust of secular things. There is to me nothing secular; all human activity is for me a thing to be included in a complete spiritual life, and the importance of politics at the present time is very great. But my line and intention of political activity could differ considerably from anything now current in the field. I entered into political action and continued it from 1905 to 1910 with one aim and one alone, to get into the mind of the people a settled will for freedom and the necessity for a struggle to achieve it in place of the futile ambling Congress methods till then in vogue."

The letter, which was in reply to Mr. Joseph Baptista's communication asking Sri Aurobindo to give a lead by taking up editorship of the organ of the Party that was to be a Social Democratic Party also reveals Sri Aurobindo's idea about Social Democracy. He said: "Now I believe in something which might be called Social Democracy, but not in any of the forms now current, and I am not altogether in love with the European kind, however great an improvement it may be on the past. I hold that India having a spirit of her own and a governing temperament proper to her own civilisation, should in politics as in everything else strike out her own original path and not stumble in the wake of Europe. But this is precisely what she will be obliged to do if she has to start on the road in her present chaotic and unprepared condition of mind. No doubt people talk of India developing on her own lines, but nobody seems to have very clear or sufficient ideas as to what these lines are to be. In this matter I have formed ideals and certain definite ideas of my own, in which at present very few are likely to follow me, since they are governed by an uncompromising spiritual idealism of an unconventional kind and would be unintelligible to many and an offence and stumbling block to a great number."

Gandhi Smarak Nidhi (Memorial Fund)

It is a happy decision that the Trustees of this Fund have taken to spend their one crore twenty-one lakhs of rupees within a period of ten years. It shows that they have faith in their own people instead of holding within their fist the fund that was created to better them, mentally and materially. As a part of this new scheme they have decided to construct four Gandhi Memorial Museums at Delhi, Wardha, Sabarmati and a suitable place in South India.

We have our doubts about the utility of such museums. And we are glad to notice that our feeling is echoed by our contemporary of the Allahabad *Leader* which we share with our readers:

"Even today the ruins of the monasteries, Stupas and stately columns, erected by Ashoka represent the glory that was India under Buddhist influence, centuries ago. The Gandhi Memorial Museums will keep the memory of the Gandhian era ever green in the mind of posterity. The Saint of Sabarmati and Sewagram and the Martyr of Delhi will live in history for centuries without any tangible memorials. But the Gandhi Memorial Museums, if they become live institutions for the study and propagation of Mahatma Gandhi's principles of life, can contribute a lot to the moral and spiritual redemption of humanity. The proposal "to make all necessary arrangements for the suitable protection and preservation of places" associated with Gandhiji should be implemented as a sacred duty of the nation. But the real spirit of Bapu lives on in his message of constructive work, for

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which there is ample scope in the villages. The construction of Memorial Museums should, therefore, be accompanied by vigorous constructive work in the villages, if the nation wants to pay its real homage to the memory of Bapu."

The MacArthur Difficulties

The world does not appear to appreciate the difficulties that have been precipitated for the Atlantic Powers by MacArthur's dismissal. The London *Daily Express'* Washington correspondents quoted at the third week-end of April headlines appearing in the American press which shows that they have been feeling very sore over the affair. Some samples are given below :

"Impeach Truman before we become a British Crown colony.

"Suggest Britain give Hong Kong to Red China too.

"Remove Britisher Acheson and all his pink friends.

"We are victims again of another Munich and English commercialism.

"A double-column front-page editorial of the *Times Herald* said : 'Morrison of Great Britain greeted the news of MacArthur's dismissal with the statement that the way is now open for discussing a ceasefire in Korea. The bribe is ready. Anything to save Hongkong.' The editorial said that Mr. Truman's 'mean and small mind' is dominated (among a list of others) by 'the British Socialists' eagerness to sacrifice every principle to save their Hong Kong trade'."

"There has also been a flood of newspaper cartoons, continues the correspondent. One shows a jovial Stalin leaning out of a window of the Kremlin waving a front page of the news on Gen. MacArthur and shouting: 'We Wonski.' Another shows a new great seal of the U.S.A.—an eagle with an Acheson moustache grasping a 'betrayed MacArthur' in one claw, 60,000 American casualties in the other and the front door of 10 Downing Street pinned on its chest."

"In hundreds of daily newspapers across the U.S.A. Americans are reading that 'the greatest scandal in history' is to be traced in London.

"Columnist Walter Winchell who makes this charge says: 'The forces which caused MacArthur's dismissal are in London. London blackmailed the White House with threats to break up the Atlantic Alliance. The White House caved in. By a secret agreement between the U.S.A. and Britain the Chinese Nationalist Government was to be thrown to the wolves'."

In Japan there appears to be a feeling of real concern. Emperor Hirohito broke a 2600-year tradition by personally presenting himself at Gen. MacArthur's headquarters and expressing his people's reaction to the unthought-of phenomenon.

The *Nippon Times* says : "The feeling of loss and bewilderment is still strong among the Japanese people at the prospect of having to part with the great leader who has been the wise counsellor and guide during the entire period of Japan's growing years as a democratic nation."

"A Word to Business"

"Businessmen must have received a rude shock when Mr. A. D. Gorwala, former Director of Civil Supplies, Bombay, instead of criticising the Government as usual, turned his guns on them and told a few stinging home-truths. Giving his impressions of his recent country-wide tour, Mr. Gorwala said that "everywhere the common people believed that today business was synonymous with dishonesty and such an opinion was 'deleterious to the future of business in India'." He warned businessmen that unless they ran their business on honest lines and forced the dishonest among them to do it too, destruction would overwhelm them all and engulf the rest of the people, good and bad. This sort of thing, Mr. Gorwala said, was not only ruining us but would make the younger generation dishonest and unscrupulous. Also corruption, he added, would concentrate economic power in the hands of a few, defeating the object of economic equality and at the same time sowing seeds for its own destruction.

"Gone are the days when businessmen labouriously built up goodwill and jealously guarded the good name of their firms. The war years and the post-war period saw an undignified scramble for grabbing as much money as possible resulting in blatant exploitation, profiteering and scandalous tax-evasion, with the result that the name of the businessmen is mud in the common people's opinion. As Mr. Gorwala has pointed out, not one business association has even passed a resolution denouncing the evil of tax-evasion and urging its members to pay taxes promptly. These associations do not exist merely for demanding rights and privileges but there is also a certain responsibility on them to enforce high standards of business ethics. It is the duty of the law-abiding section of the business community, who want to maintain business integrity and standards as high as possible, to expel these unsocial elements from their ranks if public confidence is to be restored in them."

The above quoted from the *Bombay Chronicle* of a recent date should enable Big Business to appreciate the writing on the wall. Dr. Gorwala is no wild-eyed agitator anxious to confiscate other people's property. His words come from a friend.

Somnath Temple

Our Rastrapati, Babu Rajendra Prasad, laid amid pomp and ceremony the foundation-stone of this famous temple in Saurashtra. The modern Indian is not impressed by these restorations of image worship, though they appreciate the poetry found in it. This habit of the sceptic found expression in the word-picture of a correspondent on the journey to the ceremony as he described one of the leading figures, India's Food Minister, as "a romanticist of ancient glory" who found in the "history of the Aryans" a vast "source-book for his novels and plays." He brought out "the irony" of the thing that this revival of a 12th century scene (Christian Calender) was made through means of "most modern of vehicles—an airship." The topic is discussed in the same spirit though it

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"enshrines racial memories" much as it has excited the Pakistani Press which senses in this ceremony an insult to a Pan-Islamist hero—Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni.

Food and the Refugee

The "refugee" problem created by the partition of India has a special character of its own. But the worsening food situation has heightened it, and given its solution an urgency. But the Assam Government has failed to implement the Centre's policy. This has come out in course of a telegram sent by Dr. Choitram Gidwani which exposes the Assamese obscurantists. Doctor Choitram P. Gidwani, who recently undertook a tour of Assam, has sent the following telegram to the Prime Minister, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, after the Prime Minister's broadcast on the food situation:

"I have visited Assam recently. Displaced agriculturists stated, large areas of waste land suitable for paddy cultivation were available there, but were not being alloted to them owing to the discriminatory attitude of the Assam Government. This land settlement policy was announced in the Press Note issued by them on May 6, 1949. This Note stated that the question of settlement of refugees on Government lands which have been surveyed and have been found insufficient to settle landless people of the province is out of question altogether. Such a policy has resulted not only in hindering the rehabilitation of displaced agriculturists, thereby causing misery to them, but also affects the 'Grow More Food' campaign. Request that you may kindly take all necessary steps to see that this policy is reversed in the national interest."

Ireland to be United?

Eire has refused to join the Atlantic Pact and to place her naval ports and air bases for the defence of West Europe. Thus has she set Washington and London a-thinking whether it was at all wise to force division on Ireland. A London news, dated March 17 last, throws light on the subject:

"Secret diplomatic moves have been taking place between Britain, Northern Ireland and the Eire with a view to settling all outstanding problems between the three countries, including that of partition.

"The U. S. Secretary of State, Mr. Dean Acheson, is reported to be playing an important part in these negotiations. He is likely to meet Mr. Macbride, Eire's Foreign Minister, in New York in a few days.

"Mr. Attlee, presumably under U. S. pressure, is anxious to find a solution that would put the whole of Ireland at the service of the Atlantic Pact nations in the event of a third world war.

"Discussions towards this end have taken place in secret in Dublin and in Whitehall, with Mr. Richard Stokes, Minister of Works, prominent as an intermediary.

"A possible solution is a Federated State of Ireland, with each of the two States responsible for its own territory, but with an overall direction to which both States would be a party."

Man-power Work of International Labour Organization

A report prepared by the International Labour Office for submission to the meeting of the Organization's Governing Body reviews its migration and other man-power activities.

It has been summarized in the I. L. O. News *Service* of April, 1951.

"The report described the work of the ILO's Italian Migration Field Mission at Rome, the Migration Field Mission which was established at Bonn in November, the Asian Field Office and Technical Training at Bangalore, India, and the Latin American Manpower Field Office at Sao Paulo, Brazil.

"The report disclosed that a Migration Field Office would be opened shortly at Vienna to facilitate and develop migration, especially of Volksdeutsche, from Austria. It also described a project for a manpower field mission in the Near and Middle East.

"The Bonn Mission, the report revealed, was negotiating with the Federal German Government in an effort to find suitable candidates to emigrate to Canada for work in hard rock mines. The ILO's assistance in recruiting European workers for these jobs had been requested by the Canadian Metal Mining Association.

"A wide range of technical assistance work in the migration and manpower fields was described in the report."

Nisith Chandra Sen

The death at 71 of this eminent lawyer will be mourned by a large circle of friends.

Nisith Chandra did not confine himself to law alone. Early in youth he came under the New School of politics associated in Bengal with Bipin Chandra Pal and Chitta ranjan Das. He was the son of Chandi Charan Sen, author of *The Begums of Oudh*, a classic in Bengali language. And imbibing the air of freedom in his family of Brahmo traditions, as a student at London where he had been sent to qualify himself as a barrister, he, along with the late Rajat Nath Roy, Surendra Nath Haldar, B. Chandra Chatterjee, decided to devote himself to the new politics. As a defender in courts of revolutionary parties he followed C. R. Das.

More than thirty years later he was elected Mayor of Calcutta, filling the position made worthwhile by C. R. Das, J. M. Sen-Gupta and Subhas Chandra Bose.

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WHERE AGGRESSION PAYS AND WHERE IT DOES NOT

It Pays in Kashmir : It Does Not in Korea

By C. L. R. SASTRI

"Aggression cannot be allowed to succeed. It cannot be appeased, rewarded or ignored. To meet it squarely is the price of peace."—Secretary of State Dean Acheson : Major Foreign Policy Speech : April 18, 1951.

"If history has taught us anything it is that aggression anywhere in the world is a threat to peace everywhere in the world. When that aggression is supported by the cruel and selfish rulers of a powerful nation who are bent on conquest it becomes a clear and present danger to the security and independence of every free nation."—President Truman : *Radio Address* to Americans on U. S. policy in the Far East : April 11, 1951.

Events are moving fast in the world—almost with supersonic speed, as it were—and high-ranking Generals and satraps are falling like ninepins. Some of "the Captains and the Kings" of yesterday are to-day no more than mere names—or will be when the smoke clears away and the dust settles down. This is not to suggest, however, that they will not possess a "nuisance value" (of a kind not totally unfamiliar to us) until even their most perfervid admirers and fanatical partisans will be driven, by the inexorable stress of circumstances, to see the utter futility of it. Reputations once lost cannot, normally, be revived by any amount of artificial respiration. He who had been, until a few weeks ago, a sort of White Mikado of Japan no longer bestrides the narrow world like a Colossus. In the manner of the fabled Mulciber he has been thrown, by an angry Jove (or, rather, Harry), "over o'er the crystal battlements" of heaven; and has with dramatic suddenness,

"Dropt from the zenith like a falling star,
On Lemnos the Aegean Isle."

"The Caesar of the Pacific"

Nor can anyone legitimately complain that the Aristotelian requirements of tragedy have not been fulfilled in this instance. It is no mean altitude from which General MacArthur has been hurled down. There was, as must be admitted by friend and foe alike, something Roman in his proud sweep to power—something Roman, too, in the swift tragedy of his collapse. He has had what in modern nomenclature is called a tremendous build-up: legends have sprung up about him, and it is not inconceivable that in other days poets would have erupted into verse and celebrated his triumphs in some

"Stretched metre of an antique song."

Legends, however, do not always approximate to exact truth. Personally I cannot bring myself to believe that he belongs to the race of military giants, the Rommels and Rundstedts of the last war or the Hindenburgs and Ludendorfs of the last war but one. Luck, I am certain, has played a none too inconsiderable part in the extremely colourful career of this much-boosted "Caesar of the Pacific."

As a soldier, then, it is my conviciton that his skyrocketing into fame was the result more of a favourable concatenation of circumstances than of incontestable genius or of unremitting toil. Auto-suggestion may have had its share, too. He has all along been flamboyant to a degree: he has always loved to strut with the mien of a conquerer. The time has never been when he has not looked upon himself as "a man of destiny." But the snag about "men of destiny," if we examine the matter closely, is that a point not seldom arrives in their glamorous lives when the *evil* portion of their destiny assumes the dominant role—the good, apparently, having exhausted itself, having become a spent force. During such dark periods the mechanism of their fate is, so to speak, in reverse gear; and the ultimate result is scarcely in doubt. In our hero's horoscope that dark period must be deemed to be in the ascendant now.

"His Finest Hour"

Some meed of praise, however, cannot justifiably be withheld from him even by his most captious critics for his meritorious work in Japan after the conclusion of hostilities. That was, without question, "his finest hour." As the overlord of a vanquished nation he evinced qualities rare in a soldier, and, to be perfectly candid, not too common even among administrators "to the manner born." No wonder that the Japanese have showered such a wealth of affection upon him. He had been magnanimous towards them—extremely so, in fact—and magnanimity invariably pays handsome dividends, although few politicians appear to be aware of this pregnant truth.

To that extent—and it is no small extent—General MacArthur has shown himself to be a much abler politician than most professional ones. The Japanese—

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of all people—are no fools and if they adore him (as they undoubtedly do) they certainly must have abundant reasons for doing so. His final parting from them was very, very poignant, indeed. Honesty compels us to recognise him as one of the world's authentic statesmen. So far as his administration of Japan is concerned one may graciously acknowledge that the hour had produced the man.

My Theme

But neither the life and development nor the decline and fall of General MacArthur is the theme of my present article. The theme of my present article is far other. It is nothing less than the monstrously glaring disparity in U.N.O.'s reaction to the North Koreans' aggression in Korea and Pakistan's aggression in Kashmir; and it has to be borne in mind that while the first has not *yet* been satisfactorily proved the second cries out to heaven to be avenged—Pakistan herself, the United Nations' Commission in Kashmir, and Sir Owen Dixon, the ex-Mediator of the Indo-Pakistan dispute about that enchanted land, having all agreed that there *had been* such an aggression. There are, and can be, two opinions as to who were the aggressors in Korea—the North Koreans or the South Koreans. Yet the United Nations plunged into war in that region, and plunged into it with lightning speed, throwing the helve after the hatchet, as it were. They acted first—time, obviously, being of the essence of "cold war" strategy—secure in the belief that reasons could be concocted for their action afterwards. Apart from other considerations the very alacrity of their action in Korea gives rise, justifiably, to the suspicion that the whole affair had been pre-arranged, had been stage-managed, and that they had been waiting only for some signal, so to speak, to get going into action. This aspect of the matter needs stressing because there has been so much "democratic" ballyhoo about the North Korean aggression. Within so few as 24 hours of that so-called aggression the United Nations passed a resolution condemning it with bell, book, and candle, and issued orders for their troops marching into Korea to punish the aggressor and to restore the *status quo*; and there are stories afoot that General MacArthur marched his soldiers into Korea *even before* the passing of that resolution—which, presumably, is the most fitting answer of the "democracies" to "totalitarianism."

It is now nearly four years since our friendly neighbour aided and abetted the tribal raids into the lovely Valley of Kashmir; and not only has Pakistan not been named the aggressor but, *very nearly*, India, the complainant in the case, has been pointed out, by the World Organisation, as the villain of the piece. *This* is the theme of my present article.

The Super-"Democrats"

But General MacArthur finds a place in it, not only because his sudden fall from grace has a "topical" value of primary importance, but also because in any detailed discussion of the theme I have chosen for myself he figures prominently both as the Commander-in-Chief of the United Nations' forces in Korea and as the undisputed leader of that super-"democratic" camarilla within the general "democratic" set-up which unreservedly sponsors the waging of a "totalitarian" war against "totalitarianism," regarding no means unworthy of that pre-eminently worthy end. *In effect*, they wish to start the universally-dreaded World War III on their own account in order (forsooth!) to forestall the Communists from originating it on theirs. The idea, evidently, is that a new global war is not a detestable thing in itself; and that it can even be a highly meritorious thing—provided, of course, that it is the "democracies," and not the "dictatorships," that are responsible for it. It is a moot point, if a scrupulously fair debate is conducted on this interesting topic whether the "dictatorships" are really panting and perspiring for an "over-all" war—and it may not, in this connection, be quite out of place to record the fact that, while hundreds of thousands of soldiers of the much-vaunted "democracies" are fighting in Korea, not a *single* Russian soldier has, as yet, been alleged, by the Soviet's stoutest opponents, to have taken part in the current battles there.

The Pot and the Kettle

The crushing reply to this is not that, though this contention is correct, the hand behind the Korean imbroglio is none other than the Kremlin's. It is a two-edged argument, and those who employ it ought to be the first to recognise that it may very well recoil on their own heads. I am, let me interpolate, neither a Communist nor a crypto-Communist and I am not taking upon myself the odious—or the odoriferous—task of defending the Soviet against its traditional enemies. But I am, I hope, a fair-minded person and it is my firm conviction that, in this disgusting "cold war" business, Russia has been more sinned against than sinning. I believe that there are many others besides myself who share this view: the age-old practice of giving a dog a bad name and hanging him can be carried too far. The Russians, doubtless, have much to answer for before the bar of heaven: but (let us say it *sotto voce*) so have the *soi disant* champions of the "democracies."

It is high time that the pot ceased calling the kettle black: more particularly when, on occasion, the pot has been stripped of all its pretensions and shown to be the blacker of the two. The denunciation, in unmeasured terms, of the Soviet Union by the "Western democracies" has, of late, assumed the dimensions of a veritable racket. But these stalwarts, in the excess of their crusading zeal, seem well-nigh to have forgotten that it is not possible to fool all the people all the time. Too much cleverness has

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dangers no less than too little. After the unmentionable atrocities (and probably we have not been told the half of them) committed by the Americans and the South Koreans in Korea they (these stalwarts) have for ever lost the right to cast a pebble, let alone a stone, at the Communists and their "fellow-travellers." They had better begin by trying to remove the beam from their own eye before attempting to extract the mote from the eye of their opponents.

Kashmir : Latest

The Kashmir dispute, after a nerve-wracking delay of nearly four years, has now reached the penultimate stage. During this long interval many of us have, I suppose, contrived to learn by heart the salient points connected with it. Even I, the least dependable as regards such Gargantuan feats, of memory, have, perhaps, managed, *malgre lui* to store away a few relevant details of this much-discussed controversy in some dark corner of my brain. To discuss it anew would be perilously akin to flogging a dead horse. In addition, it is my belief that all this learned lore has become, from the Indian point of view, a sheer waste of energy. Learned or unlearned, it is the brutal truth to say that we have lost all along the line. "What avails the sceptred race, what the form divine?" What avails our being cent per cent right? The question is no longer one of right or wrong. The question has been removed from the plane of moral values to that of the exigencies of "cold war" strategy. Lake Success has ceased to be U.N.O. forum. It has become a subservient tool in the hands of the United States and judges each issue presented before it not on its intrinsic merits but as it fits into the design of the aforementioned strategy. Everything else goes by the board. The U.N. is but a handmaiden of the U.S. and the U.S. is interested only in one object —the outwitting of the Soviet Union by herself and her extensive ring of satellites. That being so the Indo-Pakistani dispute over Kashmir takes on a much wider significance than it originally possessed : it has, so to speak, "broken its birth's invidious bar" and has attained the status of an international complication. When our beloved Pandit took the matter to the U.N. four years ago, in the confident anticipation that his troubles would at last be at end, he could scarcely have visualised the maltreatment it was ultimately to receive at its hands. Looking at the shape in which it has now emerged and contrasting it with its pristine form he may very well be led to exclaim, with the old lady in the ballad :

"O deary me ! this is none of I !"

The Original Issue

The Pandit has reason to be chagrined: he has been the victim of his own " pathetic fallacy"—the "pathetic fallacy" of placing implicit trust in Pakistan's *bona fides* as well as in the *bona fides* of Western statesmen : the same, be it remembered, that had been instrumental in partitioning our country by way of a parting kick. With that exasperating *penchant* of his of being excessively amiable before the *wrong* kind of people he took the Kashmir issue to Lake Success when there was absolutely no obligation on his part to do so and when he could have solved it out of hand, as it were. *He simply could not let well alone.* He asked for trouble—and has got it, in abundant measure. The "pathetic fallacy" of believing that wrath can be turned away by soft words has repeatedly been proved to be impractical, yet he appears not to have taken the lesson to heart. Even goodness must have an edge, said Emerson. Voltaire similarly gave it as his confirmed opinion that magic words and incantations would surely bring down a flock of sheep *if there were a sufficient quantity of arsenic behind them.* Our distinguished Prime Minister, obviously, does not share this view. But even a worm will turn and he was constrained to utter the following words on the floor of our august Parliament on March 28 in answer to the latest resolution passed by the Security Council on Kashmir.

The Pandit Hits Out

Replying to the debate on demands for grants to the External Affairs Ministry he took occasion to characterise the latest Anglo-American resolution as a "fantastic theory" and lashed out against Kashmir being regarded as a "no-man's land," the sovereignty over which was indeterminate. As such, he said, it was unacceptable to India. It departed from the earlier U. N. resolutions, all of which clearly accepted the legal accession of Kashmir to India. It was fundamentally "wide of the mark." It ignored the past, was based on a wrong approach, and was "dangerous and distored." He declared that Kashmir was "juridically and politically" an integral part of the State of India. India, he maintained, could not agree to a vacuum being created in Kashmir "for the sake of satisfying Pakistan or her sympathisers." Nor could she agree "to leave Kashmir unprotected or ungoverned or allow any outside authority, civil or military, to take charge of the country." He stoutly defended Kashmir's accession to India. It is something arising from the Indian Independence Act and the negotiations that preceded it and is fully in accord with all that has happened in relation to many other States. This accession, he reminded his critics, took place when India was still a Dominion of the Commonwealth and the Act of Accession was accepted on behalf of the Crown by the then Governor-General, Lord Mountbatten. Apart from accession, he proceeded, it has to be remembered that India today is a continuing entity "taking over the rights and liabilities that rested in the old India."

The Crux of the Matter

One excellent point he made was that, irrespective of accession, we should have had the obligation to

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protect the people of Kashmir against aggression. Kashmir has at no time been recognised as a State under international law but has throughout been an integral part of India. "The partition made no difference to our responsibilities in regard to Kashmir as long as it did not deliberately accede to Pakistan." He legitimately complained that so much heavy weather was being made over the proposal to have a Constituent Assembly in Kashmir *the while turning the blind eye to the continuous threat of war that is being hurled upon us by Pakistan from day to day.* The sting, however, is in the tail, and Pandit Nehru deserves our encomiums—in full measure—for the following beautiful outburst :

> "We went to the U. N., *not* to determine the accession issue or where the sovereignty lies. We did *not* go there to seek arbitration; *but* to complain about the *aggression* of another State, which was likely to lead to international complications and probably affect international peace. *Evidently the sponsors of the joint resolution before the Security Council have a short memory and have forgotten how the matter came up before the Security Council and the history of tragic events that preceded it.*"

His Parthian shot was this :

> "The U. N. utilised the position of our having made a reference in this matter to *widen the scope of its enquiry* and, despite the protest of the Kashmir Government, we, in order not lower the prestige of the U. N., gave every facility to the U. N. Commission; *but until this moment neither the U. N. Commission nor the Security Council has suggested that the question of accession was arguable.*"

All this wanted saying very badly and it has now been said. *Rem acu tetigisti.* If only Panditji's speeches and statements had *always* been to the point as this was !

Fresh Light

The Anglo-American resolution could not have been other than what it was if we bear in mind the consistent co-operation that Britain and, latterly, America, have extended to our friendly neighbour. Readers of Mr. E. M. Forster's celebrated novel, *A Passage to India*, would not have failed to mark his pronounced bias in favour of his Muslim hero, Dr. Aziz, and his equally pronounced antipathy towards the Hindu, Prof. Godbole. This bias for the Muslims and this antipathy towards the Hindus is almost endemic in them. We should feel that there was something inherently wrong, something poignantly unnatural, if things panned out otherwise. They did once—just once—when Mr. Attlee delivered his historic speech in the House of Commons on March 15, 1946, warning the Muslim minority in our midst against disrupting the unity of our country; and we know how soon he was made to eat his words.

The British attitude towards Kashmir is partly explained by a remarkable reference to it by General Sir William Morgan who is on tour in the United States explaining Britain's defence programme. He is now Chairman of Britain's Research Policy Committee. Speaking in New York of the possibility of trouble in the Persian and Iraqui oilfields he declared, with almost a lump in his throat, that there was not nearly enough British military strength in that area. He went on :

> "We cannot lose that oil. If there is a showdown we will have to find something from somewhere to go and sort it out. In the old days we just sent up an Indian brigade. We cannot do that now. India and Pakistan are so busy arguing with each other that they have no men for anything else. *That is the main reason for sorting out Kashmir.* We must get Pakistan and, probably, Indian help, too."

This statement, it is clear, fairly lets the cat out of the bag. So long as Kashmir is allowed to continue as an apple of discord between them, pinning down their military forces and retarding their economic development, it brings up an inevitable weakening of Britain's position—*materially* in the Middle East, and *diplomatically* in her relations with Russia as well.

Mr. James Burnham's Thesis

The recent Cultural Congress at Bombay has spotlighted the personality of the American publicist, Mr. James Burnham, even if it has spotlighted nothing else. He is the author of the book, *The Coming Defeat of Communism*, which has been published both in England and in India. In the English edition *but not in the Indian*, we find his views on Islam which may throw some much-needed light on the Anglo-American reaction to the Kashmir dispute. Mr. Burnham writes :

> "The Mahomedan faith has proved a difficult barrier to the Communist ideology and Communist methods of action . . . The strategic significance of the Mahomedan areas is striking. Not only do they comprise the greater part of the Near East but also much of the northern coastland of Africa, Pakistan and sections of China and Indonesia."

He goes on to postulate :

> *"A special attention to Islamic relations is therefore, not only necessary from the defensive point of view of holding further Communist advance. It offers also major offensive possibilities."*

No wonder the scales have been heavily tilted in favour of Pakistan. India does not fit into the "war strategy" as Pakistan does.

The Dice are Loaded Against India

From the foregoing extracts it will be evident even to the meanest intelligence how the dice have, from time immemorial, been loaded against the poor Hindu and in favour of the Muslims. The case of the former has always gone by default ; and much more so after the dastardly partition of our beloved Motherland on the basis of the pernicious "two-nation" theory,

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a result of which, after losing a sizable chunk of it to the intransigent minority in our midst, the identity of the Hindus has been swamped and submerged by a massive tidal-wave of "secularism" the like of which has never been witnessed anywhere. In the Security Council the word of the British on the affairs of our "vast sub-continent" is regarded as almost sacrosanct and their influence, on the Americans in particular, has been devastating. They have thus been able to spread the infection of their age-old bias towards the Muslims far and wide. They are supposed to be the unchallenged and unchallengeable "experts" on the conditions that obtain over here. The political instinct of the British is marvellous, is in a class alone, and they have consistently banked upon the Muslims being their born stooges. This penetrating insight of theirs into Muslim character has, ere now, yielded them handsome dividends.

Castor and Pollux

Nor, to be perfectly candid, has it yielded less handsome dividends to the Muslims themselves. It has thus been a picturesque two-way traffic. They remind us, in the intensity of their devotion to each other, of Castor and Pollux, the Dioscuri,—always the emblem of twin friendship translated to the stars. Our distinguished Prime Minister should have remembered this when he so gratuitously took the Kashmir issue to the U.N. It was a blunder of the very first magnitude: nor have we, I venture to suggest, seen the last of its repercussions. We have lost Kashmir as irretrievably as we have lost Pakistan. *We have lost Kashmir in another sense as well.* Those who have been reading Sheikh Abdullah's intriguing speeches and statements —especially his more recent ones—with the care and the attention that they so eminently deserve must be forgiven if they evince no great enthusiasm for Kashmir's continuing to throw in its lot with India. If I have correctly understood his homilies to the Yuvaraj and the people of Jammu the eventual fate of Kashmir need cause no undue perturbation in the minds of the Hindus. Even at the time of the memorable "police action" in Hyderabad no Hindu could have "talked at" the Nizam and the Prince of Berar as Sheikh Abdullah has seen fit to "talk at" the Maharajah of Kashmir and the Yuvaraj. The moral is plain as way to parish church.

Muslims Enjoy "Priviliged Sanctuary"

The Muslims have thus, from *auld lang syne,* been enjoying a sort of "privileged sanctuary" in the eyes of their patrons, the British. They may well chant of them the celebrated lines of Burns to the Earl of Glencairn:

"The bridegroom may forget the bride
Was made his wedded wife yestreen;
The monarch may forget the crown
That on his head an hour has been;
The mother may forget the child
That smiles sae sweetly on her knee;
But I'll remember thee, Glencairn,
And a' that thou hast done for me!"

That is, if, by birth and upbringing, they are a grateful people. But Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan, by his open wooing of Moscow a year or so ago, has aroused the suspicion of not a few wary observers that the maiden will confer her favours on the highest bidder and on none else. But the head of the Kremlin is a man of no less guile and appears to have spurned her brazen advances. She is, therefore, back in the Western camp, pursuing her amours as of old.

Argument *Re* Majority

Pakistan's friends have been tirelessly advancing the argument that, the vast majority of people in Kashmir being Muslims, the territory is Pakistan's by prescriptive right, as it were. But this is an argument that cuts both ways, and, unfortunately, we have not had the gumption to take advantage of it. Hyderabad enjoys a preponderating majority of Hindus but the British have never, to my knowledge, suggested to the Nizam that he should, therefore, put himself out of the way and restore his kingdom to its rightful owners. On the contrary, when, at long last, our Government screwed up its courage to the sticking place and embarked on its "police action" in September, 1948, the British did not hesitate, even for a moment, to reveal to the world where exactly their sympathies lay. Nor, when that "police action" came to a successful end, did either our Government or our people "talk at" the Nizam or the Prince of Berar as Sheikh Abdullah has recently "talked at" the Maharajah of Kashmir and the Yuvaraj.

Talking of majorities, in undivided India the Hindus far outnumbered the Muslims; but that did not prevent the Muslims from hectically clamouring for partition so that they might have an entirely separate "homeland" for themselves or their sworn allies, the British, from giving them their full-throated moral support. The inference is irresistible that the Muslims stand to gain either way—whether they are in a majority or in a minority. And when everything else fails our "secularism" can be relied upon to step in and shower favours upon them with no niggardly hand. They are the modern "blessed 'people."

Aggression

There is one more point to be discussed before I conclude my article. It is that of aggression. Now-a-days we hear and read quite a lot about it. The American press, platform, and pulpit, in particular, are full of it. When American meets American that is the staple of conversation. Not their own aggression, of course. The answer to "What is 'orthodoxy'?" is, as we all know, "Our own 'doxy'." But with "aggression" it is apt to be different. Aggression is what the *other* fellow commits. And, needless to say, it cries out to

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be avenged! What *we* do is just to try—with atom bombs, if necessary—to repel it so that the world may be made safe for democracy. Sometimes, no doubt, things may so pan out that, anticipating aggression from the other side, we are compelled, in sheer self-defence, to commit a little aggression ourselves. That is part of military strategy—in "cold wars" no less than in "hot." But the essential difference remains. Defensive aggression is poles apart from offensive aggression. It is the adjective that counts, not the noun. It may even be that the first is more "bloody" than the second. But that simply cannot be helped: we shall have either to like it or to lump it. Playing for safety we generally pretend to like it.

The Truman and Acheson Dicta

The two passages I have appended at the top of my article by way of "mottoes" tell their own tale. Their authors are top-ranking politicians. President Truman is the head of the most powerful State in the world and Dean Acheson is second in command to him. As such their words carry far. They are, indeed, worth their weight in gold. Being the men that they are must be considered to have spoken only after mature deliberation. Except in our own hapless country those who occupy positions of responsibility are not given to "thinking aloud." Therefore, if Mr. Truman and Mr. Acheson spoke in the way they did they must be taken to have known what they were about. They assert that aggression should be fairly and squarely met. They are thoroughly convinced that the Communists are the aggressors. I have suggested, earlier in my article, that the question of who committed aggression in Korea in June last, the North Koreans or the South Koreans, is not as simple as it, no doubt, sounds to the Americans and their co-adjutors. The North Koreans have complained that it was their brethren in the south who committed it. *A thing does not necessarily become true because, for their own reasons, the Americans believe it to be so.* Some of us—including myself—are equally convinced that it was the South Koreans, at the instigation of their masters, the Americans, who precipitated the Far Eastern crisis. But we are more reasonable than the Americans and we content ourselves with saying that the point has not, up to the moment of going to press, been satisfactorily proved. Before there had been any chance of its being satisfactorily proved action had begun—with no little assistance, to put it mildly, from these same Americans. No amount of ballyhoo from Washington will convince an impartial student of public affairs that the Korean war started from the North Korean side.

What about Pakistan's Aggression?

What I wish to drive at is that, *in a context where no doubt still lingers about who is the guilty party,* the Americans and their comrades-in-arms, "the Western democracies," have positively gone berserk about what I may call the merciless suppression of aggression; but that, *in a context where the guilty party has clearly owned, in no uncertain terms, to having committed the aggression complained about and where the U. N. Commission and the U. N. Mediator have emphatically said "ditto,"* the Americans and their Western allies have not only *not* cared to name Pakistan as the aggressor *but* have even had the audacity to blame India, the complainant in the case, on several counts.

I put it to President Truman and to Secretary of State Dean Acheson that, in their own words, aggression (*not* the imaginary aggression of Russia *but* the actual aggression of Pakistan) must not be ignored, must not be rewarded. *Aggression anywhere in the world is a threat to peace everywhere in the world.* That being the new "Truman doctrine," I appeal to the President of the United States to act, even at this admittedly late hour, as the man of courage that he undoubtedly is and, forgetting alike the (not inconsiderable) influence that the wily British have brought to bear upon him and the exigencies of "cold war" strategy re-draft the latest U.N. resolution on the Kashmir issue. There is no harm in practising—at least now and then—what one so incessantly preaches. *"Cold War" strategy is not everything: there can be room, even in the present day world, for truth also.* The Americans have, at present round their necks the "putrefying albatross" of beating Russia to its knees. Clamped on by their own choice three or four years ago it may yet whip the Communists together under the hammer and sickle. Far from disrupting them it may act as a cohesive force. But "cold war" strategy is no reason that justice should be denied India and Pakistan be pampered at her expense. Let both the British and the Americans bear these words of the poet in mind:

> "Last, if upon the cold, green-mantling sea
> Thou cling, alone with Truth, to the last spar,
> Both castaway,
> And one must perish—let it not be he
> Whom thou art sworn to obey."

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"POSITION OF THE PRESIDENT OF INDIA"

A Further Rejoinder

By D. N. BANERJEE,

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III

Mr. Basu has, in a very patronizing manner, taken objection[63] to my reference to the Proceedings of the Indian Constituent Assembly in connexion with my discussion of the question of the nature of our present system of government and, particularly, of the position of the President in it. He seems to think that the knowledge of the "canons" of construction of a Constitution is a monopoly of only one who is licensed to practise as a lawyer in a court of law, and that a student of Political Science "whose sphere of activity is," after all, "limited to the instruction of the young," is totally ignorant of them. Without entering into the discussion of the question whether or not many of these young men are far better informed about constitutional matters than many of those whom he had in his mind by way of a contrast, I may assure Mr. Basu that there is no justification for this attitude of self-complacency or—should I say?—self-conceit. A student of Political Science has also often to deal with the canons of interpretation and construction of statutory and constitutional laws. By the by, Mr. Basu appears to think[64] that the two terms "interpretation" and "construction" are synonymous. Strictly speaking, as Judge Cooley[65] has shown, they are not, although in common use "the word *construction* is generally employed in the law in a sense embracing all that is properly covered by both."

"Interpretation," says† Cooley, "differs from construction in that the former is the art of finding out the true sense of any form of words; that is, the sense which their author intended to convey; and of enabling others to derive from them the same idea which the author intended to convey. Construction, on the other hand, is the drawing of conclusions, respecting subjects that lie beyond the direct expressions of the text, from elements known from and given in the text; conclusions which are in the spirit, though not within the letter of the text. Interpretation only takes place if the text conveys some meaning or other." However, this is a very minor point and we should pass on.

Now, as regards the question of the "cardinal" rules of legal interpretation and construction, I should like to observe, at the very outset, and notwithstanding the fact that I have myself quoted above some of these rules, that there is unfortunately, as will appear from what follows, such a wide diversity of judicial opinions in regard to them in the reports of the proceedings of courts of justice in different countries that one almost gets submerged in a bog, as it were, as one goes through those proceedings and tries to discover from them some well-established guiding principles or definite doctrines. What are considered to be such principles or doctrines will on examination appear to every impartial student to be nothing more than *provisionally* correct. It is, therefore, difficult to say, speaking realistically, that the whole subject of legal interpretation has yet been "placed and kept" on such a scientific basis that it must command a universal assent and respect. There is as yet no "precise and unchanging" yardstick for judges in this field: no possibility of any mechanical application of a measuring rod by them. The length of the yardstick now being used changes, it has been rightly said, from case to case according to the discretion of the judges who apply it. Indeed, the so-called cardinal rules of legal interpretation remind me of what Burke once said in 1775 in the course of his Speech on Conciliation in America :

> "These are deep questions, where great names militate against each other; where reason is perplexed; and an appeal to authorities only thickens the confusion. For high and reverend authorities lift up their heads on both sides; and there is no sure footing in the middle."

Take, for instance, the expression "due process of law" in the American Constitution. Declaring a certain Arizona statute invalid (four of the nine judges dissenting), Chief Justice Taft of the United States Supreme Court said[66] in 1921 that

> "The legislative power of a state can only be exerted in subordination to the fundamental principles of right and justice which the guaranty of due process in the Fourteenth Amendment is intended to preserve."

Thus, "the Court in applying 'due process of law'," remarks Walter Dodd,[67] "is guided by nothing more definite than 'the fundamental principles of right and justice,' and has no standard other than the views of a majority of the judges by which to separate 'permissible from improper legislation'." As a result, one judge, he continues, "because of his training and experience, may have one view as to what are such fundamental principles and how they apply in a particular case, and an equally competent judge may have pre-

63. See Mr. Basu's article in *The Modern Review* for February, 1951.

64. See *ibid.*

65. See Cooley, *A Treatise on Constitutional Limitations*, 7th Ed., pp. 70-71.

†. See *ibid.*

66. See Walter Dodd, *Cases and Materials on Constitutional Law*, 4th Ed., 1949, p. 79.

67. See *ibid.*, pp. 79-80.

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cisely oppositive views." Even "the same individual may have different views at different periods in his life as to what is 'permissible' and what is 'improper'."[68]

Again, he says, in effect, in another place that, although Constitutional provisions have been the subject of judicial construction in the United States for a very long time, yet "the supreme court of Illinois in 1895 declared it improper to regulate the labour or hours of women differently from that of men, and in 1910 arrived at precisely the opposite view, *without any change whatever in the state* constitution."[69] "This is," he further observes,[70] "but an illustration of what state courts have done over and over again in order to readjust their views to the changing needs of the community. Had a definite and precise meaning been given to 'due process of law,' such changes of judicial attitude would be more difficult." And what is the effect of all this?

> "We get," says Walter Dodd,[71] "little help from the courts as to the meaning of this term (*i.e.*, 'due process of law') as it is now applied to limit legislative power."

This only shows the value of the so-called canons of constitutional construction!

The position in England is, more or less, similar. For instance, in regard to the question of the use of extrinsic aids in legal interpretation and construction, that is to say, in regard to the question, namely, "what sources of information outside a statute may be used for throwing light upon its meaning," there has been a bewildering variety of judicial opinions. And although it is *now** a fairly well-established rule "that what may be called the parliamentary history of an enactment is not admissible to explain its meaning,"[72] yet there have been many weighty judicial opinions to the contrary. For example, we find in Maxwell[73] that

> "Reference has been occasionally made to what the framers of the Act, or individual members of the Legislature, intended to do by the enactment, or understood it to have done. Chief Justice Hengham said that he knew better than counsel the meaning of the 2d Westminster, as he had drawn up that statute. Lord Nottingham claimed that he had some reason to know the meaning of the Statute of Frauds, because, he said, it had had its first rise from him, he having brought it into the House of Lords. Lord Kenyon supported his construction of the Municipal Offices Act, 1710 (c.25), by the argument that so accurate a lawyer as Mr. Justice Powell, who had drawn it, never would have used several words where one sufficed."

Again, Lord Field "refers (in 1890) to the improbability that the eminent lawyers who framed the Judicature Act, 1875 (c.77), would not have made a certain exception if they had intended it . . . And it has been stated (1892) as a general proposition in ecclesiastical matters that if the law excludes all historical investigation and discussion on antecedent usage in matters of ritual and practice it excludes one source of light upon doubtful questions."

Further, "Lord Westbury, when Chancellor, referred to a speech made by himself, as Attorney-General, in the House of Commons, in 1800, in introducing the Bankruptcy Bill, which was passed into law in the following year, and one of his reasons in favour of the construction which he put on the Act was that it tallied best with the intention which the Legislature (that is, the three branches of the Legislature) might be *presumed to have adopted*."[74]

Moreover, we find in Craies[75] that in *R. v. Bishop of Oxford* (1879), Bramwell and Baggallay, L.JJ., "allowed a speech of the Lord Chancellor in the House of Lords to be cited as an authority as to the construction of a statute"; that, in *S. E. Ry. v. The Railway Commissioners* (1880), Cockburn, C.J., said that "where the meaning of an Act is doubtful we are, I think, at liberty to recur to the circumstances under which it passed into law as a means of solving the difficulty," and himself proceeded accordingly "to quote a speech made by Mr. Cardwell on the introduction of the Bill into the House of Commons, and a speech made by the Lord Chancellor on introducing it into the House of Lords"; that in *Herron v. Rathmines and Rathgar Improvement Commissioners* (1892) Lord Halsbury said that

> "The subject-matter with which the Legislature was dealing and the facts existing at the time with respect to which the Legislature was legislating are legitimate topics to consider in ascertaining what was the object and purpose of the Legislature in passing the Act."

And that, previously, in *Hawkins* vs. *Gathercole* (1855), Turner, L.J., stated that

> "The dominant purpose in construing a statute is to ascertain the intent of the Legislature, to be collected from the *cause and necessity of the Act* being made, from a comparison of its several parts and from *foreign* (*meaning extraneous*) circumstances so far as they can justly be considered to throw light upon the subject."

This "rule expressed by Turner, L.J.," says Craies,[76] "has often been cited as authoritative."

In view of what I have shown above, it is surprizing that Dr. Lushington's dictum[77] in *Gough v. Jones* (1863) that "the most satisfactory mode of construction" is to examine a statute and, if possible, ascertain the meaning thereof "from the statute alone" has failed of universal acceptance, and that judges have often had recourse to matters "beyond the

68. See *ibid.*

69. See *ibid.* The italics are mine.

70. See *ibid.*

71. See *ibid.*

* But see hereinafter the view of Sir Maurice Gwyer, Chief Justice of the Federal Court of India.

72. See Maxwell, *op. cit.*, p. 29; also Beal, *op. cit.*, pp. 290-98; also Craies, *op. cit.*, pp. 121-22; also the ruling of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council in *Administrator-General of Bengal* Vs. *Prem Lal Mullick* (1895), L. R. 22 Ind. App. 107.

73. See Maxwell, *op. cit.*, pp. 27-29.

74. See *ibid.* The italics are mine.

75. See Craies, *op. cit.*, pp. 118-22 and relevant footnotes.

76. See Craies, *op. cit.*, p. 119, footnote (c).

77. See *ibid.*, p. 118.

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corners of" a statute for the purpose of ascertaining what the intention of the Legislature was when the statute was passed. The rules which were laid down by the Barons of the Exchequer in Heydon's case (1584), and which "allow, to a certain extent, the *circumstances which led to the passing of the Act to be considered*,"[78] have really become a *locus classicus*. Nor should we fail to admit, honestly speaking, that the so-called "canons" of legal interpretation and construction, not being statutory declarations, have not yet acquired that finality, inviolability and universal acceptability which are sometimes attributed to them by some interested people. Their sanctity, importance, and acceptability depend largely upon the prejudices of some lawyers and text-book writers. Personal equation is a very important factor in their admissibility, particularly in view of the exigencies of advancing civilization and the inexorable logic of facts. This may appear to be a very audacious statement on the part of one who is not a lawyer by profession; but regard for truth and realism compels it.

I shall now pass on to Mr. Basu's cheap attack[79] on me for my reference to our *Constitutional Assembly Debates* in support of some of my views on the true nature of our present system of government. He seems to think that such reference is not permissible under his so-called canons of constitutional construction. Apart from what I have shown before, let him now follow me. Dealing with the question of the "Interpretative Value of Debates in Constitutional Conventions," Professor Willoughby has said:[80]

"When it is necessary and proper to resort to extrinsic evidence in interpreting the (American) Constitution, an important source of such evidence is to be found in the history of the events which led up to its adoption. Of special importance are the recorded proceedings of the convention which drafted, of the State conventions which ratified, and of the public utterances of the men who played an influential part in the establishment of, the Constitution. Resort is to be had, however, to these sources only with caution, and only where latent ambiguities are to be resolved."[81]

Even in regard to the interpretative value of *The Federalist*, he has said:[82]

"What has been said regarding the interpretative value of the debates in the conventions that framed and ratified the Constitution, and the value of contemporary interpretation thereof by Congress and the Executive, applies to the collection of essays published under the title of *The Federalist*."[83]

Secondly, dealing with the question of extrinsic aids in constitutional construction, Judge Cooley[84] has first referred to the "Proceedings of the Constitutional Convention" and then remarked:

> "When the inquiry is directed to ascertaining the mischief designed to be remedied, or the purpose sought to be accomplished by a particular provision, it may be proper to examine the proceedings of the convention which framed the instrument. Where the proceedings clearly point out the purpose of the provision, the aid will be valuable and satisfactory . . ."

Thirdly, we find that in *James* vs. *Commonwealth of Australia*, etc., (1936, A.C. 578), the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council has declared[85] (per Lord Wright, M.R.):

> "It is true that a Constitution must not be construed in any narrow and pedantic sense. . . . The true test must, as always, be the actual language used. Nor can any decisive help *here* be derived from (the) *evidence of extraneous facts* existing at the date of the Act[86] of 1900; *such evidence may in some cases help to throw light on the intention of the framers of the Statute*, though that intention can in truth be ascertained only from the language used."[87]

Thus, according to the Judicial Committee, the evidence of extraneous facts may in some cases help to throw light on the intention of the framers of a statute.

Fourthly, we find that in *re*: *The Central Provinces and Berar Act No. XIV of 1938* Sir Maurice Gwyer, C.J., has observed:[88]

> "The Judicial Committee have observed that a Constitution is not to be construed in any narrow and pedantic sense. The rules which apply to the interpretation of other statutes apply, it is true, equally to the interpretation of a constitutional enactment. But their application is of necessity conditioned by the subject-matter of the enactment itself; and I respectfully adopt the words of a learned Australian Judge: 'Although we are to interpret the words of the Constitution on the same principles of interpretation as we apply to any ordinary law, these very principles of interpretation

78. See Craies, *op. cit.*, p. 93 and p. 119.

79. See Mr. Basu's article in *The Modern Review* for Feb., 1951.

80. See Willoughby, *op. cit.*, p. 54.

81. Nobody can reasonably object to the limitation suggested by him.

82. See Willoughby, *op. cit.*, p. 55.

83. Willoughby has also quoted Chief Justice Marshall in support of his view. In *Cohens* Vs. *Virginia* (6 Wheat. 264) Marshall, C. J., said: "The opinion of *The Federalist* has always been considered as of great authority. It is a complete commentary on our Constitution; and is appealed to by all parties in the questions to which that instrument has given birth. Its intrinsic merit entitles it to this high rank; and the part two of its authors performed in framing the Constitution, puts it very much in their power to explain the views with which it was framed. These essays having been published while the Constitution was before the nation for adoption or rejection, and having been written in answer to objections founded entirely on the extent of its powers, and on its diminution of state sovereignty, are entitled to the more consideration where they frankly avow that the power objected to is given, and defend it."—See *ibid*, p. 55n.

84. See his *Treatise on the Constitutional Limitations*, 7th Ed., pp. 100-102.

85. See Jennings and Young, *Constitutional Laws of the British Empire*, p. 262.

86. *I.e.*, the Commonwealth of Australia Constitution Act, 1900.

87. The italics are mine.

88. See *The Federal Court Reports*, 1939, Vol. 1, pp. 36-37 and p. 46.

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compel us to take into account the nature and scope of the Act that we are interpreting,—to remember that it is a Constitution, a mechanism under which laws are to be made, and not a mere Act which declares what the law is to be':*Att.-Gen. for New South Wales* vs. *Brewery Employees Union*. . . .

"The Proposals for Indian Constitutional Reform, commonly known as the White Paper[89], and the Report of the Joint Select Committee thereon[90] are historical facts, and their relation to the Constitution Act is a matter of common knowledge, to which *this Court is entitled to refer*[91]; and it may be observed that 'taxes on the sale of commodities and on turnover' appeared in the White Paper as a suggestion for possible sources of provincial revenue, and that the suggestion was approved without comment by the Joint Select Committee."

Fifthly, with reference to the question of the use of extrinsic sources in aid of constitutional construction, Kania, C. J., has recently held that such reference is permissible in certain circumstances. In *Gopalan* V. *State of Madras*, he has stated[92], among other things:

> "Our attention was drawn to the debates and report of the drafting committee of the Constituent Assembly in respect of the wording of this clause[93]. The report may be read not to control the meaning of the Article, but may be seen in case of ambiguity. . . . When a question is raised whether a certain phrase or expression was up for consideration at all or not, a reference to the debates may be permitted . . . Resort may be had to these sources with great caution and only when latent ambiguities are to be resolved."

It is evident from this that Chief Justice Kania of our Supreme Court has also accepted the principle of reference to our *Constituent Assembly Debates* in certain circumstances.[94]

Sixthly, it is worthy of note here that in his *Commentaries on the Constitution of the United States*[95], Judge Story has gone so far as to refer to, and quote, in connexion with the question, "who is final judge or interpreter in constitutional controversies," a letter which Madison addressed in August, 1830, to one Mr. Edward Everett and which was published in the *North American Review* for October, 1830. The reason for this was the importance of the man—I mean Madison.[96]

"As a fit conclusion," he writes, among other things, "to this part of these commentaries, we cannot do better than to refer to a *confirmatory view*[97] which has been recently presented to the public by one of the farmers of the Constitution, who is now, it is believed, the only surviving member of the Federal convention,[98] and who, by his early as well as his later labors, has entitled himself to the gratitude of his country as one of its truest patriots and most enlightened friends."

Story was a judge and he was expected to know what was relevant to, and admissible in, a Commentary on the Constitution of the United States.

Seventhly, we find in Willis:[99]

> "What rules of construction does the United States Supreme Court follow in construing statutes and passing on constitutional provisions? *In the main*, the same principles govern the construction of statutes and the construction of constitutions, but a constitution should have a liberal construction and be interpreted so as to carry out its general objects. The courts should endeavor to carry out the real purpose and intent of a provision. This intent must be embodied in the instrument itself. But if a provision is doubtful it may be examined in the light of its *prior* and *contemporaneous history* . . .
>
> "In exercising its functions, the Supreme Court has sometimes been influenced by *historical considerations*, sometimes by analytical considerations, and at other times by philosophical considerations."

It is clear from this that the letter of the law has not always been a determining factor in constitutional construction in the United States.

Lastly, we find in Beard:[100]

> "Those who are called upon to expound the (American) Constitution continually speak with confidence about 'the intention of the farmers' and cite speeches, letters, and papers to prove their interpretation or another, even though their constructions are frequently opposite in upshot. No doubtedly light can be thrown on the meaning of the Constitution by studying the writings of the Fathers."[101]

Again, referring to the use of "the rational method" in interpretation, Beard[102] says that

> "In seeking to discover what can or cannot be done under the (American) Constitution, the *Courts*, the President, Congress, etc., "also resort

89. Command Paper 4268, 1933.

90. *I.e.*, the *Report of the Joint Select Committee on Indian Constitutional Reform*, 1934.

91. The italics are mine.

92. See *The All-India Reporter*, August, 1950.

93. Reference here is to Article 21 of the Constitution of India.

94. It may be interesting to note here that only on 9th February, 1951, Mr. M. C. Setalvad, Attorney-General for India, placed before a special bench of the Patna High Court, in connexion with the question of the validity of the Bihar Land Reforms Act, "*proceedings of the Constituent Assembly* and other documents to show that the Constitution-framers had the welfare of the public in mind in permitting States to legislate for the abolition of the Zamindari system."—*The Statesman*, 14th February, 1951. (The italics are mine).

Mr. M. C. Setalvad "whose sphere of activity" is not "limited to the instruction of the young,' is perhaps expected to know something about the "canons" of constitutional construction.

95. Fourth Edition (by Thomas Cooley), Vol. 1, Section 396, pp. 388-93.

96. Often referred to as the "Father of the (American) Constitution" for the part he played in the framing of the Constitution at the Philadelphia Convention in 1787.

97. The italics are mine.

98. At Philadelphia.

99. See his *Constitutional Law of the United States*, 1936, p. 9. (The italics are mine).

100. See his *American Government and Politics*, 9th Ed., p. 9.

101. The term is used to mean the makers of the American Constitution and, particularly, the members of the Constitutional Convention at Philadelphia held in 1787.

102. Beard, *op. cit.*, p. 61.

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to processes of reasoning, and to various claims, assertions, and inferences. They *cite history, both oral and written*; they refer to their memory of what was done or intended. They make use of quotations from the Bible, preceding judicial decisions, acts of Congress, *speeches by statesmen, and official documents* by authorities presumed to be competent."[105]

Moreover, sometimes resort is had to the "spirit" of the (American) Constitution, and sometimes, again, a certain intention on the part of its authors is presumed in constitutional construction, which does not necessarily follow from its text.

Thus, "looking elsewhere for light," says Beard,[106] "judges of the Supreme Court (in the U.S.A.) frequently refer to the 'nature of the system,' 'the spirit of the Constitution,' and its 'general spirit.' Marshall remarked in the Dartmouth College case, with respect to a certain contention, that the framers of the Constitution 'could never have intended to insert in that instrument' an idea 'repugnant to its general spirit.'[106] Long afterward another judge maintained that there are some limitations, not clearly expressed in the Constitution, 'which grow out of the essential nature of all free governments'."

In *Marbury* vs. *Madison*, also, Chief Justice Marshall made as Beard has pointed out,[106] use of the following *assumption* in the judgment of the Supreme Court:

> "That the people have an original right to establish, for their future government, such principles as, in their opinion, shall most conduce to their own happiness, is the basis on which the whole American fabric has been erected."

It is clear from the above that we are now far away from the view that the text of a Constitution is the only guide to its construction, and that the language used in it is the "acid test," etc., as Mr. Basu seems to think.[107] Reference to debates in Constitutional Conventions, to relevant speeches and writings of statesmen, to history, both oral and written, to inferences and assumptions, etc., is permitted, in certain circumstances, in constitutional construction, and my reference, therefore, to our *Constituent Assembly Debates* was perfectly in accordance with reason, with commonsense, and with well-established principles of constitutional construction. Mr. Basu has qualified his statement with the words "unless there is an ambiguity," but, as a clever lawyer, avoided reference to what would, or should, happen if there were any ambiguity, or confusion, or doubtfulness, or uncertainty, about the "meaning" and nature of a Constitution, or any of its provision or provisions. Now what did actually happen so far as I was concerned? There was a sharp difference of opinion between me and some other persons on the question of the constitutional position of the President of India, particularly, in relation to his Council of Ministers, and also on the question of the true nature of our present system of government. I held—as I do even now—certain views on these questions as set forth in my previous articles in this *Review*.[108] In support of my views I referred to our *Constituent Assembly Debates*. Now reference to these *Constituent Assembly Debates* would really mean reference to the views of some people in the Constituent Assembly, and not to the position of the chairs, tables, benches, etc., in the Assembly. And to whose views did I primarily refer? I referred to the views of persons like Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Chairman of the Union Constitution Committee of the Constituent Assembly, Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, Chairman of the Drafting Committee of the Constituent Assembly, and of Shri Alladi Krishnaswami Ayyar and Shri K. M. Munshi, members of the Drafting Committee. I also referred to one or two other confirmatory views. Now I need hardly say anything here about the position and influence of persons like Pandit Nehru, or Dr. Ambedkar, or Shri Alladi Krishnaswami Ayyar in the Constituent Assembly. Even then I would not perhaps have referred to their views if the text of our Constitution had given us a true picture of the position of the President in our constitutional system. It did not, or rather could not, do it. The text would only enable us to have a purely technical and legalistic view of the question, and that would be quite untrue to fact. In *Attorney-General for the Province of Ontario and others* vs. *Attorney-General for the Dominion of Canada and another* (A.C. 571, 1912), the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council stated,[109] among other things:

> "In the interpretation of a completely self-governing Constitution founded upon a written organic instrument, such as the British North America Act, if the text is explicit the text is conclusive, alike in what it directs and what it forbids."

As the text of our Constitution, however, was not explicit, and there were uncertainty, doubtfulness and even confusion in the minds of some people about the *real* position and powers of the President under it, I referred to some views as recorded in our *Constituent Assembly Debates* and also to one or two other corroborative views, in support of my own contention. As I have already stated, my action was quite in consonance with well-established canons of constitutional construction and was, therefore, perfectly justified. We should not forget in this connection that British

105. The italics are mine.
106. Beard, *op. cit.*, p. 52.
106. What Chief Justice Marshall actually stated in *Dartmouth College Vs. Woodward* (4 Wheaton 518, 1819), is as follows: "As the framers of the constitution *could never have* intended to insert in that instrument a provision so unnecessary, so mischievous, and so repugnant to its general spirit, the term 'contract' must be understood in a more limited sense." (The italics are mine).
107. See Beard, *op. cit.*, p. 49.

108. See *The Modern Review* for June and for December, 1950.
109. Jennings and Young, *Constitutional Laws of the British Empire*, p. 145.

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Constitutional jurisprudence is not the only jurisprudence in the world: There is also such a thing as American constitutional jurisprudence. If, however, it be held that the views of persons like Professor Willoughby, Judge Cooley, Lord Wright, Sir Maurice Gwyer, C. J., H. J. Kania, C. J., Judge Story, Mr. Setalvad, Professor Willis, and Charles Beard are not entitled to much respect as none of them, so far as we know, have ever been members of the Calcutta Bar, I have nothing to say except this that I am in a very good company and that I can well afford to ignore any uniformed criticism of my action.

There is another aspect of the question. The reason why reference to the parliamentary history of a statute is not ordinarily permissible in legal interpretation, say, in a country like England, is that the English Parliament is a "tripartite" body, consisting as it does of the King, Lords and Commons. What happens in one part of the body is not expected to be known although this view has no meaning today to the other parts. Thus in *Miller* vs. *Taylor* (1769) Willes, J., said[110]:

> "The sense and meaning of an Act of Parliament must be collected from what it says when passed into law, and not from the history of changes it underwent in the House where it took its rise. That history is not known to the other House or to the Sovereign."

We also find in Maxwell[111] that the language of an enactment "can be regarded only as the language of the three Estates of the realm, and the meaning attached to it by its framers or by individual members of one of those Estates cannot control the construction of it."

Now this argument cannot apply to our Constituent Assembly as it was a unicameral constituent body. We should not indulge in reasoning in total disregard of local circumstances.

IV

This rejoinder has become unduly long and must have severely taxed the patience of the reader. I could not help it as I had to deal with a number of controversial points raised by Mr. Basu. I have, however, no desire to prolong this controversy further, unless again compelled, as we have gone far away from its central theme, namely, the position of the President of India.

In conclusion, I should like to say that it appears to me that Mr. Basu and I hold different views about the connotation of the term "Constitution" and that this has led to a difference of opinion between him and me. He seems to have been using the term in a very narrow sense, meaning by it only the "written" elements in a Constitution. I have been using the term, except where a technical necessity required otherwise, in its usual sense, implying by it both "written" and "unwritten" elements in a Constitution. Usage, however, is on my side to-day.

"What is the Constitution of Great Britain?" asks Professor Munro. "It is", he himself answers, "an infinitely complex amalgam of institutions, principles, and practices; it is a composite of charters and statutes, of judicial decisions, of common law, of precedents, and usages and traditions. It is not one document, but thousands of them. It is not derived from one source, but from several. It is not a completed thing, but a process of growth. It is a child of wisdom and of chance whose course has been indifferently guided by accident and by high design."[112]

"What is the Constitution of the United States in its present-day significance?", asks Professor Munro again. "Briefly," he himself states, "it is made up of contributions from six different sources. These are: (*a*) the original document; (*b*) twenty-one amendments; (*c*) hundreds of statutes which provide details for the general provisions of the Constitution; (*d*) thousands of judicial decisions interpreting the Constitution and the aforementioned statutes; (*e*) executive orders which fill in the details of statutes; and (*f*) a countless host of usages, customs, precedents, traditions, and even administrative opinions, which have acquired constitutional strength."*

This view is also supported by Professor W. F. Willoughby who says:[113]

> "It is now recognized, however, that, in the case of all countries, there are many fundamental political provisions which are not set forth in their formal constitutions but which none the less must be deemed to be of a constitutional character. Of no country is this more true than of the United States, which, of all countries, is supposed to have a peculiarly inflexible constitution. . . . The most important fact, from the standpoint of the study of government, resulting from this is that only a very imperfect idea can be obtained of the governmental system of a country as it actually exists and functions by a mere study of its written constitution. The constitution considered alone is a dead, inert thing. It is this that makes the study of government, seemingly an easy task, in fact one of great difficulty, requiring in high degree the exercise of the inquisitive and analytical faculties."

And Ogg says:†

> "The truth is that our written constitution—[the] written constitution that has been in operation [for] a few years—has come to be overlaid with, [and] enveloped by, a mass of rules and usages, not [set] forth at all in the basic text, yet contributing in many instances quite as much to making the gover-

110. See Craies, *op. cit.*, p. 122.
111. Maxwell, *op. cit.*, p. 29.
112. See Munro, *The Governments of Europe*, New and Revised Edition, pp. 8-10; also Ogg, *European Governments and Politics*, [illegible] Chap. III; also Ogg and Zink, *Modern Foreign Governments*, [illegible] Chap. II.
* See Munro, *The Government of the United States*, 5th [illegible] p. 67; also Ogg, *op. cit.*, Chap. III; also Ogg and Zink, *op. cit.*, Chap. II.
113. See W. F. Willoughby, *The Government of Modern States*, p. 118. (Revised Edition).
†See Ogg, *op. cit.*, p. 41. Mr. Ogg is an American.

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ment what it is as anything within the four corners of the formal document. Some of these added features arise from interpretation, supported by judicial opinion. Many rest upon statute. Still others flow only from precedent or custom."

Jurists also support the above view.

"A constitution," says Holland,[114] "is often, as in England, an unwritten body of custom, though, since the assertion of the 'rights of man' which preceded the Independence of the United States and the French Revolution, the written enactment of such fundamental principles has been not uncommon, as well on the European continent as in America."

And Sir John Salmond, a Judge of the Supreme Court of New Zealand, says in his *Jurisprudence*,[115] considered by some people as "a legal classic":

"The constitution (of a State) is both a matter of fact and a matter of law. The constitution as it exists *de facto* underlies of necessity the constitution as it exists *de jure* . . . The constitution as seen by the eye of the law may not agree in all points with the objective reality. Much constitutional doctrine may be true in law but not in fact, or true in fact but not in law. Power may exist *de jure* but not *de facto*, or *de facto* but not *de jure* . . . Nowhere is this discordance between the constitution in fact and in law more serious and obvious than in England. A statement of the strict legal theory of the British constitution would differ curiously from a statement of the actual facts. Similar discrepancies exist, however, in most other states. A complete account of a constitution, therefore, *involves a statement of constitutional custom as well as of constitutional law*. It involves an account of the organised state as it exists in practice and in fact, as well as of the reflected image of this organisation as it appears in legal theory . . . Constitutional practice may alter, while constitutional law remains the same, and *vice versa*."

Finally, in my second article[116] in this series I rebutted a view of Hughes, C.J., quoted by Mr. Basu, with a view of Professors Ogg and Orman Ray, quoted by me. Mr. Basu appears to have demurred[117] to it. My rebuttal, it is gladdening to note here, has the support of no less an authority than Judge Cooley, referred to by Bryce, himself a great jurist and historian, as an "eminent constitutional lawyer."

"We may think," says Judge Cooley, "that we have the Constitution[118] all before us; but for practical purposes the Constitution is that which the government, in its several departments, and the people in the performance of their duties as citizens, recognize and respect as such; and *nothing else is*."[119]

Bryce endorses this view with the general observation:[120]

"The solemn determination of a people enacting a fundamental law by which they and their descendants shall be governed cannot prevent that law, however great the reverence they continue to profess for it, from being worn away in one part, enlarged in another, modified in a third, by the ceaseless action of influences playing upon the individuals who compose the people."

Thus authority is pitted against authority. Let Mr. Basu coolly think over the whole matter. Meanwhile, let me come back to, and reiterate, the point emphasized by me in my first article:[121]

"The Constitution of a country is not to be found in its law alone."

114. See Holland, *The Elements of Jurisprudence*, 13th Ed., p. 373; also see Dicey, *The Law of the Constitution*, 8th Ed., pp. 21-39.

115. See Salmond, *Jurisprudence*, 10th Ed., 1947, pp. 140-42. (The italics in the extracts quoted, are mine).

116. See *The Modern Review* for December, 1950, p. 461.

117. See *The Modern Review* for February, 1951, p. 143.

118. Judge Cooley means by this expression here the written part or parts of the American Constitution.

119. See Bryce, *The American Commonwealth*, 1928, Vol. I, p. 400. (The italics are mine).

120. See *ibid*.

121. See *The Modern Review* for June, 1950, p. 450.

———:O:———

NOCTURNE

By CYRIL MODAK

You are to me a melody
That runs through all my days,
And sweetly thrills, with music fills
My heart to burst in praise!

From every hour as from a flower
Your memory's fragrance spreads;
And every thought desire-fraught
For you its tribute sheds.

While others sleep in silence deep,
And drowsy is the air,
Till inky night melt into light,
I seek your Image fair.

In one caress, Ah! Love, to press
Your beauty on my heart,
With one wild kiss of burning bliss
Become of you a part!

Till like a flood my surging blood
Break floodgates of your being,
And sweep our hearts to heights where starts
All feeling, hearing, seeing!

O sorry waste! . . . I cannot taste
Night's joy-feast and love's wine,
Till I can rest on your dear breast
This sleepless head of mine!

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IMPEACHMENT AND DEMOCRACY

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By Prof. RAMESH CHANDRA GHOSH, M.A.

As is well-known, the fundamental principles of the Cabinet system of Government are two: the dual executive and the collective responsibility of the Ministers to the legislature. The Constitution of India provides for both these principles. The President is the Head of the State. All executive powers are vested in him and executive actions shall have to be taken in his name.[1] But the real executive is the Cabinet or Council of Ministers who are collectively responsible to the Indian Parliament or more correctly, to the House of the People.[2] We can, therefore, conclude that we have a Cabinet system of Government.

But there are some who have expressed fears that the President may turn out to be a dictator,[3] especially as all powers vested in the President, throughout the body of the Constitution, are legal powers which the Courts are bound to recognise; secondly, because the Ministers hold office during the pleasure of the President[4]; and lastly because, there is no obligation on the part of the President to act always on the advice of the Council of Ministers.[5] Dr. Sen Gupta goes so far as to say that in case of sharp differences between the President and the House of the People, the former may try the same *coup d'etat* which von Hindenburg resorted to in 1932. Therefore, he suggests that the dual responsibility of the Ministers to the President and the House of the People should be put an end to by a "suitable amendment of the Constitution," while Mr. V. N. Srivastava and Dr. B. M. Sharma suggest that it should be made obligatory on the part of the President to act always on the advice of the Ministers. It is submitted that all these fears are groundless and the suggestions are worse than useless. They show a lack of profound insight which led the Constituent Assembly to adopt Art. 75 in its present form.

There are occasions when the President cannot and should not act on the advice of the Council of Ministers. As it is not the object of my article to enumerate the occasions when the President may refuse to act on such advice, I will mention here only a few cases. When there is no party with an absolute majority in the House of the People, and a Coalition Ministry suffers a defeat very soon after the general election, by the withdrawal of the support of a section of the House, and the remedy of dissolution is also not readily available, the President may legitimately exercise his discretion in the selection of the new Prime Minister. A defeated Ministry has no right to advise the President as to the selection of its successor.[6] The President may also refuse to give his assent to a Bill by which a fascist Government tries to subvert the Constitution. He may dismiss the Ministry and dissolve the House of the People. He may refuse to act on the advice of the Council of Ministers when they are

> "pursuing a policy which subverted the democratic basis of the Constitution, by unnecessary or indefinite prolongations of the life of the Parliament, by gerrymandering of the constituencies in the interests of one party or by fundamental modification of the electoral system to the same end."[7]

As Wade and Phillips point out:

> "Even in England, there are some matters which fall to be determined by the exercise of his personal judgment, and in particular the appointment of a Prime Minister, and in some circumstances the dissolution of Parliament."[8]

Normally, the President will dissolve the House on the advice of the Premier; but when an alternative Ministry is possible, the President may well refuse dissolution in such a big country like India with an electorate of over 170 millions.

However, all these do not mean that our President will be a dictator. The Ministers no doubt hold office during his "pleasure"; but, this "pleasure" must be exercised in harmony with the principle of collective responsibility of the Cabinet to the House of the People. For, this principle is a part of our Constitution [Art. 75(3)], and the President, by the terms of his oath, is bound to "preserve, protect and defend the Constitution and the law" and to devote himself to "the service and well-being of the people of India."[9]

The oath naturally reminds one of the sanctions behind the conventions of the British Constitution. There is no doubt now that these conventions are obeyed in the U. K. not because their violations will lead to a breach of the law; for, in that case, there is nothing to prevent Parliament to amend the law; but because the people or their representatives in Parliament want these conventions to be so observed and respected. For, these conventions ensure efficient government and the supremacy of the people. Says Dicey:

1. Arts. 52, 53(1), 77(1).
2. Art. 75(3).
3. Dr. N. C. Sen Gupta: *The Constitution of India*, (1950), p. 81. Mr. V. N. Srivastava: "The Union Executive in the Constitution of India" in *The Indian Journal of Political Science*, October-December, 1950, p. 20. Dr. B. M. Sharma: "The President in the Indian Republic" in *The Indian Journal of Political Science*, October-December, 1950, pp. 6-7.
4. Art. 75(2).
5. Art. 74(1).
6. Anson: *The Law and the Custom of the Constitution*, (1935), Vol. I, pp. 142-143. Jennings: *The Constitution of Ceylon*, 1949, p. 89. *Ridge's Constitutional Law*, 7th Edition, p. 146. Wade and Phillips: *Constitutional Law*, (1946), p. 59.
7. Jennings: *Cabinet Government*, pp. 296, 307. Wade's Note in *Law of the Constitution*, 9th Ed., Appendix p. 602. Dicey's letter to *The Times*, September 15, 1913 in
8. Wade and Phillips: *Constitutional Law* (1946), p. 56.
9. Art. 60.

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"Our modern code of constitutional morality secures, though in a round-about way, what is called abroad 'the Sovereignty of the people'."[10]

To use his words again, these conventions are "intended to secure the ultimate supremacy of the electorate as the political sovereign of the State."[11] Therefore, all breaches of conventions "are far more likely to lead to political action than to proceedings in Court being brought against the offender."[12]

It is to be remembered that the principle of Collective responsibility of Ministers is the most important convention in Great Britain. It has been described as "the foundation of Parliamentary Government as it is known throughout the British Commonwealth."[13] Lord Salisbury regarded it as "one of the most essential principles of parliamentary responsibility." Fortunately for us, this fundamental convention has been incorporated into the body of our Constitution and elevated to the status of a rule of law. Nevertheless, there are some who doubt that it may not function properly as the Ministers "hold office during the pleasure of the President" who is not bound always to act on their advice. An attempt will be made here to show that this doubt is baseless.

Our Constitution not only compels the President to take the oath or affirmation of loyalty to the Constitution, but prescribes punishment for "the violation of the Constitution."[14] If the President violates the principle of collective responsibility of the Ministers to the House of the People, which is a part of the Constitution, he violates the Constitution, unless he can show and maintain that he has done so, for the "well-being of the people of India," or for defending and protecting the great and eternal principles of our Constitution enshrined in the Preamble, *viz.*, the principles of Justice, Liberty, Equality and Fraternity, which the "people of India" have solemnly resolved "to secure to all its citizens." If the people want the President to be a dictator, nobody can prevent him from being that; for he will dismiss the hostile Ministry and dissolve the House of the People and easily secure a pliant majority to have his own way. But in that case, he is not an autocrat, but a true representative and servant of the people. On the other hand, if the people are opposed to his dictatorship, any violation of the Constitution by the President will at once set the great machinery of impeachment in motion against him. The charge may be preferred by either House when a resolution moved after at least fourteen days' notice and signed by one-fourth of the total number of members of the House, is passed by two-thirds of the total membership of the House.[15] When a charge has been so preferred, the other House is to investigate it or cause it to be investigated by a suitable body. The President is entitled to appear personally and to appoint lawyers to represent him. If the investigating House, by a resolution passed by a majority of not less than two-thirds of the total number of members of that House, declares that the charge has been sustained, it will have the effect of removing the President from his office.

Such a system of impeachment prevails in almost all republics for the trial of the Head of the States, and in England, for all persons except the king who "can do no wrong."[16]

In England, impeachment has almost fallen into disuse. The last impeachments were those of Warren Hastings (1788-95) and Lord Melville (1805). An unsuccessful attempt was made by Thomas Anstey to impeach Lord Palmerstone in 1848. Of course, conventions are now observed in Great Britain not because of the fear of impeachment, but because of public opinion; otherwise, as Dicey says, they would be no 'understandings' at all but 'laws' in the truest sense of the term and "their sole peculiarity would be in their being laws the breach of which could be punished only by one extraordinary tribunal, namely, The High Court of Parliament."[17] But it should not be forgotten that though the dread of the Tower and the block exerts no appreciable influence today over the British statesmen, yet even Dicey admits that in the past "the habit of obedience to the constitution" *i.e.*, "the observance of constitutional morality" was generated and confirmed by impeachment.[18] Recently, a good deal of confusion has become noticeable in some writings about the true nature of impeachment. Mr. K. K. Basu has made a wrong statement that impeachment in the U. K. and the U.S.A. had always been based on the violation not of constitutional morality or "traditional maxims of parliamentary Government," but of "an express provision of the Constitution."[19] Another writer, Dr. B. M. Sharma, thinks that even if the President chooses "to effectively exercise some of his powers independently of the Council of Ministers . . . he will not be guilty of violating the Constitution."[20] Dr. Sharma has especially in mind the powers of the President to issue Ordinances under Article 123, and Emergency Proclamation under Article 352 of our Constitution. All these raise the important question: What is 'Violation of the Constitution?' What is the exact scope of impeachment?

10. Dicey: *Law of the Constitution*, 9th Ed., p. 431. Also, Keith: *Constitutional Law*, 1931, p. 30.
11. Dicey: *Ibid*, pp. 422-23.
12. Wade and Phillips: *Op.cit.*, p. 67.
13. *Ibid*, p. 60. See also Jennings: *Cabinet Government*, *Op.cit.*, p. 320-321.
14. Art. 61.
15. Art. 61.
16. In the U.S.A., Art. 1 and 3 cl. 3; in the Fourth Republic (France), Art. 42, 57; in Italy, Art. 90; in Eire, Art. 12(10).
17. Dicey: *Law of the Constitution*, 9th Ed., p. 443.
18. Dicey: *Ibid*, pp. 442-443.
19. Mr. K. K. Basu: "The President of India" in *The Modern Review*, September, 1950, p. 203.
20. "The President of the Republic" in the *Indian Journal of Political Science*, Oct.-December, 1950, p. 5.

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In England, impeachment is, of course, a judicial and not like the Bill of Attainder, a legislative proceeding against a Lord or a Commoner. The person may be accused of treason or felony or a high crime or misdemeanour.[21] The words 'treason,, 'felony,' mean offences under statutory or common law; but "high crime" or "misdemeanour" are offences for which no definition is to be found in the statutory or the Common law.[22]

May says:

> "Impeachment by the Commons for high crimes and misdemeanours beyond the *reach of the law* or which no other authority in the State will prosecute, is a safeguard of liberty."[23]

It was a procedure availed of for trying "great political offenders whom the *ordinary powers of law fail* to reach."[24] Anson says that it was one of the main weapons of the commons to gain "control over the conduct of the ministers of the Crown" and, in the seventeenth century it was freely used "as a check on Ministers whose policy displeased them."[25] Keith says that it was used "as a means of bringing ministers of the Crown to account for conduct opposed to the welfare of the State."[26] Impeachment lost its value and fell into disuse in England only when the House of Commons became so powerful "to control and review the conduct of ministers as to make it impossible for them to conduct business without a parliamentary majority."[27]

It may be shown that the same practice obtains in France. In the Third Republic the only case of impeachment was that of Louis J. Malvy, Minister of the Interior (1914-1917). The Senate condemned Malvy without basing its decision on the Criminal Code. In the words of Barthelemy :

> "The Senate proclaimed its sovereignty, affirming that it was not bound by the law and could punish any fault which seemed most just even if not provided for by the law."[28]

Such a tenet receives justification provided the Senate keeps itself within the bill of impeachment passed by the Chamber.

> "The tenet," goes on Barthelemy, "has been traditionally recognised in France since the Charter of 1814, which was itself borrowed from the English ruling. Moreover, it should be noted that if there were no such rule, it would have to be invented, for, without it Ministerial responsibility would be nothing more than a name."

The Constitution of the Third Republic made the President impeachable only for "high treason." Article 68 of the Fourth Republic contains an exactly similar provision though the process of trial prescribed in Article 57 is different from that of the Third Republic. Though no President has been impeached in France, yet Sait thinks "the Constitution obviously intends that high treason should be regarded in the political rather than in the strictly criminal sense."[29] But France has developed a new method for removing an undesirable President before the expiry of his tenure of office although he may not be charged with "high treason." In 1887, Jules Grevy was compelled by Parliament to resign from his Presidentship within a year of his re-election, on account of the sinister influence which he allowed his son-in-law, Daniel Wilson, to exert over him in the distribution of presidential favours.[30]

Again in 1924, another President, Alexander Millerand, was forced by the Parliament to vacate because of his attempt to increase Presidential powers, his participation in election campaigns, his support for a particular political party (the National Bloc), his recalling M. Briand from Cannes by telegram and thus compelling him to break off his negotiations with Mr. Lloyd George. After the election of 1924, M. Herriot refused to form a government at the invitation of M. Millerand, whereupon the President asked a member of the minority to constitute a Ministry. This led the Chamber of Deputies to pass the following resolution:

> "The Chamber, considering that M. Millerand, President of the Republic, has in conflict with the *spirit of the Constitution* pursued a personal policy, considering that he has openly taken sides with the National Bloc; considering that the policy of the National Bloc has been condemned by the country, is of the opinion that the continuance of M. Millerand at the Elysee would injure the Republican conscience, would be the source of incessant conflict between the Government and the Head of the State and a constant danger to the regime itself."[31]

The Senate supported this resolution and so Millerand had to vacate. In France, some of the legal purists regarded these two actions of the Parliament as unconstitutional, for they held that the President was elected for a fixed term of seven years and that his responsibility was legal and not political. Thus Malezieux writes :

> "A deux reprises, en 1887 pour Grevy et en 1924 pour Millerand, le President de la Republique a été contraint de demissionner devant l'hostilite que lui manifestait le parlement. Le Chambre avait decide qu'elle refuserait de collaborer avec tout gouvernement nomme par le president. Cette pratique était sans aucun doute inconstitutionnelle."[32]

But the vast majority of French writers think that

21. Halsbury: *Laws of England*, Vol. 26, pp. 214-216; Chalmers and Hood: *Constitutional Laws* (1946), pp. 46-48; also, Wade and Phillips: *Op.cit*, p. 206.

22. W. F. sCraies, "Misdemeanour"—*Ency. Britannica*, Vol. 18, 11th Ed., pp. 577-8.

23. May : *Parliamentary Practice*, 12th Ed., pp. 588-591.

24. *Ency. Britannica*, (14th Ed.), Vol. 12, p. 120; also Keith: *English Constitutional Law*, 1931, p. 116.

25. Anson: *Op.cit.*, Vol. I, (5th Ed.), p. 407.

26. *Ridge's Constitutional Law of England*, 5th Ed., p. 230.

27. Anson: *Op.cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 384-385.

28. Joseph Barthelemy: *Gouvernment de France* (1924), p. 194.

29. Edward H. Sait: *Government and Politics* (1920), pp. 196-97.

30. Marcel Prelot : *Precis de Droit Constitutional* (1948), p. 237.

31. A. L. Lowell : *Greater European Governments* (1920)

32. R. Malezieux: *Droit Constitutionnel* (1948), p. 75.

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while in neither of these two cases a charge of "high treason" could be legally maintained, yet the action taken by the Parliament was a mere logical application of the theory of ministerial responsibility. As Prelot says:

"Celle-ci est, en effect, la contrepartie de l' irresponsabilite presidentielle. Si aucun homme politique, susceptible de reunir une majorite parlementaire n'accepte de'assumer la premiere, la seconde s'evanouit. Exceptionnelle mais effective, il est done institue une revocabilite indirecte du president."[33a]

Prelot, relying on Vol. III of *Caillaux's Memoires*, observes that had the first World War not broken out, President Poincare would also have been forced to vacate in the same way, in the autumn of 1914.[34] In this connection it may be noted that our Constitution makes the President impeachable not for "high treason," but for "violation of the Constitution"—a term comprehensive enough to include, *inter alia*, the violation of the principle of ministerial responsibility provided for by Article 75(3).

The Constitution of the Union of Burma states the grounds of impeachment very elaborately. Article 54(1) of that Constitution runs thus:

"The President may be impeached for—(*i*) High Treason; (*ii*) Violation of the Constitution; or (*iii*) gross misconduct."

The Italian Constitution of 1947 prescribes impeachment of the President for "high treason or violation of the Constitution."[35] The Constitution of Eire (1937) says: "The President may be impeached for stated misbehaviour."[36] The meaning of these terms, the purpose of impeachment, the nature of the charges, etc., will become very clear if we analyse the system of impeachment prevailing in the United States of America.

In 1804, Judge Pickering of the Federal District Court of New Hampshire was impeached, convicted and removed from office not for any indictable offence but for misconduct on the bench, loose morals, drunkenness, intemperate habits, etc. Article II, Section 4 of the Constitution of the U.S.A. says:

"The President, Vice-President and all civil officers of the United States shall be removed from office on impeachment for and conviction of treason, bribery or other high crimes and misdemeanours."

Article I, Section 3 Clauses 6 and 7 vest in the Senate the sole power to try all impeachments, limit the punishment to removal from office and disqualification to hold and enjoy any office of honour, trust, or profit under the United States," make the party convicted further liable and subject to indictment, trial, judgment and punishment according to law," and require that when the President is impeached, "the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court shall preside." In the U.S.A., the charges are voted by the House of Representatives by a majority vote, that is, a majority of a quorum only.[37] But the most important thing for us to note here is how charges are framed and whether they are all bound to be based on indictable offences. In short, it may be said that the practice in the U.S.A. is the same as in England.

In 1805, Justice Chase of the Supreme Court was charged with misdemeanours, *i.e.*, for conducting himself "in a manner highly arbitrary, oppressive and unjust," for "disregarding his judicial functions," etc. In 1862, Judge Humphreys was impeached, convicted and removed from office for favouring the cause of the Confederacy. In 1868, President Andrew Johnson was charged with "high crimes," "misdemeanours," delivering "harangues," making "unconstitutional declarations," etc. He was no doubt acquitted as was Justice Chase. But five of the eleven articles charged him with the "violation of the constitution,"—an expression which occurs in our constitution. The American Senate agreed that the Chief Justice as the presiding officer, would have the right to pass upon the admissibility of evidence; but, if there was any objection, the right to decide the point at issue finally, was retained with the Senate. The statement of Ben Butler, on behalf of the prosecution, bears quotation. Butler said:

> "We define therefore an impeachable high crime or misdemeanour to be one in its nature or consequences subversive of Government or highly prejudicial to the public interest, and this may consist of a violation of the constitution, of law, of an official oath, or of duty, but an act committed or omitted, or, without violating a positive law, by the abuse of discretionary powers from improper motives, or for any improper purpose."[38]

Again, in 1913, Judge Archibald of the Commerce Court was removed by impeachment for soliciting for himself and friends valuable favours from railroad companies while they were litigants in his court. In 1926, District Judge English was charged with partiality and favouritism. In 1936, Judge Ritter of Florida District Court was removed for "want of integrity," though he was acquitted of the specific charges against him. Under such circumstances, it appears beyond dispute that "high crimes and misdemeanours" include what is called "lack of good behaviour," or, "any act of wilful misconduct or any act which tends to put the office in disrepute," or, as Story says, "for subverting Constitution and introducing arbitrary power."

Whether any offence is impeachable or not, it is for the House of Representatives to decide in the first instance and for the Senate to decide finally, and, as

33. Marcel Prelot: *Precis de Droit Constitutionnel* (1949), p. 488.

33a. Marcel Prelot: *Ibid*, p. 489.

34. Art. 85, "Il Presidente della Republica non e responsabile per gli atti compiuti nell' esercizio delle sue funzioni tranne che per tradimento o per violazione della Constituzione."

35. Art. 12(10).

37. Corwin E. S.: *The Constitution—What It Means Today*, (1948), p. 9.

38. D. M. Dewitt: *The Impeachment and Trial of Andrew Johnson*, Vol. I, p. 88; also Andrew C. McLaughlin: *A Constitutional History of the United States*, (1935), pp. 320-323, 669-675.

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Corwin points out, "from this decision there is no appeal."[39] But Corwin seems to have endorsed a different view in his another book where he inclines to the opinion of former Justice Benjamin R. Curtis, acting as one of President Johnson's Counsels, that "high crimes and misdemeanours" mean "offences against the laws of the United States."[40] This is obviously not tenable. As Cooley remarks:

> "Impeachment is for the purpose of punishing misconduct. . . . It is often found that offences of a very serious nature by high officers are not offences against the criminal code, but consists in abuses or betrayals of trust or inexcusable neglects of duty which are dangerous and criminal because of the immense interests involved and the greatness of the trust which has not been kept. Such cases must be left to be dealt with on their own facts and judged according to their apparent deserts."[41]

Joseph Story held almost similar views; the only difference was in his thinking that the trial must be held according to the principles of natural justice which he seemed to have found at the basis of the common law. As regards the use of impeachment for trying political offences, there is no difference between his views and the standard opinion in Great Britain. He writes in his usually clear style :

> "Political offences are of so various and complex a character, so utterly incapable of being defined or classified that the task of positive legislation would be impracticable, if it were not almost absurd to attempt it (§ 797) . . . Congress has unhesitatingly adopted the conclusion that no previous statute is necessary to authorise an impeachment for any official misconduct (§ 799)."

After mentioning several impeachable offences like malversations and neglects in office, attempt to subvert the constitution and introduce arbitrary power, etc., Story concludes that

> "One cannot but be struck, in this slight enumeration, with the utter unfitness of the common tribunals of justice to take cognizance of such offences, and with the entire propriety of confiding the jurisdiction over them to a tribunal capable of understanding and reforming and scrutinizing the polity of the state and of sufficient dignity to maintain the independence and reputation worthy of public officers (§ 800)."[42]

Munro's opinion that "general incompetence or bad judgment or the unwise use of discretion are not grounds for impeachment" is therefore, neither correct nor in consonance with the practice that obtains either in England or France or the U.S.A. So great an authority as Hamilton wrote as early as 1788 that the subjects of the jurisdiction of the Court of impeachment "are those offences which proceed from the misconduct of public men or in other words, from the abuse or violation of some public trust. They are of a nature which may with peculiar propriety be denominated *Political*, as they relate chiefly to injuries done immediately to the Society itself."[43] This is still the last word on impeachable offences.

It is therefore submitted that the fears of Dr. S. Gupta, Dr. B. M. Sharma, Mr. V. N. Srivastava and others thinking in a similar way, are groundless. Our Parliament faithfully represents the national will; the President can never become a dictator; for the moment he dares going against such will, he invites trouble on numerous counts. The range of impeachable offences is very wide and "violation of the Constitution" means violation of the cardinal principle of ministerial responsibility, which is not a convention but a law of our Constitution. Not that the President will be impeached now and then. No great nation can afford to get its Head of the State impeached frequently. If impeachments happen in quick succession, it will only prove that the nation is unfit for self-government; for, it fails to produce a great man who will be the symbol of its unity, the centre of all political gravitation, the personification of that elusive entity called the "State." Though the President will not be impeached frequently, he will always work under the sword of Damocles hanging over his head. During a decade or two the President, the House, the People and the Nation will, no doubt, remain conscious of this sword. But with the passage of time and the growth of democratic practice and tradition this consciousness will certainly fade away from our memory. Impeachment will then fare the same fate in India as it has done in Great Britain. The President, like the king in England, will be the great centre of national honour, the fulcrum of all our political and social activities, theoretically vested with a multitude of powers, but actually exercising only a few of them in his discretion, and that, too, rarely, and invariably in consonance with the public opinion.

39. Corwin : *The Constitution—What It means Today* (1948), pp. 9-10.

40. Corwin : *The President : Office and Powers*, (1948), pp. 410-413.

41. T. M. Cooley : *The General Principles of Constitutional Law* (1931), pp. 204-205.

42. *Story on the Constitution*, 4th Ed. (1873), Vol. I, pp. 561-566. Also, W. W. Willoughby: *Principles of the Constitutional Law of the United States* (1930), p. 610.

43. *The Federalist*, (No. 65), Ed. by Max Beloff (1948), p.

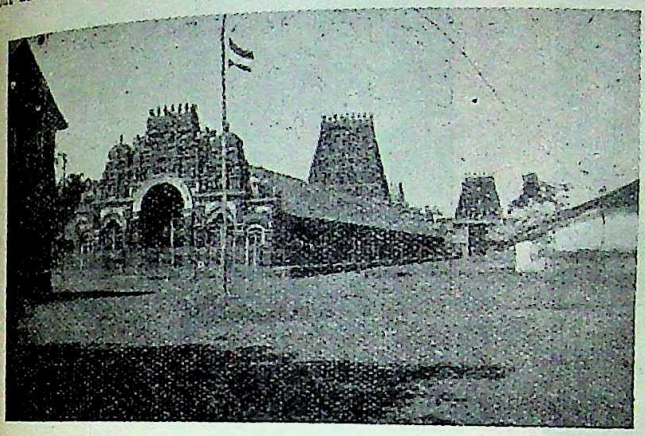
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THE SIKKIL TEMPLE

By L. N. GUBIL

The whole of South India is, as it were, a network of ancient temples not only of architectural beauty but also of hoary traditions.



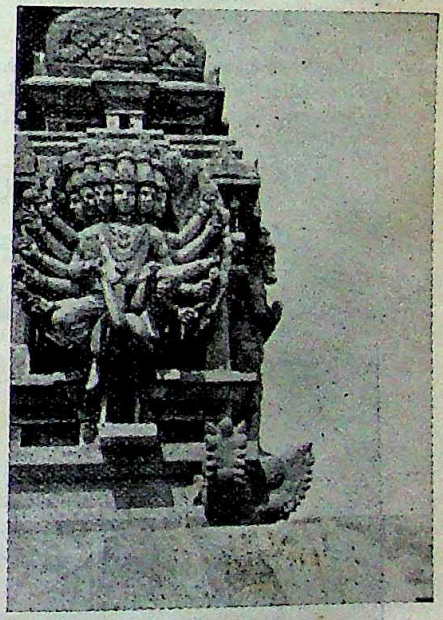
The front view of the Sikkil Temple with the Kalyana Mandapam



Sanctum sanctorum of Sri Singaravelavar, Sikkil

One of the more important temples worth visiting by any tourist is that at Sikkil near Nagapattinam in Tanjore district. The presiding deity of this temple is Navaneeteswaraswami represented by a Lingam installed centuries ago by Rishi Vashista who moulded the Lingam out of butter called *Navaneetam* from the milk of the divine cow Kamadhenu. The tradition in regard to this is that, as a result of the Kamadhenu having eaten on one occasion the flesh of a dead dog, Lord Siva transformed her into a tiger, subject to her regaining her original form after bathing in the holy tank at Sikkil.

This tank was filled with divine milk by Kamadhenu and hence the tank in the temple is called *Ksheera Pushkarani*. The other popular deity installed in the temple is Sri Singaravelavar so called because of the beautiful and luminous shining form in which the idol is made. The Velayudham is provided in his hand, the symbolic meaning of this being that the weapon is always available for the destruction of evil in the interest of the protection of good.



Architectural workmanship of Sri Subramanya at Sikkil, Rajagopuram

There is also a Vishnu deity enshrined in an adjoining temple. It is stated that Lord Vishnu obtained the blessings of Siva at this place before subduing Mahabali.

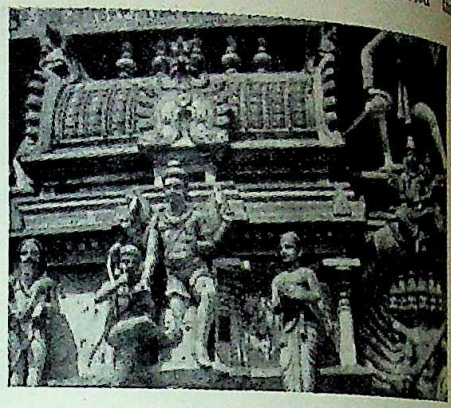
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It may be of interest to note in this connexion that the regular temple was built several centuries ago by a King of Ayodhya called Sri Muchukunda Chakravarti. The renovation work was carried out by a Chola King named Kochin Kannan in the fourth century. The Pandyan dynasty also supported the temple with rich gifts in the thirteenth century. A munificent gift of gold coins by the Emperor of Vijayanagaram in 1350 A.D. can be seen now. The temple deities have been referred to in divine praise by Sri Thirugnana Sambandar in his *Thevaram* and Saint Arunagirinathar in *Thiruppugazh*.



Another view of workmanship in Rajagopuram showing Ravana carrying Kailas Parvat



Architectural workmanship of Kannappa Naimar at Sikkil Temple

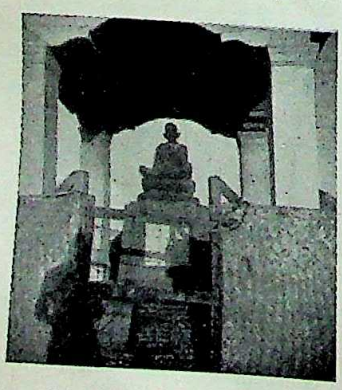
The Kaliana Mandapam situate in front of the temple is 300 feet long and 60 feet wide and is used for celebrating the Skanda Shasti festival which attracts thousands of people from adjoining places.

———:O:———

THE GOLDEN SANDS

By M. K. KRISHNAN

Picnic is a pleasant pastime. A drive through jungles and valleys, a dive in rivers and seas, or a repose on sands and grass, brings a lively relaxation to the body and mind of a person who spends his days and nights in the midst of the din and bustle of a boisterous city.



Mahatma Gandhi's statue



Children dig a well

India's sea-shore is even and regular, but there are only a very few places easily accessible where com-

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folk can go with their family, take rest, make merry and enjoy week-end holidays. Juhu, one of the healthiest resorts on the sea-shore, is the Brighton of Bombay. On one side the gentle waves toss with silver



Display of sand-art

sprays, while on the fringes palm-groves and brooms grow on the sandy banks making the land lovely where true hearts listen to the music of life.

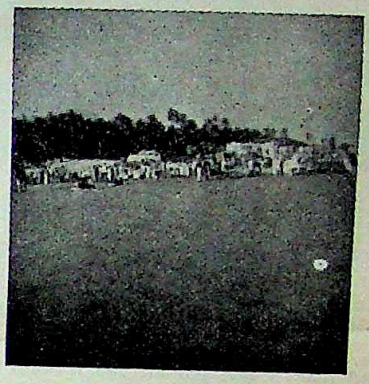


Fruit-sellers on sands

The calm and tranquil atmosphere of the sandy banks is sanctified by the simple and graceful statue of Mahatma Gandhi, whose life was like the open sea where all could fish as they liked. Children were fond of Bapu and they used to play by his side. Yes, Bapu too was fond of them.

It is a pleasure to watch children at play. How enthusiastically they dig their little wells, how artistically they build their sand-homes, how rhythmically they sing and dance. Some are fond of kite-flying, others like riding, swimming and rowing. Children make Juhu a paradise. One forgets one's woes and worries of life.

Juhu is an open market. Every Sunday all kinds of hawkers gather on the sands and they reap a good harvest on these days. Display of sand-art occasionally pleases the eyes of picnic parties.



The open market at Juhu

Juhu and Versova, side by side, are a lovely stretch of golden sands where weary souls find a sanctuary of quietude and happiness. Lovers find on



Versova sands

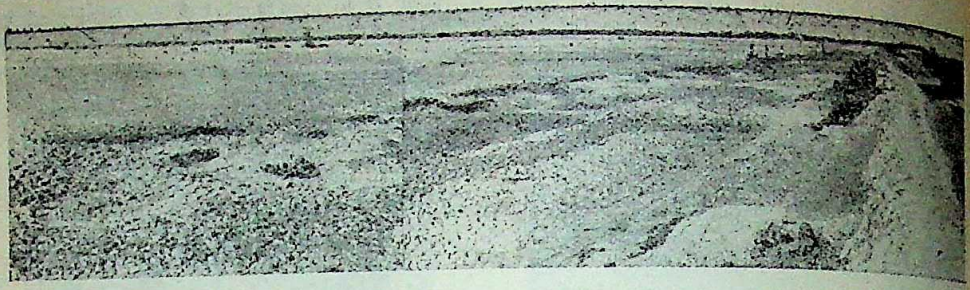
the sands a world apart, where no one interferes with their quiet joy, and life seems so lovely and full of romance.

The sun-set at Juhu is magnificent. After his long and tiresome work the red sun retires in the West, and reddens and kisses the breasts of the ocean under the cover of a coloured sky. And "no tears dim the sweet look that Nature wears." One feels while reposing on the golden sands of Juhu that

"The whole of the world was merry
One joy from the vale to the height,
Where the blue woods of twilight encircled
The lovely lawns of the light."

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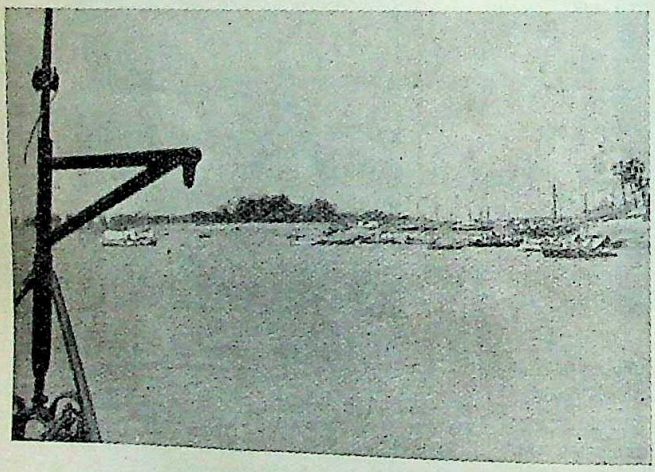


Panoramic view of the lands damaged by the entry of the saline water. The claycy nature of the soil close to the bunds under repair can be seen from the cracks

SAGAR ISLAND—ITS AGRICULTURE AND ALLIED PROBLEMS

By MURARI PROSAD GUHA, M.A.

Transport and shelter are the two limiting factors to visit *Sagar Island*. Only during winter the river route is more or less safe for a journey and the choice there is limited too. They are the irregular launch and the numberless *sampan*-like boats at Diamond Harbour, common to the eye at all the coastal habitations. In other seasons, specially during the rains, the launch stops and the only means of transport is the boat and accidents



Diamond Harbour from our launch

are not rare. The land and river combined route is a bad road up to Kakdwip (at the end of the mainland) that is on the way of a new birth of being metalled, and from there to cross the river for the northern end of the island. During seasons other than winter the waves are high and fearsome and even the toughest swimmer may have to think for them. During winter it is more or less calm.

We reached the island's northern end—mud point—Kachuberia, the conventional steamer ghat in a launch from Diamond Harbour in the evening just before sunset. But here unlike Diamond Harbour there is no jetty and a countryboat lifts the passengers and literally throws them on the quagmire. The shore is a real bog with knee-deep sticky clay even during the driest months. Bare-legged we crossed this and reached the bank to wash the mud with difficulty.

The only road worth mentioning, the district board road, runs from here and goes straight south to Sagar point where the island is washed by the Bay of Bengal and where the *Sagar Mela* annually takes place on the *Paus Sankranti* day (this year on 14th January). The other routes are the tops of the embankments that protect the cultivable lands from the entry of saline water.

These embankments are the vital links of the present-day Sagar Island. Every year some embankments give way to the forcing waves of the saline river water and the crop is lost, the soil becomes barren due to salinity and takes years to come to the original condition. In some years the damage becomes terrible and this was the case last year. You can see from the photograph how it has damaged the crop after breaking the embankments. The repair has started. This breaking of embankments will continue because the tidal water level has risen but not the land of the Sagar Island where cultivation started premature.

The system of land management is peculiar here and there is a story behind this and let me draw the background to you.

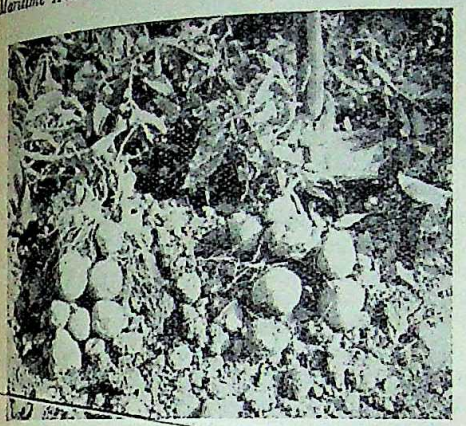
Where the Ganges meets with the sea (*Sagar Sangam*) and between 21 deg. 36 min. and 21 deg. 56 min. N. and 88 deg. 2 min. and 88 deg. 11 min. E. lies the Island of *Sagar* deriving its name from the legendary *Sagar Raja* of the *Mahabharata*.

The history so far traced tells that this island

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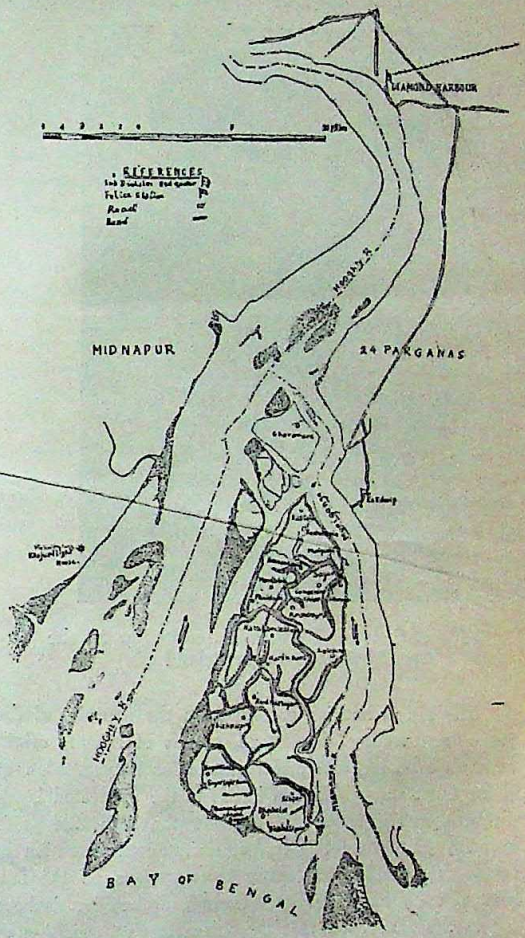
was a base for maritime power of Maharaja Pratapaditya, our illustrious forefather. After his downfall its glory was lost and nature took the task of taking the island to her laps. (*History of Indian Shipping and Maritime Activity*, 1912, pp. 218).



The good yield of potato plants raised from seeds supplied from Government cold storage

After so many years of decline and fall of empires the Britishers desired to clear the island in 1810 to benefit navigation. Some attempts failed. In 1818 a company was started with a capital of 2½ lakhs and concessions from the Government. The management made a good progress but a gale in May 1833 frustrated everything. Some European gentlemen again undertook the task and made a good headway in cultivation of paddy and production of salts with Government's permission, although storms came and passed in 1842, 1848 and 1852. The rent-free term was extended up to 1863. Most of the lands in the northern portion was cleared and the rest remained jungle except the area of the light-house established in 1808 at the southern end of the island. But again natural calamity stood in the way and cyclone and storm waves in 1864 and 1867 called attention of the authorities. Leaving aside the enormous destruction only 1,500 persons survived out of 5,600 in 1864 cyclone. It was settled to erect a place of refuge, in each of the five estates, now unions, in the form of a tank surrounded by 16½ feet high embankments and all homesteads should be within a mile and connected with embanked paths. These embankments have risen still higher and is still present. With these and other minor conditions the estates were granted rent-free in perpetuity in 1875. (*District Gazetteer*—Bengal).

From then it went on developing with migrated population mainly from Midnapore and also 24-Parganas, some of whom were released criminals as at that time the island was not a paradise. The last European sold it to a Bengalee Raja, and the Zamindary flourished with clearing of jungles and its conversion to rice fields. Today only a part in the south-east is a reserved forest (4027.88 acres) under the control of a ranger at Sikarpur. The forest is meant for timber, etc., needed for the local population to construct their houses and for their fuel. Culturable waste land in 1944 was 7051.98 acres but during these few years more lands have come under the



Map of Sagar Island

plough. Today there is no ferocious animal in the island. The population went on increasing as will be revealed from the census figures and it is still on the increase due to more migration and new birth and is ideal for the rehabilitation of displaced persons :

Year of census.	Area in Sq. miles.	No. of villages (no town).	Total population	Density per sq. mile.
1921	84	15	19,445	231
1931	205	45	31,505	154
1941	224	46	44,941	201

The climate of the island is ideal for the closeness to the sea. The ten years' average maximum temperature is 89.8 F. in May and minimum 59.9 F. in January

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(Stats. Abs. W. Bengal 1948, pp. 58), and the variation is never sharp. The health is quite good, only cholera comes every year with the Sagar *mela* and there is a permanent cholera hospital at the *mela* grounds to prevent spreading. Malaria was more or less absent before the flood of 1943 and is not of serious nature even now.



The author (*right*) with his colleague on the way to Sagar Island

The soil is alluvial, created from the deposits of the rivers surrounding the island, and is of recent origin and this is one of the main reasons for impregnation of saline water through broken bunds to the cultivated lands frequently. The main land is below the high tide point at many places and this has necessitated the creation of bunds to control flood. Many investigations on the reasons of entry of saline water through broken bunds have led to the conclusion that through nature's deposition of silt the level of the island will have to be raised by breaking bunds in a planned way and rehabilitating the people thus displaced, so long the block is exposed to tidal water.

Aman paddy is the main crop in the island and although the soil is very much suitable for double cropping, as has been found from crops raised in the island specially for cultivation of potato, wheat, oilseeds, sugarcane and jute. The lands are fertile and though no manure is used the average yield of paddy obtained is 30 mds. per acre provided no natural calamity damages the crop. The main difficulty in growing potatoes, other vegetables and *rabi* crops is cattle tresspass. The condition of cattle is very poor and they are not stall-fed and left to their destiny after the harvest of paddy. This can be solved if a two-pronged drive is given, first by growing oilseeds like mustard and groundnut—which it has been found to give good returns in the island—and secondly utilising the oil-cakes by stall-feeding the cattle. If cattle tresspass is controlled economic and high-yielding crops like potatoes can be grown round the homesteads with success. This year a good crop was raised from seeds supplied to the cultivators of the island from the Government cold storage.

The main difficulty is transport of seeds and manures as there is no all-weather road and the only road from the mud point to the *mela* ground about 25 miles long is also not in order. Main transport is with manual labour and in boats through the few *khals*.

Near the thana at Muriganga is a post office and there is a ferry station. Close to the forest office is a rice mill. In addition to this, there is only one high school at Mandirtala and no place for recreation in the whole island consisting of agriculturists mainly. Like European and American growers they deserve some incentive in the form of subsidy for the marginal produce where the law of diminishing return operates. Seeds and manures may also be subsidised and bonus for high yield may be made available to them as also concession for transport of seeds and manures from the mainland.

The land system complicates the land management. The saline water always tries to enter to deprive the tiller of its produce and the zamindar is reluctant to repair the damaged bunds in time and though this is his obligation he cannot be forced for this fault. Last year there was a great loss and you will find that up to the long distant villages from the spot where the labourers are mending the damaged bund, nothing survived.

Something is to be done for Sagar to make it a golden island in these days of food crisis and this something cannot come through coercion but through co-operation and co-ordination and above all with a mind to bring good to the toilers of the *soil*.



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A SCULPTOR AT WORK

By DURGA PRASANNA DAS

The towering and impressive remains of the ancient art of sculpture in India that have defied the vagaries of time



Mahishamardini by Damodar Maharana

always lead an observer to amazement. They prompt a spontaneous sense of respect and unequivocal praise for the deserving artists who put these superb specimens of beautiful figures and gorgeous temples into shape, and serve as brilliant finger-posts to India's glorious past.

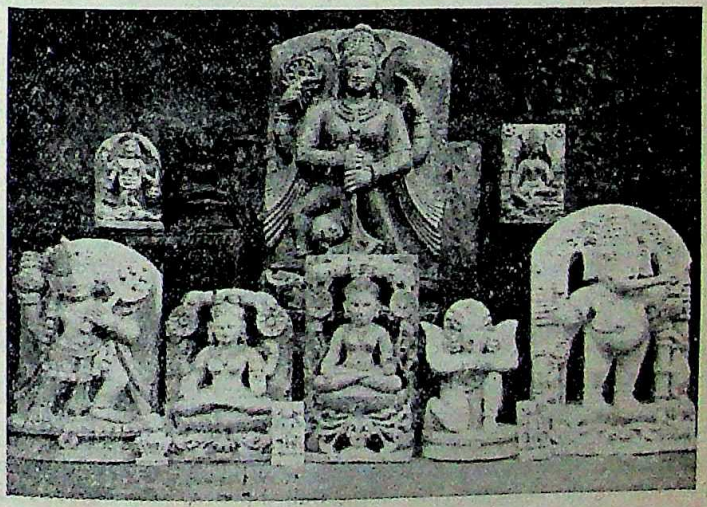
The following revealing lines from *The Discovery of India* by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru give an accurate idea as to the way such magnificence thrived at particular centres of culture in ancient India :

"One rather extra-ordinary development emerges from the Jataka accounts. This is the establishment of special settlements or villages of people belonging to particular crafts. These specialised villages were usually near a city which absorbed their special products and which provided them with the other necessities of life. The whole village worked on co-operative lines and undertook large orders."

Bhubaneswar which has since been created the new Capital for the Government of Orissa was undoubtedly a foremost city of this type. The ancestors of the few remaining 'Maharana' families of sculptors in this city had evidently settled there as interpreted above.

It is encouraging to note the references made by Sj. Chintamoni Acharya, the present Vice-Chancellor of Utkal University, in his book in Oriya, *Bhubaneswar*, in favour of the sculptor Sri Damodar Maharana for his work, his profound knowledge of the ancient *sastras* connected with the art and its application. The surname 'Maharana' connotes the heritage of exalted craftsmanship in wood or stone for the person bearing the same. Sri Damodar Maharana has very rightly inherited the artistic zeal of his ancestors and unlike others of his tribe, sticks to it in the face of the revolutionary tendency of social economy during the last few decades. Monetary considerations alone could have hardly gone as long a way with him as this in respect of his art and I do not disbelieve him when he affirms that he derives greater aesthetic satisfaction than material benefit at the perfect completion of his work. It is, however, true that people are few who appreciate the artistic beauty and thought in his work and still fewer are those who are really inclined to weigh them liberally.

He was born during the eighties of the last century and his father Harischandra Maharana was a success in artistic sculpture of no mean repute. It is interesting to hear the artist claim that Chandramoni, one of his forefathers, was one of the architects of the famous Bhubanes-

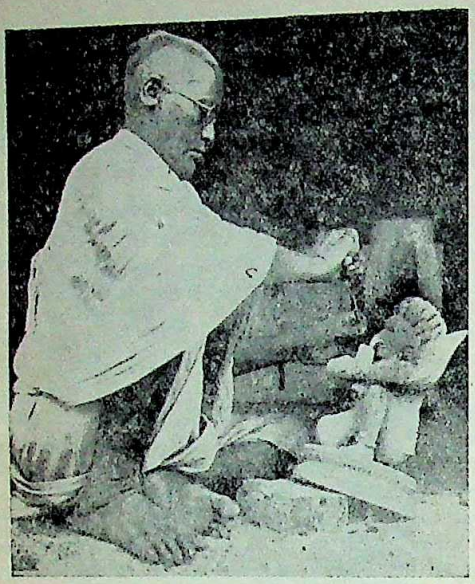


Images of Goddess Durga with Ganesha, Garuda, Lakshmi, Kali and Hanuman

war temple which was built in the 9th century under the aegis of King Jajati of the Kesari dynasty. It is a great

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The sculptor at work

joy and consolation for the old man to find his son Sri Padmalav Maharana imbibing the art.

Sri Damodar and his son mainly confine themselves to the carving of images of gods and goddesses and also miniature temples. These vary in shape and their make-up change according to differing concepts in the *sastras*. The time taken for the completion of a work greatly depends on the size and the intricacies involved, but is ordinarily between one and four months for images of perceptible size. A miniature temple usually takes about a year for completion.

The type of stones needed for the work are—*Dalimba*, *Kanda*, *Baula-mala* and *Muguni*. They are obtained from Khandagiri, Udayagiri, Bahratpur, Malipada and Ghatikia in the district of Puri. The black variety of stone locally called *Muguni*, which has the strongest elements for bigger images, is mostly indented from Nilgiri in the above district.

The cost of these priceless products of art varies from Rs. 10 to Rs. 1500 and sometimes more. In some cases the cost of the stones is borne by the purchaser. Some of the outstanding specimens of the artist's and his son's work, it is reported, find place in the museums at London, Calcutta, Patna, Bhagalpur, Ranchi and Cuttack, etc.

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MILWAUKEE : A CITY OF MUSIC AND CULTURE IN THE AMERICAN MIDWEST

By ALFRED G. PELIKAN

Visitors to Milwaukee, an inland American port city in the midwestern State of Wisconsin, are impressed by the many beautiful homes and gardens. Gardening and landscaping have flourished in the past ten years and this may well be due to the natural beauty and richness of the land. The harbor, considered one of the most beautiful on the Great Lakes (a chain of five large lakes which serves as an inland water route for industry and commerce) is bordered almost entirely by parks and parkways, and 163 inland lakes are within one hour's drive from Milwaukee. The sunken gardens and botanical conservatory in Milwaukee's Mitchell Park and the numerous garden clubs in the city and suburbs show that the community is well aware and appreciative of the beauty of its setting.

Great care has been taken by civic societies and public health and safety commissions to keep the city clean and safe. For health and safety, Milwaukee holds a place among the 13 largest cities in the United States. Milwaukee is one of the leading cities in health, fire, and crime prevention, and low death and accident tolls. In 1937, because Milwaukee had won the top health award with such frequency and regularity, the city was temporarily omitted from competition so that other cities might have a chance at the prize. During the same year Milwaukee was placed first in the national safety contest, and has been recognized five times as the "safest city" in the national traffic safety contest. The local Association of Commerce conducts one of the largest industrial safety training programs in the United States.

Numerous public playgrounds, social centres, and an excellent school system are greatly responsible for the city's low crime rate, the lowest of any metropolitan city in the United States.

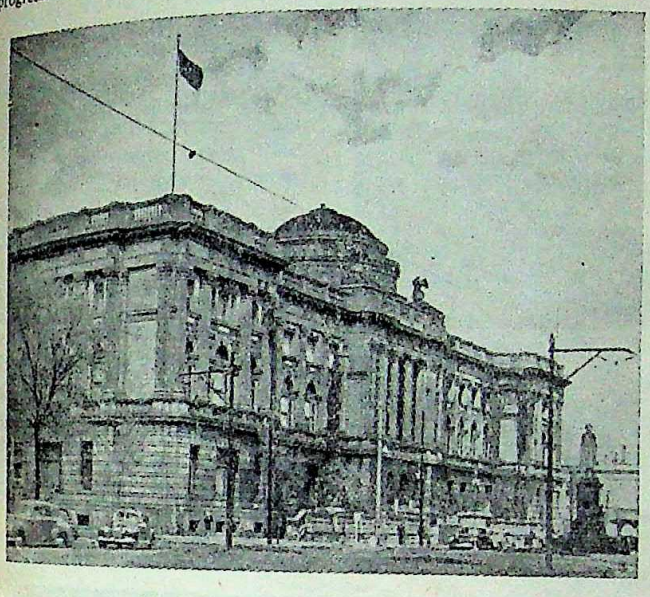
The Milwaukee Vocational School was the first of its kind in the nation and is noted for a progressive program and varied curriculum. The vocational school has attained international recognition as one of the world's largest vocational schools under one roof. Its staff of 300 teachers have instructed an annual average of 35,000 students. More than 50 courses are taught in the day and night schools in apprenticeship, special adult classes, rehabilitation, nursing, and technical subjects.

Marquette University, Milwaukee State Teachers College, Milwaukee Downer College for Women, Mount Mary College, and the University of Wisconsin

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Extension Division represent the institutions of higher learning in Milwaukee. Among the private schools, the Layton Art School ranks as one of the most progressive in America.

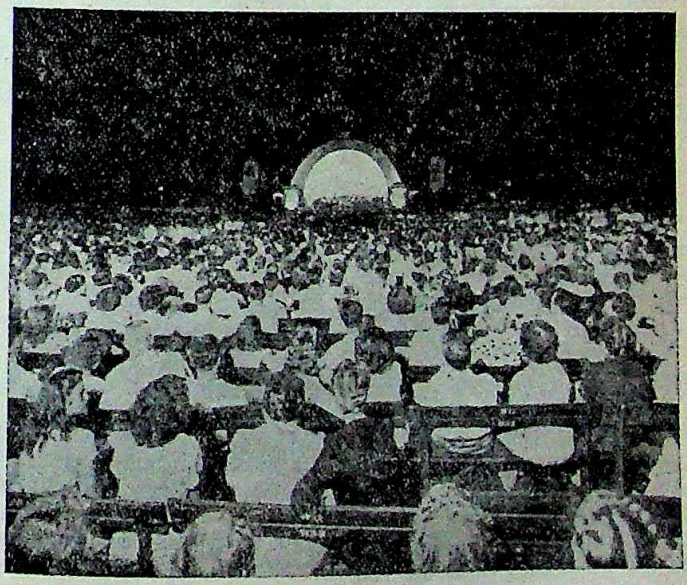


The Milwaukee Public Museum

In 1938 Milwaukee received the Washington Park Temple of Music as a gift to the people of Milwaukee from a local philanthropist. This Temple of Music includes not only the outdoor orchestra shell itself, but also all the necessary equipment, a seating arena for approximately 10,000 people, and a very fine amplification system. The people of Milwaukee were enthusiastic about the idea. The series of yearly concerts continue to be well attended and are self-supporting through the interest of the local citizens.

The Milwaukee Art Institute carries on an extensive program of exhibitions and lectures. The permanent collection which includes excellent paintings by many European artists and a collection of etchings and engravings by the Old Masters, is shown at certain times of the year. Eighty-seven loan exhibitions were shown in 1949 varying from fifteenth century Flemish masterpieces to the stimulating and instructive Bauhaus (a school founded in Germany in 1918 by Walter Gropius to create a functional experimental architecture) Exhibition organized by the Museum of Modern Art in New York City. The most notable work of the Milwaukee Art Institute, however, is its active educational program. A total of nearly 600 children attend the free art classes each Saturday. Many local cultural clubs of Milwaukee meet regularly at the Institute.

The Milwaukee Public Museum is rated highly in size and importance of its scientific exhibits. It is one of the largest locally supported museums in the United States. It maintains extensive exhibits in all the various branches of the natural sciences, anthropology, and history, and emphasizes in its exhibitions the construction of environmental groups and the use of murals. The Museum has exceptionally interesting collections of firearms, early typewriters, aboriginal pipes and smoking customs. In addition to its exhibits the Milwaukee Public Museum maintains a number of other public services, notably lectures, loan services to schools and other organizations, and an identification service. Last year the Museum rendered service to approximately 3,250,000 people.

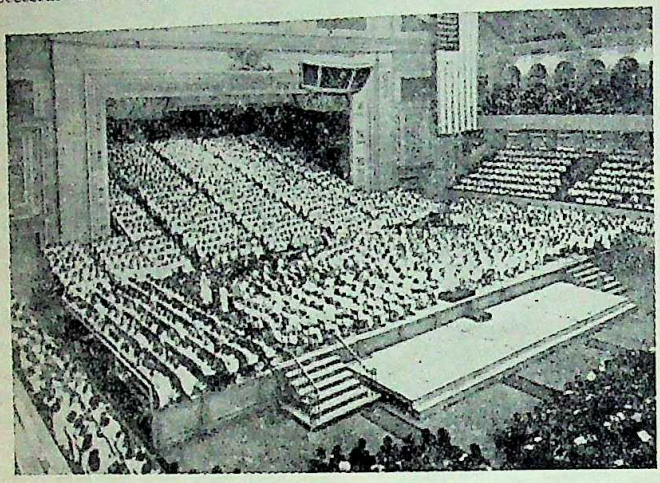


The Washington Park Temple of Music in Milwaukee is the scene of many summer concerts

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Milwaukee's Zoo is one of the largest in the United States in number and variety of animals, and the only zoological garden in America or Europe successful in raising polar bear cubs in captivity.



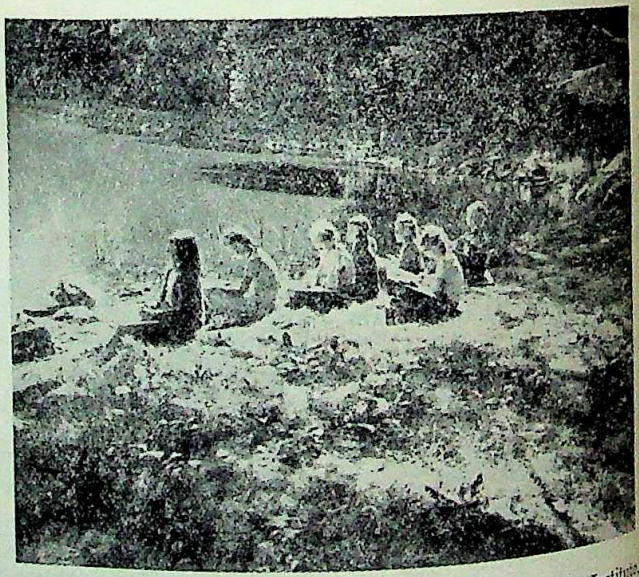
Children of the Milwaukee Public School Chorus sing to a capacity audience in the auditorium of that American mid-western city

The Wisconsin Players, the leading drama group in the city, produce several plays each year. The local theatres also present legitimate stage productions, current successes from the New York stage, Shakespearian plays, and musical comedies.

The Civic Music Association of Milwaukee devotes its attention to working with the musical groups of the city and to promoting musical development in community life. Besides bringing noted singers and musicians from all over the United States to Milwaukee, this Association sponsors the Young Peoples' Orchestra of Milwaukee, which offers young people the opportunity to perform and study the great masterpieces of music.

The name "Milwaukee" comes from the American Indian language, "Mahn-a-waukee Seepe," meaning "gathering place by the water," Milwaukee's lake-front parks are still the gathering place for "Music Under the Stars," the annual musical program presented during the summer months; for the Midsummer Festival in July, the Italian Festival Days, and the Chicago Symphony Opera Season.

Today Milwaukee is the music centre of the State of Wisconsin. Each year a summer music festival is held on the lake front, attracting thousands of visitors, and which features good music and colorful pageantry. In this annual "Harvest Festival of Many Lands," 22 nationalities are represented, wearing native costumes, playing traditional games, and singing folk songs. Music groups from all over the State of Wisconsin take part in this music festival. Two days of the festival are given over to folk dances, singing and band music. Many of the old German singing societies also take an active part in the festival. The Greeks, members of the Orthodox Greek Church, sing their old hymns and chants to the accompaniment of clarionet, violin, mandolin, and "bouzouki" (lute). A Croatian women's chorus participates in the festival as well as three Jewish singing societies, and an Italian opera chorus which sings both in Italian and English.



An art class for children, sponsored by the Milwaukee Art Institute, sketching at the shore of a park lagoon

In Milwaukee more than 20 groups study music under the State of Wisconsin Recreation Department's direction; they include instrumental classes, orchestras, bands, glee clubs, harmony clubs, and a Mexican and an Italian chorus. The work of the Recreation Department is valuable in preserving the folk music of the

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Finns and Italians in the northern region of the State not reached by any other agency.

The Biennial public school music festivals have become noteworthy events in the cultural activities of the community. The performances of choruses of school children, coupled with instrumental music, supply programs which have become the pride of Milwaukee.—From *Think*

———:O:———

SHRIMANT BALASAHEB PANT PRATINIDHI : CHIEF OF AUNDH
24th October, 1868—13th April, 1951

By Prof. O. C. GANGOLY

The death of Shrimant Bhavanrao *alias* Pant Pratinidhi, B.A., Chief of Aundh (in the Satara District) at Bombay, after a brief illness, removes a charming personality, an erudite savant, a talented artist, a person of varied culture, a patriot, and a servant of the people, of unique distinction and talent. The glittering gallery of our Indian Rajas and Princes, mostly sparkling with diamonds and velvets, robes of honours and titles, showered by the British Government to lend them artificial halos, have hardly put forth real personages of culture and talent, except with rare exceptions here and there. The Chief of Aundh had undoubtedly provided one of these rare exceptions. Never hobnobbing with the powers that be, all his honours and distinctions have been won on the basis of his own qualities of head and heart, and of his great services to the people and the country.

He came from a family famous for traditional loyalty to Shivaji, the liberator of the Deccan from the incursions of the Moghuls, a loyalty which dates back to the time of the valiant ancestor Parshuram Tryambak, who was appointed 'Pratinidhi' or Viceroy of Shivaji.

When the Silver Jubilee of Pant Pratinidhi Balasaheb was celebrated in 1933, many distinguished people from all parts of India sent him their tributes. The message of Sir Jadunath Sarkar ran as follows :

"Being a Viceroy of the Chhatrapati, you are a protector of our honour and an abode of noble qualities. May you live a long life of full hundred years for the welfare of your subjects, for the promotion of fine arts and for the delight of your well-wishers".

Educated at the Deccan College, Poona, he graduated in 1894 and began his apprenticeship in practical affairs as Secretary to his father Shrimant Shrinivas Rao (who was a veritable saint in his habit and thoughts), to whom he succeeded on the *guddee* in 1901.

Throughout his life he has liberally contributed to public and educational causes to the utmost limits of his small resources (the gross revenue of his state never exceeding Rs. 500,000). To the Benares Hindu University he paid a donation of Rs. 10,000. He was responsible for contributing the princely sum of Rs. 100,000 (in instalments), for the national enterprise of editing and publishing the critical edition of the Mahabharata undertaken by the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona. The Raja Saheb had actually paid Rs. 69,000 up to the merger of his state with the Government of Bombay, which undertook to pay off the balance out of the income of his state. Thus he died with the satisfaction that his promise for the donation has been fulfilled. Other educational causes also received his patronage. Thus, the well-known Historical Research Institute of Poona received from him an annual grant of Rs. 300.



Shrimant Balasaheb Pant Pratinidhi, Chief of Aundh

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He was not only a lover and patron of the fine arts, but a practical artist of great talent himself. A brother artist, the late M. V. Dhurandher, paid a very high compliment to the Raja Saheb :

> "A patron of Indian artists and himself an artist of exceptional merit, Balasaheb is really a prince among artists".

He himself contributed many illustrations to the critical edition of the Mahabharata and had many other illustrations by other artists executed under his direction and at his own expenses. He was a learned connoisseur of the Indian fine arts and collected numerous examples of paintings, sculptures and other works of art, some of which he collected from Europe during his visit to the foreign countries.

He organized his valuable collection of Indian and European paintings and sculptures, for which he constructed a beautiful Art Gallery at Aundh, displaying his collection with great skill and design, as an effective instrument of visual education. In many ways this beautiful gallery of art is unique and of great national value. Some of the historical portraits of important personages of Mahratta history are valuable data for visualizing Indian history. In addition to the art gallery, the Raja Saheb used to maintain a sculptors' studio, employing several sculptors who were continually carving statues from large blocks of marble, provided by this patron of Art.

Being an erudite scholar of wide interest, his library of books is a monument to his wide scholarly interest. By the year 1934 he had purchased books on Art of the value of Rs. 34,000 and acquired paintings by old and new masters of the value of Rs. 35,000. He had visited most of the important cultural monuments of India and his studies are embodied in several books and publications, of which the most important are his richly illustrated handbooks on the Ajanta Caves and the Ellora Caves. His interest in archaeology is proved by his restoring and rebuilding the famous Bindumadhab Temple and the Panch Ganga Ghat at Benares.

His deep and critical knowledge of the Sanskrit language and culture is attested by the many books that he published, of which the most outstanding are his edition of *Su-sloka-Govinda*, and *Chitra-Ramayana*, embellished with many beautiful pictures.

His great enthusiasm for the Sanskrit scriptures led him to help and finance the famous editions of the Vedic texts published by the Svadhyaya Mandala of Aundh under the able editorship of Pandit Sripad Satavalekar and other scholars.

But his greatest contribution to the culture of India was his practice of the Sun-cult and the demonstration of the therapeutic qualities of the sun's rays. He developed a scientific application of the solar treatment and composed a work called *Surya-namaskars*, in which he expounded the principles of the doctrine. Many people believe that his long and active life, full of work and energy, was entirely due to his practice of the Sun-cult, an ancient system long anticipating the recent European practice of sun-bathing. He was a very able exponent of the doctrine and several times lectured on the topic at various Universities.

He was in robust health during the greater part of his life, undertaking strenuous physical exercises to keep himself fit for his usefully active life of service and culture.

He was a frequent contributor to the Maharatta journals and his other literary works include a volume on *Sivaji, Bhavani-Sahasranama* and his own Autobiography in two volumes, in which he has freely criticized men and things in India and abroad which he saw a good deal during his long and active career.

He was a warm friend and a generous host, a man of large heart and larger sympathies. It is rare to find among the Princes of India such a personality of outspoken frankness and of deep sincerity. He was the first Raja in the Deccan to introduce democratic Government in his State and carried out all possible reforms for the economic development of his State. He introduced primary schools in all villages of his State and initiated many new industries extending his liberal support for all industrial schemes. The Ogalewadi Glass Works, the Aundh Soap Works and the Kirloskar Engineering Works owed their foundations and maintenance to the Raja Saheb's liberal financial assistance. His enthusiasm for social reform was endorsed by Mahatma Gandhi :

> "Aundh has a liberal-minded Chief who, with wise Ranisaheba, deserves congratulations for abolishing untouchability from his State" (*Harijan*, 25th. March, 1933).

A great protagonist of the doctrine of Swadeshi, he was simple in his habits and dress, exclusively confining himself to cloths and textiles made in India. It is to be hoped that he will be honoured by a full-length biography of his life, so full of rich and distinguished services to India and to Indian culture. India, indeed, has lost one of her able and talented sons whose life provides a valuable model for all to be inspired for emulating the services of one who helped a great deal to build up a new and free India.

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THE FESTIVAL OF BRITAIN

By Major D. GRAHAM POLE

It is a very odd experience to go to an exhibition well primed up in its theme, to take careful note of all that one sees—and then to find, on coming home, that all the notes and all the impressions have flown right off from the theme to compose themselves into an entirely unforeseen and breath-taking picture! This is what happened when I visited the South Bank. The Exhibition sets out to be an object lesson but the question that it leaves in the mind is the riddle of the Universe. Or, if this is too presumptuous, the more specific riddle of the future of mankind on this planet.

First to deal with the theme. The theme of the exhibition is to tell the story of British contributions to world civilisation in the arts of peace. The story to be told is in two parts—The Land and The People—and accordingly the exhibition site is cut in two. There is an Upstream sequence (the Land) and a Downstream sequence (the People). A route is marked out for you and you are invited to begin with The Land. Here there are seven sections and in the first geology takes you back a thousand million years in time. At that far-off date, the first islands were emerging and the rocks of north-west Scotland and the Outer Isles were formed. But by the third section mechanisation has reached the land. Even the village blacksmith! And, by the seventh, you are contemplating the speed of modern transport and the wonders of the new London Airport—from which large quantities of freight and four thousand passengers will take off from the land 'every hour of the day or night.'

The culmination of the Upstream sequence is of course the already famous Dome of Discovery. Embracing the preceding sequence—and in fact embracing or at least looking at all aspects of Science, pure and applied—it is the peak of the Exhibition. Indeed, since it is impossible in one or two visits to take in everything that there is to see, visitors who are pressed for time might well be advised to confine their attention to the Dome—and then to seek refreshment in the Royal Festival Hall, of which more later. It is a good idea, too, to read in advance the official guide-book. In that way the visitor will be able to track down any section of special interest either in the Exhibition at large or in the Dome of Discovery, for the Dome alone has eight sections to itself.

The most spectacular exhibit in the Dome of Discovery is the radio telescope. It was not functioning when I was here although there were intermittent and mysterious noises near the roof of the Dome which I felt sure were connected with it. This radio telescope sends signals to the moon. The signals take about two and a half seconds to reach the moon and are reflected back to the earth. And these reflections can be seen in a tube.

Though I did not see these lunar reflections, it was worth while trying to do so. On asking the way, I was courteously directed to 'Outer Space.' This is the very top-most gallery of the Dome. A moving stairway carries visitors all the way up, but the stairway was the other side of the Dome and I decided to try the ordinary stairs instead. (*Ordinary* stairs... To digress for a moment, there are no ordinary stair-cases in the Exhibition. Stair-cases, over-head promenades approached by stair-cases, are one of the most important features of the exhibition's architecture. They are worth looking at for their own sake. Oh the endless stairs one has climbed by the time one has been round the place. In the Dome they are steel and strong and insubstantial, shoot out platforms at sharp angles, and add immensely to the strange Wellsian scene).

Once arrived in Outer Space it was essential to sit down and rest. I walked round the gallery and found a bench at the other end. It was an exciting spot from which to view the Dome. A globe like a moon hung just ahead of me. Behind and just below was a tremendous object like a crystal. On this gigantic crystal, the spaces between its angles were filled in with drawings of other crystals. They were extremely lovely to look at. I could see the shapes of jewels, stars, flowers, even lace d'oyleys. Crossing the little gallery and looking over Outer Space I saw a giant telescope. It was a strange looking thing with a basis which on one side was like a pyramid and on the other like a curving Cleopatra's Needle. A wheel was set upon this base and from this rose the telescope proper. But even this appeared fantastic. The first third of its length was like a metal waste-paper basket while the rest of its length was open-work. Five circles of metal held this part of the frame together—and between these circles were squares of wire, in which wires crossed diagonally from corner to corner. What an amazing object and what, I wondered, was the purpose of the diagonal wires... Continuing along the gallery and looking across the Dome, it was clear that the display had three focal points: the giant crystal, the giant telescope, and a Totem pole.

Crystals for some reason—oh that I knew any Science—are the key-note of Outer Space. There is a whole series of them, growing out of one another and hollow like a cave (most disappointingly marked 'No Entry') as a prelude to a peep-show depicting the scene as it probably appears on various planets. I would have loved to linger here but one had to take one's place in a queue and keep moving. Uranus looked like a landscape of sky-scrapers with a full moon hanging above. Loveliest of all, I think, seemed Saturn. Clouds floated across pink and brown cliffs. And a huge wide shaft of golden light—like an orange rainbow with a blue line running through it—curved round the side of the picture.

Leaving Outer Space I descended to the next gallery and went in search of some shapes, in coloured wire, which I could see suspended above some drawings. From a

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distance, they suggested trumpets, cradles, saddles, jewels. And I was astounded to discover that they were in fact diagrams demonstrating some exalted mathematics. The note on the drawings—aside from commenting somewhat unkindly that only mathematicians were expected to understand them—drew attention to 'the inherent beauty of mathematical concepts.' How far, I wondered, does mathematics enter into beauty? Could a concept, which can take shape in wire, take shape in music too?

Anyone who visits the Dome of Discovery and begins, as I did, at the top, will leave the floor display for another visit. But the shapes he has seen will influence him. Coming out into the sunshine (we hope) he will survey the Exhibition scene, the examples of modern art set about the grounds, with a more practised eye. He on honey dew has fed and drunk the milk of paradise—and what will he think of the first sculptured group that meets his gaze, a group of a man and a woman, with heads sawn off before they quite reach the top and with holes in their backs? This sculpture is not by Henry Moore but there is one of his near the York Road Entrance, in the same mood, only it seems more powerful.

It is the lay-out of the Exhibition—and its sculpture—which sends one's thoughts off into the future and into speculating as to the direction the human race is taking. Anyone who visits the Exhibition on a crowded day and plods from one restaurant to another seeking the shortest queue will have plenty of food for speculation. He may traverse the whole exhibition space, absorbing the lay-out and the decor, and as most of the sculptures are placed near the restaurants he cannot escape them either.

To consider first the setting of the Exhibition. In the nature of things an exhibition, unless it be enclosed in a single space like a Crystal Palace, will not be architecturally satisfying: separate pavilions, varying in size and purpose, will not like eggs scramble into a whole. Moreover, at the South Bank, the architects found the site bisected already by the overhead Hungerford Bridge. So evidently they decided to make a virtue of necessity. There would be no attempt at unification. (The only feature that runs the whole length of the site is the walk along the river front). The overhead bridge would mark the division between the two sides of the Exhibition, The Land and The People. On The Land side the Dome of Discovery would be the centre of attention and on that of The People there would be the Royal Festival Hall. For the rest, the Exhibition would depend on a number of close-ups and on its staircases for visual interest. Last but not least, a lucky accident was to give the Exhibition its theme song! It had been decided, for reasons of sentiment, to retain the old Shot Tower which had stood on the South Bank for over a hundred years. It would now find itself close by to the Festival Hall. And to balance this, on the other side of the Exhibition, some genius had the brilliant idea of erecting the Skylon close to the Dome of Discovery. This Skylon is described in the guide book as 'a vertical feature in steel and aluminium'. But it stands on wires and shoots straight up into the sky like a rocket heading for the moon—and at night it blazes into fairyland!

I made some notes of one or two of the close-ups which seemed especially striking. Entering the Exhibition by the Station Gate, the visitor is met by a medley of strange shapes. On the left is a white circular building and on the right is a strange Wellsian construction never till now encountered. A white iron mast pierces up through a grey crown from which several wires, like the ribbons of a maypole, descend to support a swirling tapering white sail-curve, rather like a collar in shape. Through this collar you pass to the first section in the Exhibition, The Land of Britain. The circular building and the white collar both in a segment of the Dome of Discovery.

An amazing vista, if too much of a close-up, is the view from the Harbour Bar restaurant. Right across the scene on the south side runs a raised white bridge, curving past the front of the Festival Hall and round past the Shot Tower. The base of the tower is painted white with a black collar. The tower itself is like a light-house with a platform at the top. Above the platform is a fan which this is the aerial of the radio telescope which beams messages to the moon. Visitors are allowed inside the Tower. (Looking aloft, I saw a network of stars hanging in the darkness. For a moment I thought the Dome of Discovery must be putting on an act. But of course from the bottom of a well you can always see the stars...).

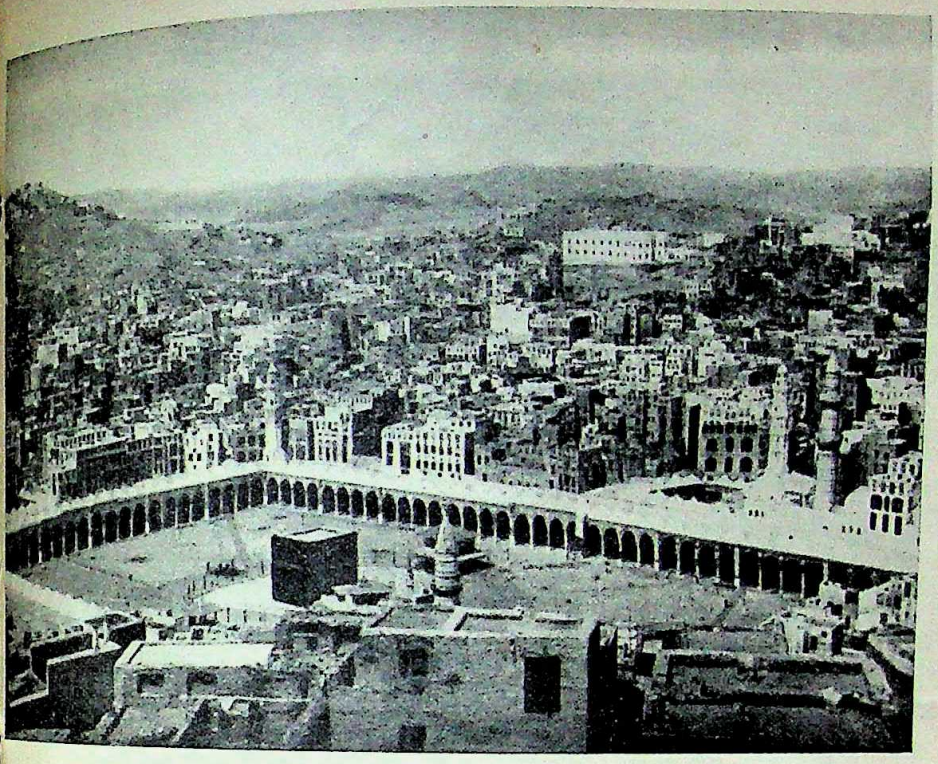
The decor of the Exhibition is white and glass. Flags everywhere, streaming from masts which chime in with those on the river, add colour. So do large dishes of tulips. On the Waterloo side variegated coloured screens shut out the drabness of surrounding streets. And occasionally, just to add more colour, one comes on a painting shape, mounted on wood and leaning against a pavilion. But the prevailing impression is of white and glass.

The Dome of Discovery is white. The Royal Festival Hall is white and glass. From the air the Dome looks like a mushroom but from the ground the over-large roof is seen to tilt upwards from the door level. Slender flying white buttresses give support all the way round. In front of these buttresses white steel ladders, stretch from the ground to the edge of the roof and encircle the Dome in a pattern like sound-waves. This wonderful Dome is not to survive the exhibition which seems a great pity. But if it were reprieved, where could it be put up? Its architecture would not blend with that of any previous age. (It would look best in a field where it could be for a marquee; or at the North Pole where its white painted steel would accord with the ice and the bears).

If the Dome is quite unlike the architecture of any other age, so is the Royal Festival Hall. And not only the Royal Festival Hall to remain: it is the first of "a number of great buildings, which will form part of a co-ordinated design" and which the Government and the London County Council are planning to put up.

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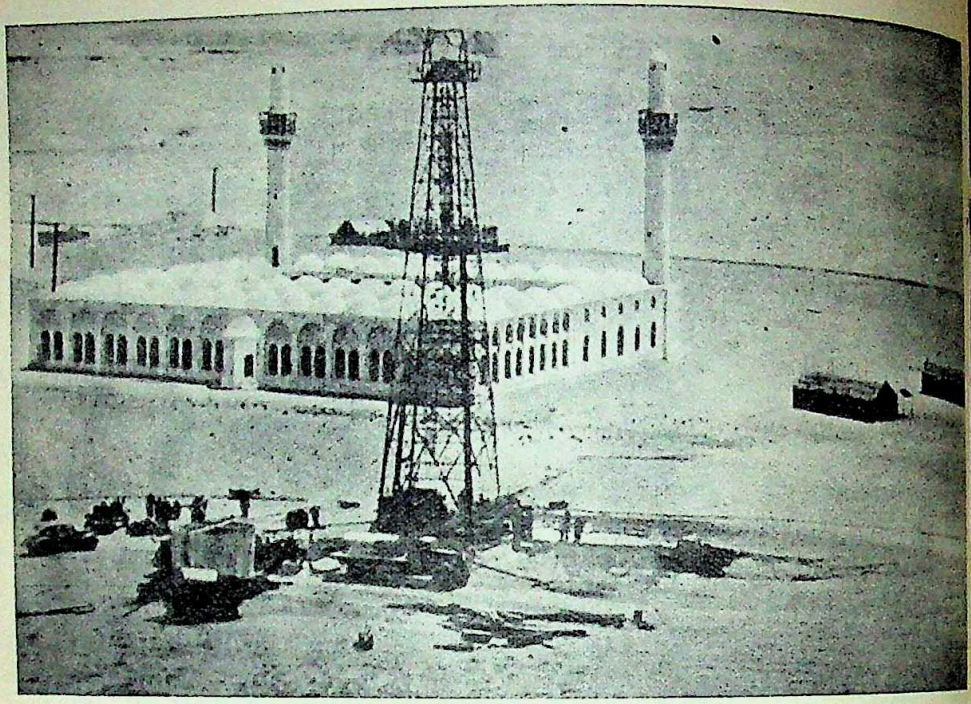
Mecca. The Kaaba enclosed in a grille, and a general view



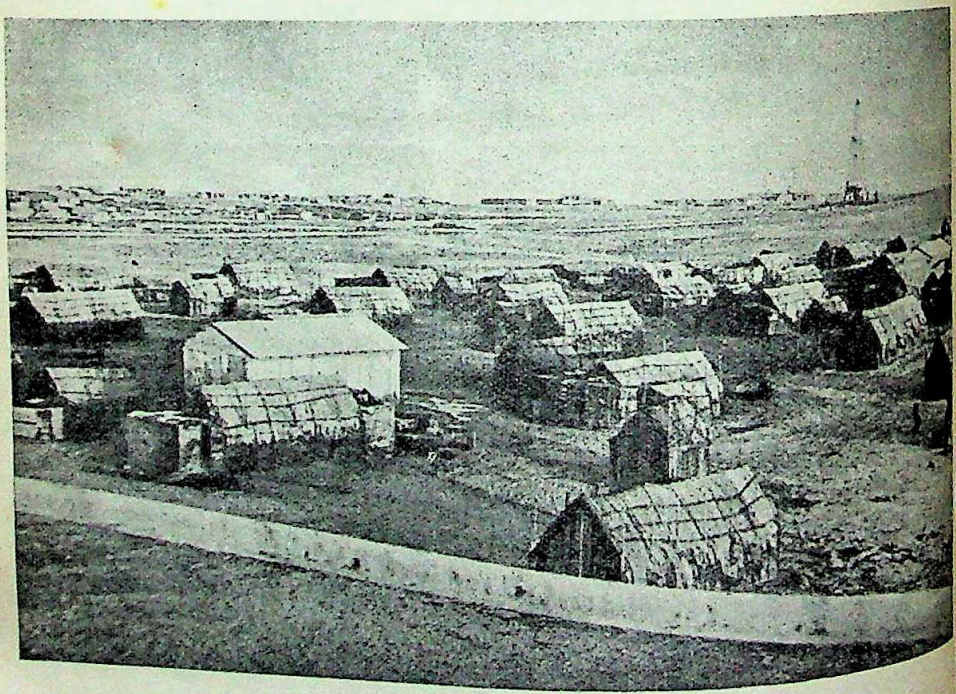
Pilgrim encampment on the outskirts of Mecca during the pilgrimage period

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The oilfields of Saudi Arabia. A striking view



The miserable workmen's quarters of oilfield native labour

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The appearance of the Royal Festival Hall, at first sight, is intolerable. It looks like the very latest design for an up-to-date bee-hive with what relief there is to the eye situated mainly on the roof. This is because the greater part of the walls is of glass. In architecture glass is flat and grey and expressionless. (A glass wall facing west must look gorgeous at sunset. But the Festival Hall has its long front on the river, looking north; and on the west, though perhaps not for ever, it is darkened by the Hungerford Bridge).

However once inside the Festival Hall it is all exhilaration. You feel as if you were on a gigantic liner as you are met by the many round white metal pillars supporting the roof. A liner, with the space and variety which is the principal adventure of modern building. The stair-case has a metal rail and glass panels instead of bannisters. To the left of the stair-case and across it as you mount up to the hall proper—such a long pull-up! This seems inevitable in modern architecture if you are to have several perspectives at once—you look into a glass restaurant on two floors, with an exciting inside stair-case connecting the floors. And looking across the restaurant and through the outer glass walls, you see the river. On every floor you see the river! And, aside from all this, in a design which there was no time to take in as one was swept along with the crowd, there are so many opening spaces. Spaces to sit and have tea at little tables. Spaces for bars. Spaces just to sit comfortably and smoke. Spaces in which to promenade.

The concert hall itself is a dreadful disappointment. Perhaps, after all this passage through light and perspective, a sense of claustraphobia is inevitable. It seems like a monotonous brown cave and the eye is disturbed by the ugly design of the boxes. With no visible means of support they jut out from the wall in a kind of lozenge pattern. This may give the inmates an uninterrupted view but gone is the grace and neighbourliness of the old familiar style. An added irritation is that they have for decoration a brassy milled edge which picks up the light. Of the hall's virtues as a vehicle for music, much has been said in its favour though it is too soon to judge. The acoustics, it seems generally agreed, are perfect. But what will be the psychological effect of the hall on the performers? Perhaps it is worth quoting the music Critic of the *Spectator*. He says:

> It is a hall "which, like the rest of the Exhibition, faces the fact that we live in 1951, however unpalatable that may be to many; a hall, moreover, whose acoustic characteristics favour the kind of music that has been written, and will in all probability continue to be written, by the composers of the Machine Age—bright, clean and not impossibly large, like the hall itself, and often 'functional' in character." (I did not see the hall as bright and clean. It oppressed me as brown and hard...).

This Critic feels we must face the fact that we live in the Machine Age. It is reflections like these, prompted by the Exhibition, that send one's thoughts racing round the riddle of present-day existence and whither it is going. What has the Machine Age to do with modern art? Is it revulsion from the Machine Age that is driving many of these artists into strange wildernesses from which they return with their fantastic compositions? It may be so—and yet the baffling thing is that these modern works of art seem completely at home in the grounds of the South Bank Exhibition.

A sculpture by Henry Moore is the first thing anyone sees who enters the Exhibition by the Chichely Street gate. As all the world knows, he is the sculptor who creates women with heads like turtles; men whose torsos begin perhaps with the semblance of a human form but whose arms may continue far beyond the length of the body and even end in a huge bony square. He is the most criticised of all our moderns and yet Sir Kenneth Clark, a former Director of the National Gallery, refers to him as our 'greatest living sculptor.'

An article on the work of Henry Moore, with illustrations, is published in the Penguin Modern Painters series. From this it appears that Moore's revolt is not against the Machine Age. It is against traditional art, which stems from Renaissance Europe, because 'in art,' says the writer, 'these values have decayed into a set form.' (I think the forms are only set where the faith is gone! A modern artist, Moira Forsyth, is making the most glorious stained glass windows...). And so Henry Moore's escape is the old familiar one of back to Nature. Only it is not the face of nature. It is the force and energy of primitive life which propels him. It is 'the mess and muddle and fecundity of life which he finds wonderful and mysterious.' Well, a man must live by the light which has been given to him. But one cannot help feeling that such an attitude towards nature is better expressed in poetry than in a visual art.

But if Henry Moore and his school are going back to nature, other artists, whose works appear in the Exhibition, are escaping into abstractions. Of these I noticed two different kinds—some really abstract and others just abstractions! Of the truly abstract, one I liked and one I didn't. The one I liked was set in a pool. It was of green copper, folded wings or folded reeds it recalled, stretching straight up above the water. The other had a good rhythmical design. But it was white and heavy in stone and suggested a ponderous flower. As for the abstractions, I think they are nonsense! I will describe one. An incredible iron contraption, it was called a bird-cage. The base was like a tilted ironing board on a tripod. Above there was a large open iron picture frame, with a long iron noose, iron sticks like the sticks in a telephone post, and a ball at the end of a chain. All these huddled to one side of the frame. The other side of the frame was empty. (This kind of thing, throwing a few impressions together, may be very new in art but is very old in poetry. Unimportant poetry).

One last comment before I leave these sketchy comments on modern art. I wish the genuinely 'abstract'

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artists would escape from the machine world into the world of pure science.

I have left very little space in which to write about the other half of the Exhibition, The People. The chief reason is that it did not appeal to me in the least. Its principal exhibits are Homes and Gardens and The Lion and The Unicorn and both, to my mind, are flops. To begin with one is antagonised by the guide-book which announces that the Homes and Gardens Pavilion takes the past as read. In one's home, of all places, to take the past as read! And when, in England, there is a long and lovely tradition in furniture-making. Next it was obsessed with the modern problem of space. One seemed to wander through one bed-sitting room after another until one had the feeling that most of the population were condemned to live eternally in cramped quarters. No imagination came into the picture. There was no hint as to how it is possible, by means of colour, to soothe the spirit with the illusion of space—which in cramped quarters is the most important thing of all.

As for The Lion and The Unicorn, it was just a jumble. At one end of a not very long pavilion you were greeted by a whimsical lion and unicorn in string. At the other end, you saw the White Knight from 'Alice Through The Looking Glass.' In between these two were a selection of oddments which were there to suggest our native genius. But nothing could make an impression because the atmosphere was torn by at least three loud-speakers all blasting away at the same time. One caught words from a Shakespeare play or from 'Alice' and most trying of all, a series of medallions, depicting various types of British people, took turns to light up and to speak in exaggerated accents.

Lost in this howling atmosphere were one or two beautiful things. There was a very lovely stone cross, with figures and beasts and birds carved up the sides. There was also an attractive mural which told the story of the growth of liberty in England. We began with Saxons round a tree and ended most oddly with the freedom of Pakistan and India. (But I hope Indians will be amused at finding themselves next to Mrs. Pankhurst). The best panel of all went to Wesley. He could be seen preaching from a brightly painted cart with an extremely stylised little church in the background. The climax of the painting was the lilac tree. It had huge mauve blossoms shaped like little Christmas trees. (It is the only painting of which I made notes. But the Wilks panel must have been good too for I see that I have scribbled a line 'that villain Wilks'!)

The tremendous effort that has been put into the display in the Dome of Discovery, the careful, exhaustive scientific approach—all this sticks out a mile in comparison with the sketchy nature of the exhibits in Homes and Gardens and The Lion and The Unicorn. Inevitably one comes away with the feeling that the future is with Science. Artists may go back to nature, psychologists may poke their fingers into the springs of character until it seems as if man has no integrity and no free will. But man, thank God, has no chance of wresting the final secrets of the universe. To return once more to Outer Space. 'Bigger and better though our telescopes become,' says the guide-book, 'it is now believed that a point will be reached in space beyond which they will never be able to penetrate, because the universe is expanding at a speed greater than that of light.' May the universe expand *ad infinitum* and as man learns more of the immensity of the heavens, may it bring peace to his machine-distracted soul.

Westminster, London, May 1951.

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A WEEK OF HISTORICAL CONFERENCES AT NAGPUR

By Dr. CHARU CHANDRA DAS GUPTA, M.A., P.R.S., Ph.D. (Cal.), Ph.D. (Cantab)

Nagpur, the capital of Madhya Pradesh, became the venue of a week of historical conferences during the last Christmas holidays. The Indian Historical Records Commission, the Indian History Congress, the Numismatic Society of India, and the Museums Association of India held their annual meetings here recently. These are the four most important and well-known historical societies in India and, as such, their meetings are very important to Indian historians. The meetings were held at the University Convocation Hall and Nagpur Mahavidyalaya. The delegates were stationed at the Assembly Rest House and the hostel of the Nagpur Mahavidyalaya. The Reception Committee made excellent arrangement for the board and lodging of the delegates.

The opening ceremony of the Indian Historical Records Commission was performed at the University Convocation Hall on the 25th December at 10 A.M., by His Excellency Shri Mangaldas Pakvasa, the Governor of Madhya Pradesh. He delivered a short, lucid and learned address. In it he said that the Indian Historical Records Commission was first established in 1919 and started on its career as an official organisation. Being financially unproductive it became an easy victim of retrenchment during the years 1931 to 1936. But later on graduates became an organisation in which official as well as non-official elements were mixed up. He said that the Indian Historical Records Commission was a body of scholars engaged and interested in discovering old records and

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manuscripts in which India was so rich due to the antiquity of its history. He further said that the records formed the very foundation of India's history. They were the raw materials by means of which India's past could be properly reconstructed and visualised. He then said that in India much had not yet been done towards the study of these records. Then he said about the establishment of the Regional Survey Committees to make a countrywide search and survey for the collection and preservation of records. Then he spoke about a scheme which had been initiated with the objective of getting the most important old records published in the form of selections on the pattern of the selections from Poona Residency Records and Peshwa Daftar Records.

It was decided that the Hon'ble Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, the President of the Indian Historical Records Commission, would inaugurate its meeting; but owing to various other pre-occupations at New Delhi he could not come to Nagpur to do this pleasant work. However, he sent a printed copy of the English translation of the Hindustani speech which he prepared to read at this inauguration-ceremony. In it he said that the Indian Historical Records Commission dealt with all sorts of historical documents. He said that the National Archives of India contained a vast collection of records and documents; but systematic series began from the year 1672 A.D. Some of the latest documents are as late as 1949. From the point of view of quantity the Indian collection is one of the biggest collections in the world. Records are the basis of history and can alone give authenticity to our knowledge of the past. During the 19th century European states adopted the convention that all state records should be opened to the public after a lapse of 30 years. If the historical records are to be utilised to a great extent, it is important that they should not only be preserved but also systematically arranged and classified. He suggested that there should be an intimate co-operation between the National Archives of India, universities and learned societies, to undertake and to fulfil the work of making the records known to the scholarly world in a scientific manner.

The reading of the papers was then taken up. The Indian Historical Records Commission published in advance not only the summaries of the papers but also the papers themselves in the form of a volume. As usual, the number of papers was very limited. It seems that there should be more papers for reading at the annual meeting of the Indian Historical Records Commission. Moreover, it is not easily understandable what purpose is served by publishing the papers in a book-form in advance. They should be published after they were read and discussed so that the authors might get a chance to improve their articles according to the discussions which were held on them.

However, the papers which were read were all quite interesting. The following is the list of those papers : (1) *Charles Desvoeux at Achin* (1772-73) by S. N. Das Gupta; (2) *The Correspondence of Modave* by S. P. Sen; (3) *A French Account of Commerce in India in 1774* by R. C. Mitra; (4) *Fateh Nama Gum Khalsa Ji Ka* by Sita Ram Kohli; (5) *A Tiruchirapalli Grant of Vijaya Ranga Chokhanath of Madhurai* by K. R. Venkataraman; (6) *Notes on Communications in the Early 19th Century* by Arun Kumar Das Gupta; (7) *Gangadhar Sastri* by Kali Kishor Datta ; (8) *A fresh patta of the time of the last Chauhan Ruler of Sambalpur-Athargarh* by L. P. Pandeya; (9) *Danger to Jhansi in 1774-75* by T. S. Shejwalkar; (10) *Oudh and the Question of Salt Tax in 1867* by Nanda Lal Chatterji; (11) *Note on Some Unpublished Letters of William Smyth* (1658-1664) by S. Natarajan; (12) *The Recorder's Court at Madras* (1798-1801) *and Some of Its Findings* by C. S. Srinivasachari; (13) *Boundary Disputes between the British and Mayurbhanj in the 18th century* by Tarit Kumar Mukherji; (14) *Visual Telegraph, Calcutta to Chunar* (1816-28) by R. H. Phillimore; (15) *The Old English Correspondence in the District Collectorates, Bengal* by Tapan Kumar Roy Chowdhury; (16) *The Mukhbiri-Sadiq of Lucknow* by K. Sajunlal; (17) *A Nishan of Muhammad Akbar, heir-apparent of Shah Alam Bahadur Badshah Ghazi* by A. H. Nizami; (18) *Parwana relating to the Sanad of Sardeshmukhi given to Sahao Chatrapati by the Moghul Emperor Muhammad Shah Badshah* by B. W. Bhat: (19) *Contemporary Biography of a fifteenth century Sufi Saint of Bihar* by S. H. Askari; (20) *Records from the Rajania Family of Wai* by G. H. Khare.

The Indian History Congress began its session on the 27th December last. A speech of welcome to the delegates of the 13th Indian History Congress was delivered by Lt.-Col. Pandit K. L. Dubey, Vice-Chancellor of the Nagpur University. This address of welcome, though warm in character, is naturally short. In it he spoke about Nagpur which has been for millenia a meeting-ground for the diverse cultures that had built up India into what it was to-day. He also told about the moral responsibilities of historians to the country.

The inauguration-ceremony of the Indian History Congress was performed in a specially erected pandal by Dr. Rajendra Prasad, the President of the Indian Republic. It was a signal honour to the Indian History Congress that the President of the Indian Republic inaugurated it. He gave a well-thought-out, provoking and learned address. In it he said that he had no pretensions to scholarship but had a genuine interest in history and particularly in Indian history. Then he spoke about the importance of Sevagram, the place where Mahatmaji used to live, in the contemporary history of India. He criticised the current view that there was no historical material available in India; on the contrary, he believed that the vast amount of material which was found in the form of inscriptions, coins, stone sculptures, clay figurines, pottery, beads, etc., and the vast literary materials threw a flood of light on the past of India. Then he said about the importance of not only the political but also the

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religious, cultural, literary, industrial and commercial history of India and the good work which was being done by the Bharatiya Itihasa Parishad and the Indian History Congress. Then he discussed the question of the nature of history. According to him :

> "The commonest view of history is that it is a record of the past and that its main concern is to disinter from the graveyards of time the facts and figures that once were but are not to-day."

He considered this as the most inadequate appreciation of history. Then he gave an idea about the view of history by such well-known writers of antiquity as Polytius and Cicero. He also said that the great Roman historian Livy believed that the great events in human life were determined by fate. He further told that as against the concept of fate there was the concept of environmental determinism and determinism by heredity. According to him, true history must be found in a reconciliation and synthesis of various forms and factors which operated on and through human beings. According to him, Kautilya in his *Arthasastra* mentioned as sources of history Purana (myths and legends), Itivritta (events), Akhyayika (tales), Udaharana (biographical quotations), Dharmasastra (cultural life) ,and Arthasastra (material life). According to him, this view was not only comprehensive but also very original. Kautilya has made a happy blend of the idealist and metaphysical theories of history as well as the materialistic theory of history.

After the delivery of this brilliant speech of inauguration the presidential address of Dr. H. C. Roy Chowdhury, Carmichael Professor of Ancient Indian History and Culture, Calcutta University, was read by Mahamahopadhyaya Prof. D. V. Potdar, one of the past presidents on account of the regrettable absence of Dr. Roy Chowdhury due to illness. In it he spoke at the outset about the historical importance of the city of Nagpur. Then he advised to speedily publish the comprehensive history of India which had been started by the Indian History Congress. Then he spoke about the recent excavations carried out by the Indian Archæological Department at Arikamadu near Pondicherry, Brahmagiri and Chandravalli in the Mysore State, Sisupalgarh near Bhubanesvara and certain old sites near Delhi. He regretted at the non-publication of the Annual Report of the Archæological Survey of India and the Annual Report on South Indian epigraphy though he rejoiced at the publication of *Ancient India* which was the Bulletin of the Archæological Survey of India. He also spoke in high terms about the work done in the domain of mediæval and modern history by the Indian Historical Records Commission. He also expressed joy at the publication of the journal entitled *Indian Archives*, the revival of the Indian Records Series, the arrangements made for the regional surveys of records in the provinces, and the writing of a history of the Indian armed forces in World War II under the auspices of the Ministry of Defence. Then he spoke about certain important publications on ancient Indian history in the current year.

After the delivery of this presidential address the Indian History Congress was split up into five sections with a President over each section. It is important to note that the presidential addresses of all the sections were not printed in advance. It would be better if these sectional presidential addresses were printed in advance.

Section I (from the earliest times to 711 A.D.) was presided over by Dr. A. D. Pusalkar, Assistant Director and Head of the Department of Sanskrit, Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay. This presidential address is entitled *Some Problems of Ancient Indian History*. In it he referred to the recent discovery of an exceptionally well-preserved granary at Mohenjo-daro. Then he spoke about the severe stricture passed on the excavators of the Indus Valley Civilisation by Wheeler and Piggott. According to him, the period of the Rig-Veda may be carried back to the 4th or 5th millennium B.C. or even beyond, and it ran to the 2nd millennium B.C., later followed by subsequent Vedic literature. According to him, Harappa culture is a phase in the composite Indian culture inaugurated by the Rig-Vedic people. According to him also the Rig-Vedic people were autochthonous in India whence they spread in all directions. He believed that the Aryan problem required further study by the scholars. He next took up the question of the Indus script and he dealt with the question of the decipherment of the Indus script. Then he took up the question of the hiatus of over a thousand years in Indian history between the destruction of the Harappa sites and the early historic period of the 4th century B.C. In this connection he referred to the efforts made by the Indian Archæological Department to bridge this gap by carrying out excavations recently at a place called Tilpat near Delhi. According to him, the beginning of Tilpat went back to centuries before (6th-5th centuries B.C. He also referred to the recent excavations at Hastinapur where a grey painted pottery like those of Ahichhatra and Tilpat had been found. According to him, Dr. Lal of the Indian Archæological Department also surveyed about 15 ancient Mahabharata sites in the upper Gangetic Valley in search of this ware with equally successful results. He dealt with the importance of the Puranas from the historical point of view.

A number of interesting papers were submitted to each section for the purpose of reading, discussion and publication. A list along with the summaries of these papers was published. The following is the list of papers read in this section : (1) *Agriculture in the Ancient Tamil Country* by Dr. A. M. Ariakiaswami; (2) *Some Aspects of Social History as Gleaned through Jaina Grihyasutra* by Prof. Radha Krishna Chaudhury; (3) *Numerals in Indian Kharosthi Records* by Dr. G. C. Pande; (4) *A Glimpse into the Dark Period of Orissa*

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History (from the time of the Nandas till the 4th Century A.D.) by Sri Sushil Chandra De; (5) *Some Royal Seals from Excavations at Rajghat (Banaras)* by Sri K. Deva; (6) *The Age of the Vishnu Purana* by Prof. V. R. Dikshitar; (7) *Vidarbha Architecture, Sculpture and Idols of Talegaon Dasasar* by Shri V. A. Ghate; (8) *A Note on Protected States in Ancient India* by Sri Bimal Kanti Majumdar; (9) *Is Punaura the Birth-place of Sita?* by Sri K. K. Mishra; (10) *Some Puranic and Vedic Traditions and the Ancient Middle East* by Dr. Raj Bali Pandey; (11) *The Date of Tivaradeva of Mohakoshala* by Sri S. N. Rajaguru; (12) *Vindication of the Matsya Purana List of the Andhra Kings* by Prof. Gurty Venkat Rao; (13) *Ancient History of Vengi* by Prof. R. Subba Rao; (14) *Traces of Aryans in Mohenjo-daro and Harappa* by Swami Sankarananda; (15) *Early Brahmi Inscriptions in Mahakosala and Orissa and their Survey and Decipherment* by Sri L. P. Pandeya Sharma; (16) *Some Joint Notices of Woman and Sudra in Ancient Indian Literature* by Sri Ram Sharan Sharma; (17) *Kalidasa and Buddhist Sanskrit Literatures* by Dr. V. S. Agrawala; (18) *Coins of Gautamiputra Satakarni* by Dr. M. Rama Rao; (19) *Coins of Satakarni IV* by Prof. Miss M. Vaidehi; (20) *Indradyumna—the Founder of the Jagannath Temple at Purusottam Kshetra* by Sri Sadasiva Nath Sarma and Sri Baikuntha Nath Sen Gupta; (21) *The Ganga Era* by Prof. V. V. Mirashi; (22) *The Pandava Dynasty of Mekala* by Prof. V. V. Mirashi; (23) *Srimad Bhagavata—the Place of its Origin* by Dr. J. N. Banerji : (24) *Is the Bhabru edict of Asoka rightly named ?* by Sri Satya Prakash ; (25) *The Arya-Manjusri-mula-kalpa on Chandragupta I* by Sri Kailash Chandra Ojha ; (26) *The Original Version of the Samba Legend* by Sri Dilip Kumar Biswas ; (27) *Some Occupations and Professions in Buddha's days* by Sri Yashpal Agarwal ; (28) *Sanskrit Elements in Early Tamil Literature* by Prof. K. A. Nilkantha Sastri; (29) *A Note on Uparika and Udranga* by Dr. Sudhir Ranjan Das; (30) *A Note on verse 22 of the Aihole Inscription of the time of Pulakesin II* by Dr. G. C. Roy Choudhury.

Section II (711-1206 A.D.) was presided over by Dr. B. C. Sen of the Calcutta University. The following is the list of papers read at the meeting of this section : (1) *Some Aspects of Administration According to Kannada Works of the 9th and 10th Century A.D.* by Prof. C. S. Dikshit; (2) *The Battle of Uratti* by Dr. T. V. Mahalingam; (3) *Later Reference of the Hunas* (7th Century A.D.-12th Century A.D.) by Miss Pushpa Singh; (4) *Some Notes on the Kayasthas of Early Medieval Kashmir* by Sri Sunil Chandra Roy; (5) *Balavalabhi-Sahajanga* by Dr. Dinesh Chandra Sircar; (6) *Udamana Malladeva—A Forgotten King of Mithila* by Prof. Radha Krishna Chaudrury; (8) *Ugraditya's Kalyanakaraka and Bhoja Bhatta's Campaigns against the East Coast* by Sri R. Narasinha Rao; (10) *Lakulisa-Pasupata and their Temples in Medikval India* by B. P. Majumdar; (11) *The particle ni in Bengali inscriptions of the twelfth century* by Dr. Sukumar Sen; (12) *The Date of Pallava Paramesvara II* by Sri N. Lakshmi Narayan Rao; (13) *Sculptures in the Main Temple at Baijnath* by Sri M. S. Vats; (14) *A 13th Century Bengali Poet in the Island of Ceylon* by Sri P. C. Majumdar.

Section III (1206 A.D.) was presided over by Dr. A. B. M. Habibulla, Head of the Department of Islamic History and Culture in the Dacca University in Eastern Pakistan. In it he dealt with the dynamics or trends of this period of India's history. Then he gave us an idea of the original research work which had been done in this period for a little over a century ago and also criticised certain view-points of that period. According to his view :

> "The mediaeval period characterised by the introduction of the Muslim element in Indian life thus came to be regarded as something separate from the main current of India's history."

According to his view, this has a pernicious effect on the approach to the Indo-Islamic history. So he pledged here for a proper sense of perspective in object and method of enquiry. Herein he also called for the examination of all kinds of original sources. Then he spoke about certain lacuna which existed in the history of this period and for which research was necessary. He also spoke about fields of work other than the political one. There were only three papers read in this section. They are the following ones :—(1) *Theocratic and Secular Elements in the Indo-Islamic State* by Prof. S. R. Sarma; (2) *A Fifteenth Century Shuttari Sufi Saint of North Bihar* by Prof. Syed Hasan Askari; (3) *The Gajapati Bhanudeva IV* by Dr. N. Venkataramanayya.

Section IV (1526-1764 A.D.) was presided over by Dr. Yusuf Hussain Khan of Osmania University. In the presidential address he said that the Moghul State was a culture state per excellence. According to him, the Moghul emperors were deeply concerned with the well-being of the people of the country and did not make any distinction between Hindus and Muslims. According to him :

> "The Bhakti movement of the fifteenth and sixteenth century represents the first effective impingement on Hindu ideas of Islamic culture and outlook."

According to him, the contact between India and other Asiatic countries was revived after the establishment of the Mughal dynasty. Then he spoke about considerable industries in India, apart from agriculture, which attracted the attention of foreign travellers. The following is the list of papers read at this section : (1) *Two Forgotten Mughal Subadars of Orissa* by P. Acharya; (2) *Fresh Light on the History of the Gond Rajas of Deogarh* by Dr. Y. K. Deshpande; (3) *Seal stamps of titles of prominent members of Jadhaw of Scindhakhed in Berar* by Sri D. B. Mahajan; (4) *Some Aspects of Education in India under the Great Mughuls* by Sri P. N. Ojha; (5) *1761 Panipat and the Nizam* by Prof. V. Raghavendra Rao;

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(6) *Revenue System during Muslim Rule in Orissa* by Sri Bhabani Charan Roy; (7) *Raja Mansingh and the Final Conquest of Orissa by the Mughals* by Sri Bhabani Charan Roy; (8) *Political Offences in Aurangzebs' India* by Prof. S. P. Sangar; (9) *Notes on Balasore and the English in the first half of the 17th Century* by Dr. J. N. Sirkar; (10) *A Rare Silver Coin of Muhammad Shah and later Indo-Afghan Relations* by Sri A. K. Bhattacharya; (11) *Maharaj Bharmal and Bhagwant Das of Amber—Their Relations with the Moghul Court* by Sri Satya Prakash.

Section V (1764 onward) was presided over by Dr. Nanda Lal Chatterji of the Lucknow University. In it he deplored the attitude of the British historians writing the history of India during the British period. According to his opinion, the dynamic and scientific approach to the history of modern India will have to be achieved in planned stages and by co-operative effort. The following is the list of papers read at this section : (1) *A forgotten battle—an episode in the life of Sadova, a pretender of Sadasivarao Bhau* by Sri M. S. Agaskar; (2) *The Indian President* by Sri Parag Baneri; (3) *A note on the imposter of Sadasiva Rao Bhau* by Dr. V. S. Chitale; (4) *Anglo-Russian Commercial Rivalry in 1812* by Sri R. N. Chowdhury; (5) *Wazir Ali's Family* by Dr. K. K. Datta; (6) *Resumption of rent-free tenures for assessment by the Company's Government* (1819-50) by Dr. H. R. Ghoshal; (7) *The Plunder of Bharatpur* by Dr. Hiralal Gupta; (8) *Why Shirajuddola Hated the English* by Sri R. S. Krishnaswamiengar; (9) *An experimental period in the history of the British in India* by Sri R. S. Krishnaswamiengar; (10) *Diwan Pandit Jivaji Samraj—A hitherto-unknown Deputy of Peshwa in Kathiawar* by Dr. M. R. Majumdar; (11) *A little-known event in the History of Travancore : The Quilon Plot* by Dr. B. N. Mehta; (12) *The Oudh Treaty of 1837* by Dr. Sri Nandan Prasad; (13) *Haidar Ali—the Forerunner of Indian Nationalism* by Sri D. S. Achutta Rao; (14) *Reform of the military bazars in the time of Cornwallis* by Sri Sacchidananda; (15) *The Penultimate Campaign of the Poligar War of 1799-1801 (The Panchata-Kurichi Campaign of February-May, 1801)* by Prof. S. C. Srinivasachari; (16) *A Controversy on the nature of Indian Debt* by Prof. Amales Tripathi; (17) *The Arms Act of 1878* by Prof. H. Vedantasastri; (18) *Foreign Trade in India, (1767 A.D.), from the Memoir of John Law of Lauristan* by Dr. R. C. Mitra; (19) *A Critical Review of the Administration of Mysore State from* (1920 to 1941) by Dr. K. N. V. Sastri; (20) *The Foreign Policy of the Indian Union (Retrospect and Prospect)* by Sri G. B. Pandya; (21) *Ram Mohun Roy—the Forerunner of Free India's Foreign Policy* by Sri Bimla Prasad; (22) *Sirajuddaula's Expedition against Calcutta in June, 1756* by Dr. V. P. S. Raghuvanti; (23) *Ramshastri—A Revaluation* by Dr. V. D. Rao; (24) *Peshwa-Nizam Meeting at Edalabad* (1741 January)—*Its Significance* by Sri V. G. Dighe.

There was also the 40th annual meeting of the Numismatic Society of India. It was inaugurated by H. E. The Governor of Madhya Pradesh. The presidential address was delivered by Dr. V. S. Agrawala of New Delhi. One feature of this address is that it was delivered in Hindi. The following is the list of papers which were read at this session : I. Dr. A. S. Altekar : (1) *A Unique Kushano-Roman Coin;* (2) *A New Kshaharata Coin;* (3) *Recent Numismatic Discoveries in Bihar;* (4) *Some Forged Silver Kushana Coins;* II. Prof. V. V. Mirashi : (1) *A Coin of Chatu Mana;* (2) *The Coins of a New Saka Dynasty in Hyderabad;* (3) *The Legend on the Apratigha Coins of Kumaragupta;* III. Dr. S. L. Katare : (1) *A New Coin of King Sata;* (2) *A New Coin of Yajnasri Satakarni;* IV. P. L. Gupta : (1) *Gold Coins of Kumaragupta III;* (2) *Identity of Prakasaditya;* (3) *Copper Coins of Ramagupta;* V. A. K. Narain : *A New Western Kshatrapa Coin;* VI. Satya Prakash : *Interesting Numismatic Finds at Naleswar;* VII. C. R. Singhal : *Some New Coins from the Prince of Wales Museum.*

The Museums Association of India also held its annual meeting here. It was inaugurated by H. E. The Governor of Madhya Pradesh. The presidential address was delivered by Dr. N. P. Chakravarty, late Director General of Archæology in India. There were only two papers : (1) *The Preparation and Display of a Whale Skeleton* by Mr. V. L. Devkar; (2) *On the Use of Museums for the Illiterate in India* by Dr. C. C. Das Gupta.

The Reception Committee also arranged an excellent exhibition of historical materials. The credit for this organisation should go to Dr. H. N. Sinha, Principal, Nagpur Mahavidyalaya and the Local Secretary of the Reception Committee. The delegates were also taken one day to the well-known place called Ramtak where there is a temple sanctified with the names of Rama and Sita. All thoroughly enjoyed this excursion.

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SARAT CHANDRA DAS

India's Pioneer Explorer to Tibet

By V. G. NAIR

How many people in this country know the remarkable life-story of the late Babu Sarat Chandra Das, of the Bengal Educational Service, India's pioneer explorer who journeyed twice to the Forbidden Land of Tibet about seventy years ago, in search of her hidden secrets—the topography and the mysteries of Tantric Buddhism? Perhaps a few among the millions who are acquainted with the Indo-Tibetan relations during the British administration of India.

Sarat Chandra Das undertook these perilous journeys to the Hermit-Kingdom of the Dalai Lama when such ventures were extremely difficult and fraught with dangers to human life. Although his explorations in Tibet were crowned with lasting success in promoting the centuries-old Indo-Tibetan cultural relations and in further bringing to light the unknown secrets of that land of snow, these goodwill missions unfortunately culminated in the arrest, tortures and barbarous execution of his Lama benefactor, the learned and venerable Sengchen Dorjechan, the old Minister and tutor of the then Panchen Lama of the Tashi Lhumpo monastery, the second dignitary in Tibet. The Lhasa Government's allegations against the old Minister was that he harboured in his monastery an Indian envoy of the British Government and helped him to carry away the national secrets of Tibet to foreign lands.

The adventures of European travellers to the unexplored regions of Tibet in the nineteenth century against the persistent Tibetan policy of absolute exclusion imposed on them by the Lhasa Government, Lhasa's reign of terror and assassination over all the intriguing explorers, Moscow's wooing of the 13th Dalai Lama for establishing Russian supremacy in the Hermit-Kingdom and the subsequent two British expeditions from India which finally opened the closed doors of the forbidden country form interesting chapters in the history of exploration in Tibet. And in these annals of Tibetan exploration, Sarat Chandra Das occupies the foremost position as the pioneer explorer of modern India. He was our foremost missionary of goodwill and fraternity to the people of Tibet during the latter part of the nineteenth century.

Sarat Chandra Das was born in the town of Chittagong, in 1849, in a Hindu family of the Vaidya or medical caste. He received his early education in the Presidency College, Calcutta. While serving in the Engineering department of the College in 1874, he was appointed Head Master of the Bhutia Boarding School opened at Darjeeling by the Government of Bengal. This was a turning point in the life of Sarat which brought his lasting renown. During his stay at Darjeeling, he applied himself to the study of Tibetan language and its literature in which he became exceedingly proficient.

Between the year 1874 and 1878, Sarat Chandra Das deeply fell under Tibetan influences. He made short trips to Sikkim and explored the country. In his investigations, he received considerable help from his colleague and friend Lama Ugyen Gyatsho, who was attached to his school as a Tibetan teacher. This Tibetan Lama was born in Sikkim. He had received instructions in the use of surveying instruments and had done useful work during his jouneys to Tibet.

Lama Ugyen Gyatsho was once deputed to Shigatze and Lhasa with tribute from his monastery. He was then asked to ascertain whether permission could not be obtained for Sarat Chandra Das to visit Tibet. Reaching Shigatze, he expressed the matter to Lama Sengchen Dorjechan, the old Minister of the Panchen Lama, who was also anxious to have an Indian Pandit from India to teach him Sanskrit and Pali. He readily invited Sarat Chandra Das to visit Tibet and issued a passport for him. Further for ensuring his personal safety in Tibet, the Minister entered the name of Sarat as a student of theology in the Grand Monastery of Shigatze.

Shigatze is the second capital of Tibet. It derived its name from the legendary mountain Sumeru mentioned in the Buddhist scriptures and in the Hindu Puranas. Famous for its Tashi Lhumpo monastery, it is the seat of the Panchen Lama, the second Grand Lama of Tibet. The Panchen Lama does not possess any political power but is considered even superior in rank to the Dalai Lama himself. The present Panchen Lama owing to differences with the Lhasa Government was reported to be an exile in Communist China.

Lama Sengchen Dorjechan, the Minister of the Panchen Lama, was a noble and saintly person of great virtues and profound learning. In those days, none in Tibet was held in higher esteem and veneration than he. He was a devout Buddhist and desired to reform the Buddhist religion which then prevailed in his country. He was eager to learn English and the Indian languages. He was also interested in Western sciences and in its discoveries. He had sent various Buddhist images and ritualistic utensils to India and had deputed several Lamas of his monastery as missionaries to this

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country.. He was a man above sectarian differences and international prejudices. He strove for the noble ideal of universal brotherhood as preached and lived by Lord Buddha. Consequently he had created many enemies among the conservative, irreligious and fanatical Lamas of Lhasa, who waited for an opportunity to bring about his downfall.

As fates had decreed for the old Minister Sengchen Dorjechan, Sarat Chandra Das accepted his invitation, and started on his first mission to Tibet in June 1879, accompanied by his companion Lama Ugyen Gyatso, the Tibetan teacher of his school. He reached Shigatze and remained there for six months as the guest of the Minister. During his stay there, he made a rich collection of works in Sanskrit and Tibetan which he brought back to India. He also explored the country north and north-east of Kanchanjinga, of which nothing was previously known to us. He establisded friendly relations with the Minister and his colleagues. While departing for Darjeeling, the Minister requested him to visit Tibet again and instruct him further in the study of Indian languages and Buddhism.

In November 1881, Sarat Chandra Das undertook his second journey to Tibet again accompanied by his faithful companion Lama Ugyen. He reached Shigatze and remained there for some months as the guest of the Minister, his old benefactor. He taught the Minister English and Sanskrit and in turn learnt from him Tibetan and Lamaist Buddhism. One day, Sarat begged his pupil and Guru to have him a sight of Lhasa, the most sacred city in Tibet. At that time, the exclusive policy of the Lhasa Government forbidding all foreigners was strictly in force. After some hesitation, the Minister consented and persuaded his nephew, the Governor of Gyantze to take Sarat to Lhasa for a few days in the retinue of his wife. Accordingly, Sarat Chandra Das was sent to Lhasa by the Governor of Gyantze, in the guise of a Tibetan Lama. He lived at Lhasa in the room of a monastery and was cautious to move about the city frequently. He also visited other parts of Tibet and returned to India after an absence of nearly a year. Sarat Chandra Das was the third Indian to visit Lhasa. The first two were Nain Singh and Kishen Singh, independent explorers, who visited the city in 1866 and 1880.

A year passed after Sarat's return to India. Somehow, the news of his visit to Tibet and his entry into the Forbidden City of Lhasa leaked out to the Tibetan Government. Lhasa accused the Minister Sengchen Dorjechan for assisting an Indian spy of the British Government to enter Tibet and carry away her national secrets. The old Minister who was the most venerable figure among all the Lamas of those days was thereupon denounced as a traitor and dragged to Lhasa where he was beaten daily in the public market place. He was then condemned to death. His execution was carried out in June 1887 in the traditional way of sinking the victim in the Brahmaputra river till he became lifeless. His limbs were then severed and thrown separately into the water. His unfortunate relations, the Governor of Gyantze and his wife, were put into prison for life and their estates confiscated. Several other persons who helped Sarat Chandra Das were mercilessly mutilated and murdered.

Thus ended in tragedy the noble life of Tibet's most venerable Lama of the nineteenth century who had to suffer martyrdom because of his unbounded love for Western sciences and for the Indian languages. This grim tragedy has been recorded in their works by the Rev. Ekai Kawaguchi of Japan who subsequently went to Tibet and lived there for three years and also by Lieut.-Colonel L. Austine Waddell, of the Indian Medical Service who accompanied the British Expedition to Tibet during the years 1903-1904.

Gyantze from where Sarat proceeded to Lhasa in the company of some Tibetan ladies lies in the heart of Tibet. It is situated about 130 miles from the Indian frontier, 145 miles from Lhasa and 213 miles from Siliguri, which is only fourteen hours' journey by train from Calcutta.

The monumental literaty works of Sarat Chandra Das are so enormous that its value to research students cannot be over-estimated. A complete list has been printed in the Centenary Volume of the Asiatic Society of Bengal edited by Dr. Hermle. Besides a large number of translations into English of Tibetan texts, Sarat Chandra Das has edited in Sanskrit the poem, *Avadana Kalpalata*, of Kshemendra which he discovered in Lhasa, and in Tibetan a historical work of great value another giving the history of the pre-Buddhist or Bon religion of Tibet and a handy volume of English-Tibetan Dictionary. Two of his English works which are difficult to obtain in these days are (1) *Indian Pandits in the Land of Snow* and (2) *Journey to Lhasa and Central Tibet.*

Sarat Chanra Das visited Peking in 1885 in the company of the Honourable Colman Macauley, a Secretary of the Bengal Government, for obtaining the necessary permission from the Chinese Government to the projected embassy in Tibet. He returned to India after several months. As a mark of his services to geography and exploration in Tibet, he was given the title of Rai Bahadur by the Government of India and made a Companion of the Order of the Indian Empire. His faithful companion Lama Ugyen Gyatsho also received the title of Rai Bahadur. And the name of Minister Sengchen Dorjechan who sacrificed his life for furthering the cause of Indo-Tibetan relations will remain supreme among the greatest martyrs of the world. May his soul rest in peace!

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SOME ASPECTS OF THE UNION PUBLIC SERVICE COMMISSION

By Prof. GUR PRASAD SRIVASTAVA, M.A., LL.B., D.P.A., D.F.A. & D.

The Government of India Act, 1919[1] had provided for the establishment of a Public Service Commission, but it did not come into existence for seven years. The Royal Commission on the Superior Civil Services in India of 1924 also recommended for its establishment.[2] Thereupon, a Public Service Commission was established in 1926. After 1st April, 1937 it came to be known as the Federal Public Service Commission. The new Constitution of India has renamed it as the Union Public Service Commission.[3]

So far the Public Service Commission has consisted of three members including the Chairman. But the number of members has not been fixed by the Constitution and the President is empowered to determine it. The Government of India Act, 1919, stipulated that the members were to be appointed by the Secretary of State in Council for a period of five years and he alone could remove them before the completion of their term.[4] But the Act of 1935 provided that the Chairman and other members of the Commission should be appointed by the Governor-General in his discretion provided that at least half of the members should at the date of their appointment have held office for at least ten years under the Crown in India. Moreover, he, in his discretion, determined the number and conditions of service of the staff of the Commission. The Chairman of the Commission was ineligible for any office under the Crown in India after retirement. All the above provisions have been kept intact with minor alterations and adaptations to the changed circumstances of the new Sovereign Republic of India. As for example, the place of the Secretary of State has been taken by the President of the new Republic.

Article 316(1) of the new Constitution provides that the President would make the appointments of the Chairman and other members. The draft constitution had provided that "at least one half" of its members should have a service qualification of ten years. But the Constituent Assembly changed the above expression into "as nearly as may be one half" in its second reading of the Draft Constitution.[5] Emphasizing the need for the service element the Chairman of the Drafting Committee said that "obviously nobody could be a better judge in this matter than a person who had already been in the service of the Crown."[6] As the number of members has not been fixed, the President has been empowered to make regulations determining the number and conditions of service of members of the Commission.[7] The President would also determine the number and conditions of service of the staff of the Commission. Moreover, the Chairman is ineligible for further employment under Government, although other members are not so debarred. The same article fixes the tenure of members at six years and the age of retirement at 65 years whichever is earlier, provided that a member can always submit his resignation to the President in writing. Moreover, no member is re-eligible for office on the expiry of his term. Article 317 provides for the removal of a member from office in certain conditions. It also provides that the Chairman or any other member of the Public Service Commission shall only be removed from office by order of the President on the ground of misbehaviour after the Supreme Court, on a reference being made to it by the President, has, on inquiry held in accordance with Article 145 of the Constitution, reported that the Chairman or member should be removed from office. In the meantime the President may suspend such a person. A member would be deemed guilty of misbehaviour if he becomes interested in any way in any governmental contract or agreement or participates in any way in its profit or in any monetary benefit arising from it otherwise than as a member and in common with the other members of any incorporated Company. The same article also provides that the President may by order remove from office the Chairman or any other member of the Public Service Commission if he is adjudged an insolvent or engages during his term of office in outside employment or is declared infirm in mind or body. But obviously the President is to act in this matter in consultation with his Cabinet.

The Royal Commission of 1924 recommended[8] that the Public Service Commission should possess two categories of functions, first, with regard to recruitment and second, with regard to some quasi-judicial matters, such as discipline and control of the Civil Service. But according to the Indian Statutory Commission the Public Service Commission performed four functions.[9] Firstly, it advised the Government on recruitment matters. Secondly, it held competitive examinations. Thirdly, in case of recruitment by selection it received applications, interviewed the candidates and submitted a list of those eligible in order of merit. Fourthly, in cases of promotion from the provincial service it considered the moral and physical qualities of candidates and advised, the Governor-General in Council about their suitability for promotion. The Government of India Act, 1935, provided that the Commission should conduct competitive examinations for the civil service. The specific matters in which it was to be consulted were firstly, methods of recruitment to the Civil Service and secondly, principles of

1. Section 96(e).
2. Para 23.
3. Article 315.
4. Section 96C(1).
5. Vide the Pioneer, dated 23rd August, 1949.
6. Ibid.
7. Article 318.
8. Para 27.
9. Para 337.

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appointment to the civil service and promotions and transfers from one service to another and also the suitability of candidates for appointment, promotion or transfer. Morover, it was also the duty of the Public Service Commission "to advise on any matter so referred to them and on any other matter which the Governor-General in his discretion might refer to them."[10]

Article 320 describes the functions of the Union Public Service Commission. Firstly, it will conduct examinations for appointment to the services of the Union. Secondly, it shall be consulted in the following matters:

(a) On all matters relating to recruitment to the Civil Services.
(b) On the principles to be followed in making appointments, promotions and transfers.
(c) On all disciplinary matters affecting Government Servants.
(d) On any claim for costs incurred by a Government servant in defending himself against legal proceedings instituted in respect of his public acts.
(e) On any claim for the award of a pension in respect of injuries sustained by a person while serving the Government.
(f) To advise on any matter so referred to them and on any other matter which the President may refer to them.

Thirdly, it shall also be its duty to assist two or more States, on their request, in the recruitment of their administrative personnel. Fourthly, Article 321 of the new Constitution provides for the addition of functions of the Public Service Commission by an Act of the Legislature. This Article is based on the sovereignty of the legislature in the new Constitution of India.

But it has also been provided in Article 320 that the President "may make regulations specifying the matters in which either generally, or in any particular class of case or in any particular circumstances, it shall not be necessary for a Public Service Commission to be consulted." Moreover, it shall also not be consulted as respects the manner in which effect is given to Article 16 dealing with equality of opportunity in matters of public employment and also to Article 335 dealing with the claims of scheduled castes and scheduled tribes.

Thus we see that the picture of the Union Public Service Commission which emerges from the present study is not wholly satisfactory. In fact, one finds that most of the provisions of the Act of 1919 and the Act of 1935 have been kept intact, the word 'President' being substituted for the Secretary of State. The result of this has been that most of the defects of the old Public Service Commission have also not been eliminated. But, however, a reform of the Public Service Commission can be undertaken on the following lines in order that it may compare favourably with the Public Service Commissions of other progressive countries like Great Britain and the United States of America.

Firstly, there should not be a fixed tenure of members. In Great Britain, the Civil Service Commissioners are appointed by the king during pleasure. This insures their independence from the executive Government. But the framers of our Constitution have not gone beyond the Government of India Act 1919 and that of 1935 and so the defect continues.

Secondly, in Great Britain, the Civil Service Commission performs all the executive work relating to recruitment. The Public Service Commission did not possess this power under British Rule in India. But strangely enough, in the new Constitution also the President has been authorised to make regulations ousting the jurisdiction of the Union Public Service Commission in some matters.

Thirdly, the Civil Service Commission in Great Britain has been free from political influence since the Palmerston Incident of 1857. But this was not the case with Public Service Commission under British Rule. Even now the complete independence of the Public Service Commission from political influence has not been assured.

Fourthly, the President has been empowered to determine the number of the members of the Commission. Therefore, it is possible that it might be changed from time to time according to President's whim. Moreover, it would give the President a great power over the Commission. In order to avoid these consequences it would have been better if the constitution itself had fixed the number.

Fifthly, the number of Civil Servants in the Commission is very large. This matter also bears out the statement that the new Constitution is a reproduction of the old British legislation with minor changes and adaptations. Nobody can deny the utility of Civil Servants on the Commission but to say that nobody could be a better judge in this matter is to condemn the democratic system of Government itself. In fact not more than one-third of its members should have been Civil Servants. Moreover, it should have been definitely provided that the Chairman would be non-official.

Finally, in Great Britain, the decisions of the Civil Service Commission in regard to age, health, character and ability of candidates are subject to judicial review. This should have been provided here also in order to ensure impartial selection.

But there is no cause for despair as the root cause of all evils of our political system, *i.e.*, foreign domination has been removed from the Indian soil and our institutions would not work under any handicap now. The defects, as they are gradually realised in the course of working of our Governmental machinery would, no doubt, be removed by amendments of the Constitution.

10. Section 266.

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THE INDIAN IRON AND STEEL INDUSTRY

By JAMSHED MATHUR

In the days of the infancy of the iron and steel industry Thomas Carlyle prophesied :

"The Nation which gains control of iron soon acquires the control of gold."

The truth of this is borne out by the fact that, perhaps the best measure of the industrial prosperity of a nation is indicated by the production of these metals. A glance at Table I suffices to show where our country stands in relation to the World's industrially advanced nations. We produce less than one per cent of the total world production. Yet, Ancient India was renowned for her iron crafts !

TABLE I

Country	Pig Iron production (*Million tons per year*)		Crude Steel production (*Million tons per year*)		Per capita
	1940	1949	1940	1949	
World	104.6	..	143.4	150.5	
U.S.A.	41.8	48.0	59.8	69.6	860 lb.
Germany	20.6	7.0	25.1	9.0	
U.S.S.R.	15.4	..	19.5	25	
U. K.	8.3	9.6	13.4	15.6	520 lb.
France	4.5	7.0	5.5	9.0	
Belgium	2.2	3.6	2.2	3.8	
Japan	2.9	1.6	6.3	3.1	
India	2.0	1.5	1.4	1.4	8 lb.

The famous "Damascus" blades are said to have been forged in India, while the Delhi iron pillar which has survived the violence of natural agencies and the fall of kingdoms through the past 1500 years is a standing monument to the skill of its makers. However, it is obvious that though the art of extracting and shaping iron, generally as wrought iron, was well-known, judged by modern technique it was extremely crude—perhaps not very much different from the practice followed to this day by the aboriginals of remote Singhbhum.

Sporadic attempts to establish the industry on a modern basis were made during the latter half of the last century. In 1830 the East India Company erected a blast furnace at Porto Novo (Madras State) but the attempt failed. The government failed again to establish iron works near Naini Tal (U. P.)between 1862 and 1877. The next attempt was made in 1875 by the Barakar Iron Works, whose blast furnaces at Kulti were reopened by the Bengal Iron and Steel Co. This concern was later amalgamated with the Indian Iron and Steel Company whose original furnaces were at Hirapur. With the discovery of the vast deposits of high grade iron ore and good quality coking coal in Bihar at the advent of this century, and the establishment of the Tata Iron and Steel Company in 1911, the steel industry was placed on a sure footing. In 1923, the Mysore works commenced production of iron and has made steel since 1936. The last to enter the field was the Steel Corporation of Bengal in 1938 with its works at Burnpur.

The iron and steel industry has the distinction of being based entirely on indigenous materials. Prospecting has shown that quantitatively and qualitatively India probably excels any other country in her resources of iron ore, chiefly hematite. The most important deposit is in the Bihar-Orissa belt embracing Mayurbhanj, South Singhbhum, Keonjhar and Bonai. The major manufacturers draw their supplies from this source whose reserves have been estimated at 8,000 million tons of extremely high grade ore containing 60 to 68 per cent Fe. Deposits of the same high quality occur in the Central Provinces, with reserves estimated at 875 million tons. The Bababudan Hills of Mysore, with reserves of 150 million tons of 55 to 60 per cent Fe. content, supply the works at nearby Bhadravati. A considerable deposit of inferior grade magnetite exists in Madras State together with one of high grade hematite of about 100 million tons in Sandur State. In passing it may be mentioned that the U.S.A. utilises one of 50-55 per cent Fe content while Germany has used one of 20 per cent Fe content. Hence, we are fortunate in possessing the world's richest hematite in virtually inexhaustible quantity.

However, the position as regards good quality coal suitable for the manufacture of metallurgical coke allows for no complacency. Reserves of this are estimated at 750 million tons which may not last for more than 65 years. Coking coal is obtained almost entirely from the Jharia Coalfield; of the ten million tons mined annually only a third is used for metallurgical purposes. A more rational exploitation of these deposits with a view towards conservation is imperative. The other grades of boiler and gas coals required by the steel industry are available in the Raniganj (Bihar-Bengal), Bokaro-Karanpura (Bihar), Talcher (Orissa) and Central Indian fields. The Indian Coal Fields Committee (1946) has estimated total reserves of bituminous coal at 16,500 million tons, the bulk of which occurs in the Bihar-Bengal area.

The third major raw material are the fluxes, limestone and dolomite, used in the blast furnace and in basic steel making. These are obtained from Gangpur in Bihar and also from the Central Provinces. Flourspar is imported.

Manganese ore is often a part of the blast furnace "burden," or in the form of ferromanganese or spiegeleisen it is used in the making of special steels. India is among the world's main suppliers of manganese ore. There are large deposits in the Central Provinces,

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Bombay and Madras but the main producers of the steel industry draw their supply from deposits in Orissa.

The last essential requirement are the refractories. The refractory industry is well-established on or near the Bihar-Bengal coalfields where suitable raw materials for the making of fire-clay, silica, chrome bricks and shapes are available. Magnesitic refractories have been developed from extenive deposits in Madras and Mysore. The capacity of this industry is 250,000 tons per year, which is adequate for the present demand.

By far the leading steel producers in our country is the Tata Iron & Steel Co. The plant is ideally situated 150 miles west of Calcutta on the main B.N.R. line, roughly midway between the coalfields and the ore belt. Within a radius of 120 miles of the town almost every raw material is available. Compare this with the U.S. steel industry situated on the coalfields of Pennsylvania but obtaining their iron ore from the Lake Superior district over 700 miles away. An even more glaring example of the capriciousness of nature is given by the Russian industry located on the iron ore deposits of the Urals but obtaining coal from the Kuznets Basin no less than 1500 miles away. We are indeed fortunate that our iron ore and coal deposits occur almost together. The Tata plant has the reputation of being the twelfth largest steel plant in the world and the largest in the British Commonwealth. Taking the Indian operating blast furnace capacity as just over 2 million tons pig iron per year, with their five furnaces Tatas contribute approximately 63 per cent. They possess 67 per cent of the finished steel capacity, but in the peak year 1941 they produced 839,000 tons of the total production of 1.1 million tons, that is, 76 per cent of the total. A large variety of rolled steel material including structural sections, rails, bars, plates, black and galvanised sheets, tin plate, railway wheels, tyres and axles, etc., is produced. In 1934, they developed a special alloy steel for the construction of the Howrah bridge, the third largest cantilever bridge in the world. During the war, special steels ranging from straight carbon and high speed tool steels to high alloy aircraft and stainless steels were manufactured, including bullet-proof plate and armour-piercing shot steel. A recently developed product is high silicon sheet steel for the manufacture of motors, dynamos, transformers, etc.

The Indian Iron and Steel Company together with the Steel Corporation of Bengal comprise the second largest unit. The two blast furnaces at Hirapur supply pig iron to the neighbouring steel furnaces at Burnpur, while associated with the two blast furnaces of the old Bengal Iron Company (now I.I.S. Co.) at Kulti, 10 miles away, are the largest and most modern iron foundries in the country. SCOB makes products similar to Tatas, while Kulti specialises in the production of centrifugally cast iron pipes and railway sleepers. The Indian Iron & Steel Company accounts for 35 per cent of the pig iron capacity in India.

The Mysore Iron & Steel Works at Bhadravati contribute 2 per cent of the pig iron capacity, with a single blast furnace of 80 tons per day capacity. The plant has the distinction of being the only one using wood charcoal instead of coke in the blast furnace "burden."

Other producers are the Government Ordnance Factories at Ishapur, Kanpur and Meerut and also the J. K. Industries (Kanpur) and the National Iron & Steel Co. (Calcutta), each of which have either small open hearth furnaces or a few electric furnaces for making special steels.

Another feature of the iron and steel industry is the Re-rolling industry making products which the main producers are not equipped to produce. The most important of these is the Tin Plate Company of India Ltd., situated 3 miles from the Tata plant from where they obtain the black plates which are converted into tin plate for the metal box and container trade. This is the only works of its kind in India; with a production of 67,000 tons (in 1949) it meets almost all the country's demand. Another important industry located at Jamshedpur is the Indian Steel Wire Products Ltd. who manufacture a wide range of light rod, barbed wire, wire nails and bolts, nuts and rivets. The present capacity is 60,000 tons per year. Specialising in railway requirements as points, signal material, sleepers, special bolts and nuts is Guest, Keen and Williams Ltd. of Howrah, whose output is 48,000 tons per year. Conveniently situated at Nagapatam (Madras State) for the reception of imported billets and to supply markets far removed from the works of the main producers, is the Indian Steel Rolling Mills Ltd. The annual production of 18,000 tons includes bars and light rods. Finally we have the Eagle Rolling Mills at Kumardhubi (in Bihar coal-fields) producing light sections and bars. Besides the above-mentioned large plants there are approximately 130 mills in various parts of the country. The total capacity of the re-rolling industry is 500 000 tons; but production, chiefly from imported billets, does not exceed 60,000 tons per year.

Table II gives the installed pig iron capacity of the industry. Production in 1941 touched the 2 million

TABLE II

Company	Pig Iron capacity tons/year	Finished Steel capacity tons/year
Tata Iron & Steel Co. Ltd.	1,250,000	850,000
Indian Iron & Steel Co.—		
Kulti	328,500	
Hirapur	584,000	350,000
Steel Corporation of Bengal	29,200	40,000
Mysore Iron & Steel Works	...	24,000
Ishapur Ordnance Factory	...	1,200
Total ..	2,191,700	

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tons per year mark but is now 1.5 million tons per year. The consumption of pig iron apart from steel making is about 130,000 tons per year, half of which is used for the production of railway sleepers, another 25,000 tons for pipes and fittings, and the remainder for other foundry purposes. Pig iron imports have been negligible, limited only to special qualities. In fact, since 1923 India has been one of the few important world suppliers. In 1938 exports chiefly to Japan were 629,000 tons. Exports declined sharply in war years, and with the expected increase in demand for foundry iron in the country the exportable surplus is bound to decrease. Since 1943 there has been an export of ferro-manganese (produced by Tatas) to the U.S.A.; 11,000 tons were exported in 1946. This is a step in the correct direction, since it is more profitable to convert our rich manganese ore to ferromanganese rather than to export it in the raw condition.

Turning to the steel production we find that the finished rolled steel capacity is approximately 1¼ million tons per year (Table III). The peak production was 1.1 million tons in 1943 which has languished to

TABLE III

Year	Labour cost/ton finished steel at TISCO	Average output/ worker/annum
1939-40	Rs. 33.5	24.36 tons
1948-49	Rs.90.8	16.3 tons

900,000 tons on the average. On the basis of that for the first half of this year the anticipated production is 920,000 tons. In contrast to this, the industrial panel assessed the demand for the coming years at 2½ to 3 million tons per year. Hence, there is a deficit of 1½ to 2 million tons. Thus, though we may be justly proud with the fact that in 1939 we produced 78 per cent of the total consumption of rolled steel compared to a mere 24 per cent in 1926, it is obvious that our production will fall increasingly short of the demand when our ambitious projects and development plans get under way.

The future of the steel industry is clearly one of expansion in order to meet the present deficit and cater for future requirements. The government have in mind the erection of new plants, possibly in the Central Provinces and in Orissa. Foreign experts have suggested the erection of two plants each of 500,000 tons capacity and with provision for doubling the capacity. The cost of such a plant is estimated at Rs. 85 crores and the time of erection and operation as 8 to 10 years. Meanwhile, each of the major producers has drawn up expansion plans. The Tata Company propose to raise their steel capacity by 200,000 tons at capital cost of Rs. 12 crores, provided government assist in financing the programme by means of a substantial long-term loan. In the past years government has agreed to grant loans of Rs. 3½ crores to the SCOB and Rs. 1½ crores to the I.I.S.C.O. to enable them to undertake renewals and increase production of steel by 200,000 tons. The Mysore Iron and Steel Works, a State enterprise, has proceeded with its expansion schemes with commendable speed. By 1952 the production of pig iron is expected to rise from the present 28,000 tons per year to nearly 100,000 tons, leading to a trebling of the steel production. On the whole, it has been estimated that with government help and at a cost of 30 crores steel production can be increased by 500,000 tons in 3 to 4 years. This will enable the country to wipe out the immediate present shortage. The importation of half a million tons steel a year at an average cost of Rs. 400 per ton involves a heavy annual drain of some Rs. 20 crores in foreign exchange which we can ill afford.

The immediate problem crying for solution is regarding the efficiency of the industry. Largely because of deterioration in equipment and the intransigent attitude of labour, production has barely risen over 80 per cent of the installed capacity compared to over 95 per cent in the U.S.A. Besides, the labour force in an Indian Steel Works is about three times that in a modern works elsewhere. As Sir J. R. D. Tata said at the annual company meeting :

> "There is obvious scope for a considerable reduction in the number of men and a corresponding increase in their earning power."

As for the productively of labour the figures given in Table III need no comment.

The economic structure of a modern nation is largely dependent on its iron and steel manufacturing potential. We possess prodigal reserves of raw materials and there is no reason why we cannot build up an industry comparable to that in the Ruhr or Pittsburg. The foundations have already been well laid; it is up to the present generation to build upon them.

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EDITOR, *The Modern Review*.

ENGLISH

CRISIS IN CIVILIZATION: *By Rabindranath Tagore, Visva-Bharati, Calcutta, 1950. Pp. 18. Price Re. 1.*

A few months before his death, the Poet wrote one of the most poignant essays which ever came from his pen. The world was in the midst of war, and all that the West had so long stood for in human civilization, seemed to be crumbling before our eyes. In spite of the surrounding darkness, the Poet reconquered his faith and proclaimed once more that the spirit of man would surely prove victorious in the end.

At a time, when the darkness seems to be enveloping us from all round, it is perhaps good to bear company with the Poet once again, and we do feel grateful to the publishers for having made the celebrated essay available once more in its new form.

THE POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY OF MAHATMA GANDHI: *By Gopinath Dhawan. Published by Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad. 1951. Pp. viii + 407. Price Rs. 6.*

This is the second and revised edition of a book published five years ago. Gandhiji never personally wrote any political or economic treatise. He was an intensely practical man; and his ideas shaped themselves even in the midst of work, undertaken on a national scale. Scholars should feel grateful to Dr. Dhawan for having delved into the thousands of pages which Gandhiji wrote in his life-time, and for having successfully formulated out of it a consistent social and political philosophy.

There are several points which strike one as the prevailing characteristics of Gandhiji's system of thought. He was never static in his life, he was ever-changing, and the change was progressively in the direction of radicalism and a greater appreciation of the oneness of the entire human family. Throughout the numerous extracts which Dr. Dhawan has quoted in his book, one cannot fail to be impressed by this living and growing character of Gandhian thought.

Gandhi, the man, has become very dear to us today. But mere hero-worship will not carry us anywhere unless we pin our faith on what the man stood for, and unless we try to put into personal and collective practice new ideas with which Gandhiji experimented in the midst of a world darkening under the shadow of war.

From that point of view, we should regard Dr. Dhawan's book as a timely and very useful contribution.

NIRMAL KUMAR BOSE

HISTORY OF MYSORE AND THE YADAVA DYNASTY: *By G. R. Josyer. Pp. 318. No price stated.*

The title of this work is a misnomer. The author seeks to present "handily and readily" "the history of Mysore from early times and of its progress under the Yadava dynasty" (Preface). But the entire history of the territory from pre-histiric far down into mediaeval times is summarised in about twenty pages (pp. 3-24) included under the singularly inappropriate title of the *The Dim Past*. By far the greater part of the work is concerned with the history of the present ruling house of Mysore from its traditional beginning in 1399 till the year 1950 when the present Maharaja was installed as *Rajapramukh* of the newly-created Mysore State of the Indian Union. The dynasty, as is well-known, passed through a series of singular vicissitudes through the period of its early struggles, its supersession by Hyder Ali and Tippu Sultan and the assumption of administration of the State by the East India Company from 1831 to 1881. Since then, thanks to a succession of able rulers and administrators and their Dewans, the State has made phenomenal advance in educational, economic and (latterly) constitutional development. Of this long period the author gives a readable and valuable account in course of which he does adequate justice to the memory of two of Mysore's able, but unfortunate sovereigns, *viz.*, Maharani Lakshammanni and Maharaja Mummadi Krishnaraja Wodavar.

It is however unfortunate that the work should be throughout lacking in historical references. Some of the extracts quoted by the author might have been abridged, or even omitted, without lessening the force of his arguments. What is worse, he occasionally quotes mere tales as sober history, witness his quotation of a Mahabharata story as "a vision of ancient Mysore" (p. 7) and his repeating the stories of adventures of some early kings of the Yadava dynasty (pp. 29-35). His judgments of historical characters are sometimes marked by want to balance, e.g. his comparison of one of the early kings with Richard I of England (p. 35) and of another with "Queen Elizabeth of England, Louis XIV of France, Augustus of Rome, Akbar of Delhi and Krishnadeva Raya of Vijayanagar" (p. 41), and his finding in a letter of queen Lakshammanni to the East India Company a reflection of the spirit of Queen Victoria and of Empress Maria Theresa (p. 99). The author's view that Alexander's invasion in 327 B.C. (*sic.*) marked the dawn of modern Indian history (p. 7) is unsound, while his statement on the same page that Alexander's "Governor" sent his ambassador Megasthenes to Chandragupta Maurya

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Court is wrong. To the list of errata given at the end, the author might have added Napolean (p. 64), Metcalf (p. 170), Jahagirdar (p. 174), and the date 1833 (p. 100). Apart from occasional lapses in composition (pp. 18, 51), the author's mannerisms of style are sometimes irritating to the reader. On p. 72 he writes, "Once again Maharani Lakshmmanni's efforts failed, like Bhagiratha's second effort to bring the waters of the Ganges for the consecration of the ashes of his ancestors. With Job-like patience she waited urging the British now and again like a Laputian flapper . . . . .". On the following page he says: "Nawab Hyder Ali was not an anointed sovereign. Tippu Sultan was not an anointed Sultan. Their usurpation of the administration did not destroy the monarchy, though it might have made it a figurehead, just as General MacArthur in present-day Japan is the supreme administrator but has not ousted the Mikado." The value of the book would have been enhanced by the addition of a bibliography and a map. Paper, print and the general get-up are exrellent.

U. N. GHOSAL

ADLER'S PLACE IN PSYCHOLOGY: *By Lewis Way. George Allen and Unwin Ltd., London. 1950. Price 18s. net.*

Both Adler and Jung substantially helped Freud in spreading psychoanalysis at the beginning but in course of time both of them separated from him and each sought to establish his own school of thought. On the whole Jung seems to have attracted a larger number of adherents than Adler. Mysticism thrives easily in India and therefore amongst a certain class of people Jung's speculative writings are more widely read here than the scientific contributions of Freud. Adler's theories are very little read and scrutinised.

There has been much controversy about the validity and the reliability of the different points of view enunciated by Freud, Jung and Adler. The book under review has discussed de novo the old criticisms that have been made against Freud's psychoanalysis. No new argument has been advanced but that does not detract from the value of the book which lies mainly in presenting and evaluating the Adlerian standpoint. That task has been very well performed. The assumptions and implications of the theory have been clearly delineated and one who wishes to acquaint himself with Adler's views cannot do better than go through this volume, next of course to reading Adler's original writings. The author has drawn attention to the philosophical and sociological background of Adler's theory. Pushed a little further this may lead Adler's followers to travel the same road to mysticism which Jung and his followers have already reached. The chapter dealing with the comparison of Adler's views with the other prevailing schools of psychology like Behaviorism, Gestalt, etc., is an exceedingly interesting one.

The book is written in an elegant style and needs close and attentive study. We unhesitatingly recommend the book to all students of Psychology.

S. C. MITRA

KNOW YOUR MIND: *By Dr. G. D. Boaz, M.A., D.Phil. (Oxon), Reader in Psychology, University of Madras. Published by S. Viswanathan. 1949. Price Rs. 3.*

The author had contributed from time to time articles on Psychology in the Sunday Supplements of the dailies. This book is the outcome of a collection of these articles. He invited questions relating to psychological difficulties that his readers usually had met and attempted in his article the solution of such problems on the basis of psychological tenets. The book, as it is published now, is therefore in the form of questions with answers. He has sifted and classified these questions under fourteen different heads, e.g., Childhood; On adult behaviour; Love, marriage and sex; etc., The answers have been given lucidly in a simple language easily to be grasped by all. In making it popular, the author has advisedly avoided the tortuous path of theories and controversies. The questions have been admirably answered. The more the book is read, the more will it spread the 'mental hygiene' sense among people. The book is a handy memorandum to other psychologists who, also, usually meet with similar queries from men under stress.

D. GANGULY

GURUDEV TAGORE: *Some essays collected and edited by R. Narasimhan, M.A., General Secretary, Tagore Society, Madras. Hind Kitabs Ltd. Pp. 132. Price Rs. 3.*

The book is in the form of a symposium on Rabindranath in which thinkers like Tan Yun Shan, A. Rama Iyer, D. Gurumurthi, K. R. Kripalani, G. Ramachandran, James H. Cousins, Sisir Kumar Mitra, Nolini Kanta Gupta, Benoy Kumar Sarkar, Krishnalal Shridharani, K. S. Ramaswami Sastri and Indira Devi Chaudhurani have joined. They have shown Rabindranath as poet, thinker, dramatist, artist and humanist. The most significant article is by Professor Tan Yun Shan, who has given an account of the Poet's visit to China in 1924 and told us how he was instrumental in bringing the two ancient civilizations in close contact again and thereby giving a great impulse to China's literary renaissance. The book will repay perusal. The foreword by C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar is illuminating.

B.

AT THE CROSS ROADS: *The Autobiography of Nripendra Chandra Banerji. A Mukherji and Co., Calcutta. Pp. 318. Price Rs. 8.*

This book of reminiscences of a man who was formed by the Bengal "Swadeshi" Movement (1904—1910) is pleasantly written touching the surface of the mighty forces that were making Bengal and through her India. The writer came under the influence of the Dawn Society and of its venerable founder, Satish Chandra Mukherji. The influence of this age abided with him with its call to sacrifice and grimness. Though he could not make the choice that he made 15 years later when he joined the Gandhian Non-co-operation Movement, the latter showed the tendency of his mind. During this interval he acted as a teacher of youth in Government Colleges, and the episodes described by him show the spiritual conflict he was going through. Gandhiji released him from this dilemma. But in politics he was not happy, being incapable of making the compromises that an effective politician must make. And after wanderings in this field he reverted to his natural vocation—education. Journalism as editor of the Calcutta *Servant*, of the *Rangoon Mail*, of the Calcutta *Eastern Express*, fell naturally into this line.

The best part of the book is the description of life in Bengal's country-side including small towns. It gives an idea of Bengalees in their home activities till then accepting the British dispensation. Then came

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the "Swadeshi" Movement which roused these complacent people to the shame and indignity of alien rule. This awakening made possible all that has happened during the next 45 years. Nripendra Chandra was a witness to this great change in a people's life.

SURESH CHANDRA DEB

A HISTORY OF MAITHILI LITERATURE (Vol. 1): *By Dr. Jayakanta Mishra, M.A., D.Phil., Lecturer, Allahabad University. Tirabhukti Publications, 1 Sir P. C. Banerji Road, Allahabad. 1949. Pp. 472. Price Rs. 15.*

Dr. Jayakanta Mishra has contributed substantially through this volume to the building up of a historical survey of modern Indian Literature. Maithili as a distinct branch of that literature extending from the fourteenth to the middle of the nineteenth century is treated in this volume. The shifting of literary activity from Eastern India to Nepal and then back to Mithila proper, with consequent emphasis on lyric, dramatic and prose forms, is provocative to the scholar and it presents grounds of investigation. Similarly, Nachari songs and Champu forms in modern times will seem to be curious to a Bengali reader.

Coming to early Maithili literature, Dr. Mishra has declared that the Bauddha *gans* have the greatest claim to be considered as old Maithili specimens. If we have to depend on philology mainly, the matter should be studied dispassionately, without the least trace of any special pleading. As days pass on, and as claims are being filed by the different East Indian languages, the question is assuming the form of a "problem." The sooner the question is settled once for all, the better for a proper perspective of the growth and development of modern Indian languages in the Eastern zone. With Jyotiriswara we are on firmer ground, and we feel quite at home with Vidyapati Thakura, that is, middle of the fourteenth century.

Dr. Mishra has fully taken into account the contemporaries and successors of Vidyapati, and this part of the book shows his great interest and diligence. But the dramas in Nepal again present a fertile topic for discussion, and the Assamese dramas of the period invite a comparison. Be it said to the credit of Dr. Mishra that he has spared no pains in presenting a connected and documented account. Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterjee's commendatory introduction will be perused with interest in evaluating the work of Dr. Mishra.

P. R. SEN

THE TALES AND TEACHINGS OF HINDUISM: *By D. S. Sarma, M.A., Principal, Vivekananda College, Madras. Published by Hind Kitabs Ltd., 261-263 Hornby Road, Bombay. Pp. 176. Price Rs. 3.*

The distinguished author of this book is well known for his popular works on Hinduism and allied subjects. His books are among the best to popularise the fundamentals of our faith among the English-knowing Indians. The present book, intended to be used as a text-book in High schools, consists of two parts. The first part gives an outline of Hinduism, its scriptures and teachings, and ascertains its place among the religions of the world. This part is meant for detailed and serious study. In the first chapter the learned author shows that Hinduism is the oldest of the ten living religions of the world and its fundamental scripture, Rig-Veda, is the oldest religious work. In this chapter he has clearly pointed out how Hinduism has taken the wind out of the sails of all the religions that it has met with through out the ages and concludes, "It thus assimilated Buddhism in ancient times, withstood the onslaught of Islam in the middle ages and has outlived the propaganda of Christianity in modern times".

The second part of the book, recommended for non-detailed study, gives a brief account of the famous stories and legends contained in our immortal epics, the Ramayana and the Mahabharata as well as the Bhagabata and other age-old Puranas. In this part two chapters are devoted to the *leelas* of Krishna and the last two to the four famous legends of Dhruba, Prahlada, Harishchandra, Savitri and Satyabana. The exposition is so elegant and impressive that the readers cannot leave without finishing it. The chapters on Hindu scriptures and the teachings of Hinduism are highly interesting and instructive. A perusal of them is sure to stimulate the minds of the younger generation for a deeper study of our religion. Now that we are politically free, it is high time for us to broadcast the principal tenets of our faith and to prepare ourselves for cultural liberation.

Rightly does the thoughtful author regret in the preface and observe: "It will be an evil day for India and her civilisation if the boys and girls in our schools were allowed to remain ignorant of the purity and heroism of Savitri and Sita, the resoluteness and indomitable faith of Dhruba, Prahlad and Harishchandra or of the earthly careers of those Great Ones whom we regard as divine incarnations."

SWAMI JAGADISWARANANDA

APARTHEID IN SOUTH AFRICA: *By P. S. Joshi. Printed by Diamond Fields Advertiser Limited, Currey Street, Kimberley, South Africa. Price not stated.*

Mr. P. S. Joshi has already made his mark as a writer on the problem of racial relations. The book under review, a very readable slender volume, deals within its narrow compass with the various aspects of the colour question in South Africa. The author shows how unjust and untenable the theory of "Herrenvolk" is and warns in unmistakable terms that it is pushing the Union of South Africa to the edge of the precipice. A very valuable Appendix gives, among others, a list of discriminatory laws against non-Europeans in South Africa since 1910. Students of racial relations will find the book very useful. For the exponents of apartheid it will be a bitter pill to swallow.

Apartheid is territorial segregation of the Blacks from the Whites. The policy of apartheid, if pursued to its logical conclusions, will lead inevitably to the disintegration of the Union of South Africa. It is therefore dangerous to the wrong-doer no less than to the wronged. The Indians in South Africa, already reduced to "a helpless, voiceless and voteless minority" with many fundamental rights denied to them, are facing the most immediate danger by the application of apartheid. Segregation is a shrewd device to achieve their repatriation without compensation. Yet the self-same Indians did much to make South Africa what she is today.

The creed of apartheid violates and suppresses human rights and freedom. It aims at perpetuating the domination of a microscopic white minority over the non-white majority in South Africa. This 'new barbarism,' more terrible than that of ancient times, is against all accepted canons of justice and fairplay. It denies a full life to the non-whites. To quote Mr. Joshi, "Under the pretext of civilisation, the Bantu has

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robbed of his freedom, the Coloured of his heritage and the Asiatic of his equality."

The champions of apartheid like Dr. Malan refuse to hear the faint murmurs of life, albeit faint, in the placid waters of colonial Africa. A number of incidents in recent times point to the rising temper of the African people. Dr. Malan's government as well as the Opposition are "heavy with the wine of racial superiority" and unless sanity prevails, they are sure to be overtaken by Nemesis.

SUDHANSU BIMAL MOOKHERJI

BENGALI

SARAT PARICHAY : *By Brajendra Nath Bandyopadhyay. Ranjan Publishing House, 57, Indra Biswas Road, Belgachhia, Calcutta-37: 1951. Pp. 130 Price Re.1-8.*

This little book is a valuable addition to the not very extensive literature on the late Sarat Chandra Chatterji, the great novelist of Bengal and Modern India. Sri Brajendra Nath Bandyopadhyay has treated the subject with his usual detachment and his adherence to attested facts, and the result is a very reliable source-book for certain aspects of Sarat Chandra's career, his ideas and his literary output. The main facts of Sarat Chandra's career are first stated, with copious relevant quotations from persons who are or were in a position to attest to facts of Sarat Chandra's life and to give an account of the development of his mind, and Sarat Chandra's own statements as in letters, published lectures and other documents have also been utilised. These last form a particularly valuable series of documentations for Sarat Chandra. As can be expected from Sri Brajendranath, there is a well-documented bibliography in chronological order of the writings of Sarat Chandra so far available in print. These form over 43 items. This is followed by a good and a useful selection from Sarat Chandra's hitherto unpublished letters to some of his friends and relations, which give us valuable glimpses into Sarat Chandra's career and personality. There are two plates, one a fine portrait of Sarat Chandra and the other a reproduction of an autograph letter in Bengali. On the whole, *Sarat Parichay* will remain a valuable contribution to the study of this great literary figure of Modern India whose influence has now extended far beyond his own province and whom through translations readers of Hindi and other Indian languages have also made their very own, as much as readers of Bengali in which Sarat Chandra's original literary output is enshrined.

SUNITI KUMAR CHATTERJI

HINDI

JEEVANKA SADVYAYA : *Translated by Haribhan Upadhaya. Navajivan, Prakashan Mandir, Ahmedabad. Pp. 182. Price Re. 1.*

This is an excellent rendering from *Economy of Human Life*, first published about a couple of centuries ago, but the authorship of which has been attributed from Brahmin Dandmis to Lord Chesterfield. The book has been published in most of the important languages of the world. It was translated for the first time into Hindi, however, only some years back. The present is the second edition. The book is full of wise observations on man's various duties, social relationships, search for true happiness and virtues and vices. It is, thus, a great help in character-formation. The translator incidentally mentions that the book was a great favourite of Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, who recommended it frequently to his friends, particularly to the young among them.

SANGHARSHA AUR SHANTI: *By Shri Swami Karapatriji. Dharmasangha Shikshamandal, Sanmarg-Bhavana, Town Hall, Benares. Pp. 256. Rs. 3.*

The author's works not being available now in the market the publishers have planned to bring out a series of publications, embodying the later writings of the author with the previous ones of the great thinker. This is the first volume. It deals with prayer, world peace, culture, religion, study of scriptures, etc., suggesting several ways for overcoming storm or conflict, within and without, and entering into true peace. A useful manual for all spiritual aspirants.

GUJARATI

BHAGWAN SATHE VATCHIT: *Published by Manilal K. Desai, B.A., LL.B., Advocate, 100 Bhuleshwar, Bombay. 1948. Paper-cover. Artistic jacket. Pp. 24.*

In this very small booklet whose title is—Talks with God—Mr. Desai's late father has set down 51 dicta addressed to God and has put in the forefront His omnipotence and helpfulness.

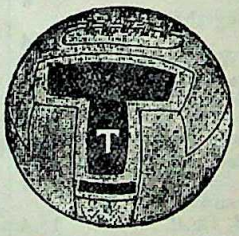
URMILANUN SWAPNU AND OTHER POEMS: *Bhai Shankar Kuberji Shukla. Printed at the Adarsh Printers, Rajkot. 1947. Thick paper-cover. Pp. 76. Re. 1.*

It is said that Urmila, the wife of Lakshman, insisted on going into exile with her husband, Rama and Sita, as was ordered by Lakshman to remain behind. She obeyed but immediately fainted and did not regain consciousness till Lakshman returned fourteen years after and roused her. The poet has drawn an imaginary picture of their talk—rather dialogue after their happy union and has an opportunity of describing the adventures of Sita, Hanuman, Bharat and other characters in the Ramayana. It is a sober, steady performance, so are the other poems.

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INDIAN PERIODICALS

What is Democracy ?

Two political terms, Democracy and Communism, now designate the two rival political systems which divide all mankind into two great camps. George Godwin writes in *The Aryan Path*:

Communism has been very clearly defined, both in the works of Marx and in Communist Manifestos and expositions of later writers. We consequently have a very clear and precise idea of what Communism is as a political philosophy. We also know by experience during the post-war years by what methods its exponents seek to impose their philosophy upon the world.

The Communist sees human society as an antithesis in which the wicked Capitalist oppresses the victimized wage-slave, a description once true, but, in the main, no longer so. The object of Communism is the capture of political power by the proletariat, the abolition of private property, and the complete subjection of the individual, as an individual, to the State.

The question is: What do we mean when we use the term Democracy?

Unlike Communism, Democracy is not a closely-reasoned political philosophy, with a single prophet and a holy book. Democracy has no Karl Marx, no *Das Kapital*. It is a general conception of the relation of the individual to the State. It is amorphous and in perpetual flux, changing with historical changes, meaning one thing to-day, another yesterday.

In general terms, Democracy has always meant some system in which power rests with the majority of the people, as opposed to the rule of one, or of an oligarchy of the superior few.

In antiquity it worked successfully in the form of the City state, but under conditions which would be held to-day to invalidate it. For Athens and other Greek City States tolerated the institution of slavery. Moreover, the classic form of Democracy was never subjected to the test of quantity, being designed for a comparatively insignificant social and political unit—the city.

A repeat pattern is discernible in all subsequent forms of Democracy from that of Rome to the emergent cities of Flanders and Germany in the Middle Ages. As cities became absorbed into states, democratic ideas were subjected to new tests, for what may be suitable for a small political unit may be unsuitable for a large one. One fundamental change which came with the growth of nations was the substitution of indirect for direct representation. The citizen no longer expressed himself in person, but through his nominee. The nearest thing to the old system of Democratic political function is to be found today in Switzerland.

The central ideal of modern Democracy, theoretically, at least, is the widest possible measure of personal freedom for the individual, equality before the law, and political power, that is the right to vote.

The citizen who possesses the vote derives from it a sense of political effectiveness. He feels that he can bring to bear personal pressure, that he can function to make or unmake governments. In a true Democracy this would, indeed, be the case. But with delegation has passed control, for the voting of any one political party into power is in a real sense the surrender of political power by those who voted it in. A government, under a Democracy such as the English, can retain power for considerable periods after it has lost the confidence of the majority which returned it to power.

The truth would appear to be that the sense of political power conferred by the vote is largely illusory and that the endowment of a political party with a mandate to govern is, in fact, a surrender to a small group of supreme power, within that party. Sorel said many years ago:

"The modern State is a body of intellectuals which is invested with privileges, and which possesses means of the kind called political for defending itself against the attacks made on it by groups of intellectuals eager to possess the profits of political employment."

Bertrand Russell has also suggested the illusory nature of the vote as an instrument of political function. The truth would appear to be that the possession of political power, whether wielded with absolute one-man authority, as in the case of Hitler, Stalin and Franco, or by a cabinet on the British pattern, engenders power appetite and propensities in individuals thus invested which were not apparent before their accession to power. It would therefore appear to be the case that beneath democratic forms may exist autocratic, or quasi-autocratic power, the State, as represented by the Cabinet, or central committee of the party in power, taking to itself, little by little, more and more of the liberty of the subject, drifting by force of innate psychological trends towards the dictator or autocratic mentality. Bertrand Russell said:

"It has become increasingly difficult to put trust in the State as a means to liberty, or in political parties as instruments sufficiently powerful to force the State into the service of the people."

The present-day trend in countries vocal in their adherence to Democracy, in particular Britain and the United States, is towards the infringement of the rights of the individual and the enthronement of the State at his expense. To believe that this trend is peculiar to Communism is to be deceived by appearances. The price of the planned State is the freedom of the individual. It involves also the creation of a new caste system, one based, not on wealth, but on that privilege which belongs to the official who is armed with State authority.

Democracy tends today towards the so-called Welfare State.

Can the Welfare State, with its perpetual preoccupation with material goods, overestimate their importance at the expense of the things of the spirit ?

Is poverty, divorced from actual want, a great evil? If so, the teaching of the sages of all time has been grievously wrong. May it not be that poverty, divorced from actual lack of the necessities of life and redeemed

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from the fear of war, provides a better soil for the flowering of the human spirit? And is it not significant that mankind's greatest teachers have been those who renounced material possessions, from Christ to Gandhi?

Can there be any true Democracy without freedom of conscience?

Modern warfare has introduced a new ethical problem, namely, the right of the State to force a man or woman to take part in total warfare, either as combatant or otherwise. In nothing else is the issue of State *vs.* Individual brought so sharply before the tribunal of men's consciences.

Conscription, hated but endured, by European peoples, was considered, even in the lifetime of this writer, as something alien to the British democratic way of life.

Today we have conscription in the two western democracies of Britain and the United States, so that throughout the West the so-called Democratic states have assumed this power over their subjects, overriding the protests of those who have pleaded conscientious objections to all forms of life taking in the name (and this may well seem strange) of the State religion. Their fault is that they accept the Christian commandment: "Thou shalt not kill," literally.

The whole horrible story of this overriding of the individual by the democratic State has been told by Denis Hayes in *Challenge of Conscience*, a fully-documented presentation of the facts. This is a book that reveals how far Britain has travelled towards the methods she condemns in the Totalitarian States.

Below the surface goods of many of the State's activities in the modern Democracies are evils similar to those execrated in the Communist lands.

Today, those who use this term should consider what they mean by it, and we who hope for the liberation of the common people of all lands from all ideologies and national hatreds and rivalries, should have a care just now and consider whether Democracy is indeed drifting towards a masked form of Totalitarianism—and take thought, too, as to what we can do about it.

The Role of the Navy in Free India

A correct reading of Indian history shows that the sea has played a very important part in it. S. P. Sharma writes in *The Indian Review* :

The important role that the sea has played in Indinn history was wholly overlooked by the British during the period of their rule in this country. Accordingly, they gave a wrong interpretation of the subject, and popularised it too through the schools and colleges that they recognised in the land. Now that they have left, however, it becomes urgently necessary to correct the mistake they made, and to see Indian history in proper perspective. Their view, indeed, was vitiated by two factors. As successors to the Moghals, they inherited certain notions of the latter in respect of defence strategy. The Moghals were essentially a land-power interested in the security of northern India. Danger threatened only from the north-west, and they accordingly devised security measures in that quarter. The second vitiating factor for the British was, paradoxically enough, their own sea-power which shielded India for them for over a century. In fact, the Royal Navy was so immeasurably strong during the period that the British seem to have taken the fact for granted and forgotten all about it. Hence it is that they did not develop the Indian Navy as they did the Indian army; their own navy was always able and available to ward off danger to India from across the seas.

Indeed, while invaders from the land-side were absorbed into the local population in due course, and completely Indianised, those from across the seas, like the British themselves, were able to impose their will on India, and to influence her destinies in peculiar manner, while keeping themselves aloof and superior by virtue of their foreign bases. In this manner Britain which ruled the waves all through the 19th century remained unchallenged in her Indian seas by any other power. But towards the end of the century, Japan by means of her occupation of Formosa and the U.S.A. by getting the possession of the Philippines, entered the Indian Ocean as naval powers. On the Arabian Sea side also, certain developments were taking place. France occupied Madagascar, and from Diego Suarez, the great port and base on the island, could control the sea-routes of the Indian Ocean from the west. Germany occupied Tanganyika and Italy came into Somaliland, both the countries thus securing coast-lines on the Indian Ocean. Nevertheless, Britain may be said to have been all-powerful on the seas.

World War I eliminated Germany from the Indian Ocean; but after 1918, France built a powerful naval base at Diego Suarez, and Italy began to develop Massawa on similar lines. In the east, Japan, who had obtained certain mid-Pacific islands by virtue of the Treaty of Versailles, developed naval bases on them, as, for instance, in Truk and Yapa. Clearly, Japan was looking southwards in her schemes of expansion. The U.S.A. also became a Pacific power, developing a great naval base at Pearl Harbour in the Hawaiian islands. Naturally, Britain relished none of these developments.

In order to strengthen her own position in the Indian Ocean, Britain constructed a powerful naval base at Singapore.

She thus stood sentinel at the entrance of the Indian Ocean, issuing a silent warning to all those who might presume to question her might in the region. She also inaugurated the Royal Indian Navy in 1934 so as to have at the elbow a small force capable of expansion as circumstances demanded.

Such was the naval pattern in the Indian Ocean when World War II broke out. Within a short time thereafter, Italy moved into the Mediterranean and the Red Sea, thus depriving Britain of her most direct route to India, and obliging her to take the longer one round the Cape of Good Hope. Japan which was already in command of the coastal waters of China up to Canton, coolly moved south and in record

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dealt a series of telling blows at the United Kingdom and the U.S.A. so that she was able to occupy the whole of south-east Asia and to oust both those powers therefrom. It is now known that if she had chosen to attack India, we had practically no defences worth the name. But she probably felt she had bitten off more than she could chew, and that her lines of communication across the wide seas were long and extended enough already. In any case, the American fleet appeared about this time at the Coral Seas, and she withdrew without visiting India. Her submarines however continued to infest the Bay of Bengal and the Arabian Sea and to take a heavy toll of merchant shipping there.

Not merely history but also current events have proved how vitally important are the surrounding waters in influencing the destinies of India.

Even if she were not threatened by any naval power, the very fact that the Indian Ocean becomes the scene of conflict for other powers will suffice to paralyse her foreign trade. The import of strategic material might be held up, and her very security affected thereby. It is thus very essential for her safety that she should contemplate a sort of Munroe doctrine for the Indian Ocean. Among the countries of south Asia skirting the Indian Ocean, she is the most dependent on the seas for foreign contacts; for on the north, her land-route is very difficult and does not encourage heavy commercial traffic. Besides, she is almost equidistant from the east and from the west. And lastly, her children are found scattered all along the fringes of the Indian Ocean, and she would naturally like to maintain social and cultural contacts with them, by keeping the intervening seas free and open.

A peep into the future seems to reinforce the same lesson for her as is taught by history, geography and economy. The power of the United Kingdom, both naval and political, is dwindling in the Far East, but that of the Commonwealth in particular, that of Australia, is increasing. The U.S.A. is today all-powerful in the region, and has a direct approach into the Indian Ocean from the south. Japan, for the time being, is prostrate; but what with her energy and her traditions, it is inconceivable that she should continue to be so for a long time. And being an island, she may be expected to pay special attention to the revival of her fighting and merchant navies. As for China, she has a naval past of worth and renown; and what with her new Government, she may be expected to develop her navy at no distant date and to enter the Pacific and Indian Oceans. Burma, Pakistan and Indonesia are other powers in the area which are likely to emerge with strong navies. But India's interests do not conflict with those of any of them. Conditions in Indo-China are still unsettled; but all that India desires is to have friendly neighbours who will leave her to her own way of life.

On the side of the Arabian Sea also, the developments that are taking place are worth noting. The Middle East, with its oil resources has become a focal point in global strategy. The U.S.A. is very much interested in the area no less than the United Kingdom. But a third party is also waiting to enter the lists: this is the Soviet Union. From time immemorial, the Persian Gulf has had vast strategic importance. Germany before World War I even thought in terms of a Berlin-Baghdad railway in order to reach the warm waters of the Persian Gulf by circumventing the Royal Navy in the Mediterranean Sea and the Red Sea. Today the position in the Soviet Asia is changing rapidly. Countries backward so far are developing industries and are likely to call for a sea-outlet for trade purposes. And the Persian Gulf is the readiest they can think of. The question in short is when is the Soviet likely to inter the Indian Ocean as a naval power, in addition to Britain and America?

The role of the navy in a scheme of India's defence is practically determined for her in this manner by circumstances.

India has no aggressive intentions against any other country; but it would be folly to assume that other countries will be similarly disposed towards her. She must therefore keep the powder dry. Besides, if the Indian Ocean becomes a battle-arena for others, she even as a non-beligerent, should be able to protect her own foreign trade. That would be a difficult and delicate task; but not one of her seeking. And if she does not possess the power to undertake it, the power to see that the needs of her security are respected by others, she will indeed have to regret it.

Don Quixote

C. Jinarajadasa writes in *The Theosophist*:

Every one knows the meaning of the word "quixotic," which is a course of action that shows a certain want of mental balance and adjustment to reality, though it may have behind it a very good moitve. This conception has arisen from reading the English translations of the Spanish work *Don Quixote*, whose author is Cervantes. Incidentally let me mention that the word in Spanish is pronounced *Quihote*, with an accent on *ho*, Qui pronounced as Ki. It is pronounced in French *Don Quichotte*.

Readers usually get an idea of the hero of the romance as definitely crazy, doing all kinds of outrageous actions, like tilting at a windmill, imagining that the moving sails are some kind of enemy charging at him. He also imagines that peasant girls are princesses and titled ladies.

Don Quixote is always accompanied in his adventures by his squire, Sancho Panza. Sancho does not realize that his master is crazy, and believes in the offer made to him that his master presently will make him the governor of an island.

Don Quixote is described as thin and gaunt, a tall man, who has had his head turned by reading innumerable stories of the knights of antiquity who went

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out to seek adventures and met with various magicians. While to all Don Quixote appears as a ludicrous figure, nevertheless there is something striking about this madman. There is a certain idealism in him, for he goes out seeking adventures as did the knights of old, claiming that he is a Knight Errant whose task is to rescue captive maidens, put down cruelty, and battle against injustice.

Now, it is a strange thing that in what is known as Latin America—a phrase used to designate all the countries of South and Central America, Mexico, Cuba and Porto Rico, whose colonizers were from Spain, as also Brazil, whose colonizers were from Portugal—in nearly every home there will be found a picture of Don Quixote, and sometimes a statuette. He is always depicted as tall and thin, standing and reading a book, waving one arm declaiming, and careless of his dress with one of his long stockings hanging down. Once in Mexico when I went through the weekly market and came to the part where pottery was being sold, I found a statuette of Don Quixote. It was evident, therefore, that this crazy man had a certain attractiveness about him.

Why should almost every home in Latin America have a picture of this crazy man? It is only when one lives in the homes of Latin Americans that one penetrates a little into the feeling behind the respect given to the crazy hero. That respect is so great that a special condensed edition of the great work of Cervantes has been prepared for the use of schools in Mexico, with very graphic illustrations of certain incidents in the story.

The true reason for the high regard paid by Latin Americans to Don Quixote, the crazy man, is due to the fact that in spite of his madness he represents a certain ideal of what Jesus Christ proclaimed in Palestine.

It is quite easy to note in Roman Catholic countries that outside the churches and cathedrals there are always beggars. That church is the most powerful in the world, and yet Roman Catholicism, as also all forms of Protestantism, has not been able to teach their adherents the significance of Christ's commandment: "Forasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of these My brethren, ye have done it unto Me." In spite of churches and hierarchies, and monasteries and nunneries, very little has been done to root out poverty, disease and degradation. I say "very little," for I know well how certain monastic orders of monks and nuns have with the greatest devotion tried to help the poor and the sick. But what they have done is almost like a drop in a bucket. What is noticeable is the attitude of callousness of the religious-minded men and women who go to church and pray to God, yet whose conscience is not pricked by the contrast of wealth and poverty in a so-called Christian civilization. Of course, the same contrast exists in Hindu and Buddhist civilizations. Evidently the religious conscience of mankind has many atrophied spots, so that no response can be obtained from them.

In the romance *Don Quixote*, this crazy man, who sets out on what he calls adventures, again and again proclaims that he belongs to the ancient band of chivalrous knights founded by King Arthur, and that he has taken the vow to aid those in need and to put down the oppression of the weak by the strong. He says: "My office is no other than to avenge those who suffer injustice, and to castigate the proud. If you can inform me that you have any work for me to do in this locality, you have only to tell me and I promise you by the order of the knighthood which I have received, to give you full satisfaction according to your wishes." Again: "Friend Sancho, recollect that I have been born by the will of heaven in this year of iron to transform it to the year of gold. It is for me that dangers, great actions and valorous deeds have been reserved. It is I who have resuscitated the Round Table, the twelve knights of France and the nine of fame. I have to abolish the memory of tyrants." Elsewhere he says: "Well is it that many possessions and rest were invented for weak men of the royal court; but work, inquietude and arms were invented for those whom the world calls Knights Errant, of whom I am, though not worthy, the least." Again he says: "I seek adventures in order to offer my arms and my person for the most dangerous fate that may appear before you, in order to aid those who are weak and in need."

Each knight of the old pledged himself to valorous deeds in the name of his lady of adoration; all the time his work of adventure is to put down evil, remembering that he is doing the work of God, but also as an offering to his lady.

It is because of this strange idealism of a madman, who tries to live the ancient teachings of Palestine, that the peoples of Latin America, while they smile at his crazy adventures, have their hearts touched by the idealism of deeds that should be done by the followers of a religion, but are not done.

One very striking element in the romance is the contrast between knight and squire.

The knight is the idealist, though he is crazy. Sancho, the squire, is the materialist whose first thought is, "What am I going to get out of all this?" He is all the time thinking of the good things of life, especially his meals, and of making a nest for himself. Sancho represents, to Latin America, the man of the world whose first interest is himself, while in contrast Don Quixote is the idealist, though he does crazy actions.

A long poem by Roberto Nieto of the Republic of Colombia, with the title, *Oh, Sancho*, says as follows regarding Don Quixote and Sancho:

"Oh Sancho! You have not died! In the midst of the motley restless crowds of each day I have seen the reflection of your face in the noisy gabble. But how changed you are, and with what elegance! You have changed the pack-saddle for gloves, and instead of riding on a sorry nag, you drive in a car. Casting

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one side the garb you wore, you have now the trappings of a gentleman. Good Sancho, who can discover in your present outfit the base lackey of once upon a time?

"But your uncouth nature has not changed; today, as yesterday, it is matter incarnate. What to your eyes is our bitter savage war with grief and pain? Only a fair. You are still the same; still come from your lips the empty good-natured outbursts of laughter. With your bourgeois stride you strut proudly among the learned.

"Meanwhile Quixote overthrown in battle rolls in the dust with his broken lance, invokes the lovely Dulcinea, and dreams of a far-away island.

"When you come on the scene, the world bows before you; for in this bizarre and outlandish age only one light shines—that of your genius.

"Ye comrades of Don Quixote, ye brave paladins who tread the bitter road to the trumpet-tunes of warlike horns, defying the wrath of Destiny! your mission is ended. Do you wonder? Sheathe the sword that defended your ruined ramparts. And salute in Sancho, the lackey without blemish, the heroes of the future.

"What matters the ideal? Wounded and withered, as are yourselves, in the fearful reverses in the tenacious struggle, the ideal lies dead on the bloody field of battle."

Cervantes' great classic appeared in Spain in 1605. The first English translation by Shelton appeared in England in 1612.

Evidently Butler, the author of *Hudibras*, had read Shelton, for we have Dr. Johnson writing as follows:

"The poem *Hudibras* is not wholly English; the original idea is to be found in the history of Don Quixote, a book to which a mind of the greatest powers may be indebted without disgrace."

Don Quixote knows when he sets out on his mission of succouring the distressed that he must first be knighted by one who is already a Knight. Cervantes describes the ludicrous manner in which the crazy man achieves knighthood. He has then, according to the rules of chivalry. to take a new name. He ceases to be Don Quixote de la Mancha (Mancha being a small estate of his family) and calls himself "the Knight of the Sorrowful Countenance." It is this knightly name of Don Quixote that is used by the Brazilian poet, Filinto de Almeida, in his Portuguese sonnet on the hero. The sonnet is exquisite and tender in sentiment; to translate it into bald prose is like offering dried rose-petals instead of a living rose. But at the moment that defect cannot be rectified; here is what de Almeida wrote:

"Meanwhile, whoever sees him forlorn and stunned, with his astonishing helmet and incredible armour, beaten and stoned in so many combats, will call him a Knight, but of the Sorrowful Countenance. What matters? The hero dreams on ever, grave and saddened. And if to dream so is near to insanity, he is strong and happy in the armour of his dream, and so dreaming he marches down the centuries.

"Leave him alone to go on his way, though we laugh at him, as he battles for justice and combats crimes. Leave him with his illusion and its great inglorious effort. For it is such gallant lunacy that makes him so sublime. Awaken him never; leave him drunk with his golden pertinacious ideal which no suffering shall lessen, so as to dream of glory, love, justice and loving-kindness. For only who knows to dream thus is worthy of the name—*a Man.*"

The word "quixotic" conveys no meaning in Latin America.



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FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Jacob Epstein—Art With A Bite In It

On the occasion of the seventieth anniversary of the world-famed sculptor Jacob Epstein, Alfred Werner writes in the *Jewish Frontier*, March, 1951 :

About fifty years ago, on the corner of Hester and Forsythe Streets in Downtown Manhattan, Jacob Epstein lived in a small room which contained an iron bedstead, a diminutive stove, and his easels with sketches and paintings of Ghetto types on them. By cooking his own meals and paying only $4 rent, he was able to make ends meet on $12 a month, and he was content to make just that much by selling his sketches. He lived this way by choice, for when his parents, middle-class business people from Russia, moved to better uptown quarters, Jacob refused to join them. They shook their heads: "Meshuggah!", but allowed him to live in his own fashion. And he was so content on the East Side that even his one excursion to the country ended in failure: "It is only in the Ghetto where there is human nature that I have ideas for sketches," he confessed.

The East Side provided him a wide choice of subjects. There were all the pushcar peddlers, sweatshop workers and patriarchs. Many of them became immortalized in the pages of Hutchins Hapgood's book on the ghetto, for which Epstein drew the illustrations.

Epstein did not become famous for these drawings, though they revealed his great power of observation. At the age of twenty, Epstein already mastered the art of expressing himself through a few swiftly suggestive bold lines. But the body of his entire work, from these early sketches to his latest creation, *Youth Advances*, a massive male figure made for the 1951 Festival of Britain, is permeated with a profound humanity which one may ascribe to his formative years on the East Side. Once, looking backward from the peak of his fame, he remarked: "Rembrandt would have delighted in the East Side." And he added gratefully: "I imagine that the feeling I have for expressing a human point of view, giving human rather than abstract implications to my work, comes from these early formative years."

Today Epstein, who celebrated his seventieth birthday last November, is a patriarchal gentleman living in modest comfort in a small ivied house in London's Hyde Park Gate, cared for after the death of his wife by one of his daughters. Though there are still many Britons who fail to understand his work, the time has long since passed when London policemen, summoned to an Epstein exhibit, were not sure whether they had been called to protect or to destroy the strange stones that went under the name of "Modern Sculpture." Anti-Epstein riots have long ago ceased to be the vogue. His recent *Lazarus* left visitors baffled, but angry comments were rare. On the occasion of Epstein's seventieth birthday a number of British papers and magazines devoted their columns to an appraisal of his work. Surprisingly, not a single American art magazine or general periodical used the occasion to pay tribute to the genius of this native of New York City !

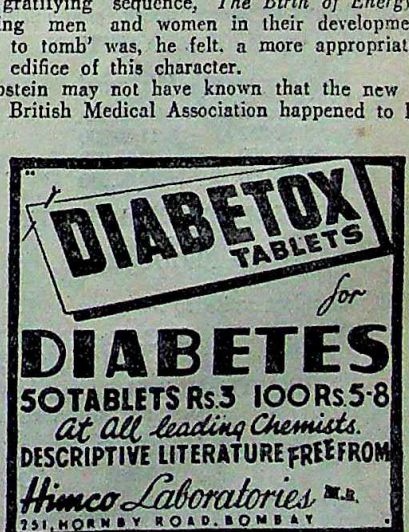
In a country as conservative as England iconoclasts have few opportunities, and since 1905, the year of his arrival in Britain, until today, Jacob Epstein has never stopped breaking images and destroying beliefs not acceptable to him. As a teen-ager he had attended the life class at the New York Art Student's League, but he had spent more time in the Durand-Ruel Gallery where he sated himself on French Impressionists and Post-Impressionists, as well as American rebels of that day like Winslow Homer, George Innes, Albert P. Ryder, and Thomas Eakins.

When he went to study at the Beaux Arts School in Paris he passed his time in a rage of work. One day he earned the scorn of Bougereau. Unwilling to take criticism from this old-fashioned academician, Epstein covered his work when the master came in. "Ce sauvage Americain !" Bougereau exclaimed, and this unflattering nickname stuck to Epstein for the rest of his Paris student days.

One day this "barbaric American" made a trip to London without anticipating that he was destined to become a Londoner, and a British subject. What kept him in England was not the British Museum, with its vast collection of ancient Egyptian and pre-Phidian Greek art, and its Polynesian and African arts and crafts. There is no question that these treasures had a decisive influence upon Epstein the sculptor. But in England he met his future wife. Their first regular income did not come from Epstein's commissions. During the day he would plunge his hands into the wet, cool clay. But, more important for the budget, he worked at night as a model in an art school to make a few shillings.

Epstein was only in his mid-twenties when in 1907 fame came to him *via* a nation-wide scandal. He had been commissioned to decorate the facade of a new building, just acquired by the British Medical Association. Horrified at the thought of modeling surgeons with side-whiskers, Epstein rejected the idea of doing a series of famous medical men and proposed, instead, an artistically more gratifying sequence, *The Birth of Energy*. This, depicting men and women in their development from 'womb to tomb' was, he felt, a more appropriate theme for an edifice of this character.

Epstein may not have known that the new building of the British Medical Association happened to be oppo-



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site the offices of the National Vigilance Society, or if he knew, he did not care. At any rate, he spent fourteen months carving a series of eighteen nudes. All of them were artistically beyond reproach. Above all, they were not mere decorations stuck upon the walls, but blended perfectly with the building itself. And one of the statues was of a woman in advanced pregnancy.

Public opinion was shocked. How could a father expose his daughter to this alarming sight? The philistines of the Vigilance Society fumed. How could any pure-minded young man let his fiancee behold these "obscenities?" One of the enraged critics, Father Vaughan, even went so far as to make the most of the fact that Epstein then lived in the Bloomsbury section, London's Greenwich Village. While some bigots, supported by the conservative press, loudly clamored for the removal of this "indecent" statuary, unexpected help came to Epstein from no less a person than the Bishop of Stepney, Dr. Cosmo Gordon Lang, later to become Archbishop of Canterbury. Inspecting the figures, he saw nothing indecent or shocking in them. Some of England's outstanding writers and critics likewise sided with Epstein: "Had Michelangelo ever disguised sex?" they asked.

In him there was the same disturbing turbulence that once expressed itself in William Blake, that un-English Englishman who asserted that exuberance is beauty, and that the gateway of excess leads to the Palace of Wisdom. He felt compelled to create sculpture that expressed emotions and ideas but did not try to duplicate nature. Thus he took upon himself the task of the 20th century artist, to disentangle the eternal from the ephemeral, to capture its structure and essence.

It is not surprising then that artistically conservative people found most of Epstein's work repulsive. Most women, for instance, felt affronted by his large statue, *Genesis*, which symbolizes motherhood, not realizing t the artist had no intention of making the millionth tion of a chorus girl Venus. Genesis is the eternal val woman, the fertile mother of the human race, as dormant fullness of parenthood. Yet one superficial called this sincere and deep homage to maternity in marble"—as though any artist would spend mon even years of intense concentration merely to confu amuse the public.

Adam is a more recent work. Quite intentiona Epstein deviated from the orthodox traditional vie God created Adam in His image, as a composite Gregory Peck and Van Johnson. Mindful of Darw *Descent of Man*, Epstein intentionally made this Adam resemble a hairless gorilla beating his breast. the artist's adversaries failed to notice a significant de Adam's head is thrown back to indicate that he is differ from other animals, that he alone of all creatures received the breath and the spirit of God.

Three times he carved Christ, and three times was abused because he clung to his aesthetic convictio His first Christ originated during World War 1: an e giant-sized figure in bronze, eleven feet high. The is wrapped in cerements, one hand points to the gap wound in his other hand. While the forehead is high serene, the mouth looks tortured, the eyes full of sor A decade ago Epstein said about this version of Chris

"It stands and accuses the world for its grossn inhumanity, cruelty, an beastliness—for the World (World War I), for the new wars in Abyssinia, Ch Spain, and now our new great war (World War II).

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—the Galilean—condemns our wars, and warns us that 'Peace, Peace!' must be still the watchword between man and man."

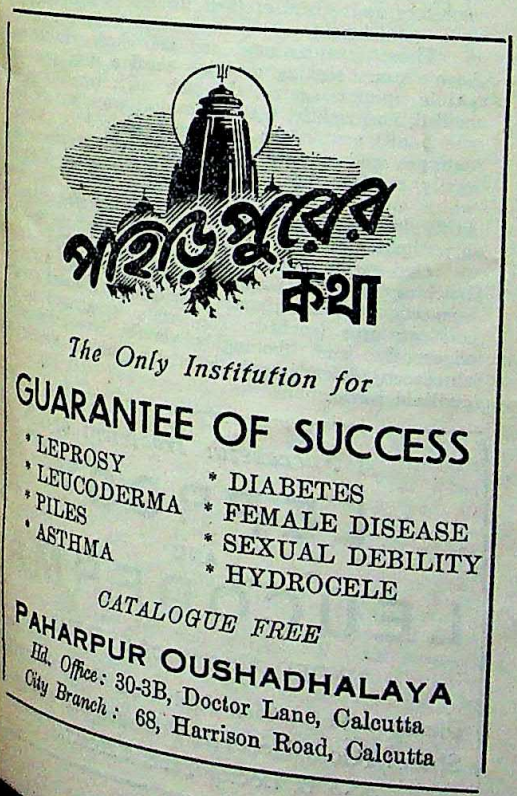
Another presentation of Christ was the *Ecce Homo*. This is a colossal stone carving—a huge head bearing a crown of thorns, thick sad lips, sightless almond-shaped eyes, and two great hands tied with a rope. This time nearly everybody was incensed, and among the most outspoken critics were members of Parliament. But, to their great embarrassment, the dean of St. Paul, Dr. Walter Matthews, defended the figure: "It gives the impression of great strength, very different from the weak, sentimental representations of Christ with which we have been made familiar."

The third Christ, the *Consummatum Est*, caused the greatest outcry. To many people it was, and remains the "most shocking" and "repulsive" of the three. But there were also people to defend it. Alfred Bossom, member of the Royal Institute of British Architects, was one of them. "It makes you think," he said. "What I mean is, his work can't be ignored. You can't pass Epstein's sculpture without noticing it. It may annoy you, or charm you, or shock you, but it produces a definite reaction, and I like that—art with a bite in it."

Epstein is well aware of the general opinion about him. He was told by a gallery owner than an angry visitor had exclaimed: "I should like to take Epstein out to a butcher shop and have his hands chopped off." He knows that a confused and bewildered British Prime Minister almost fainted as he was unveiling one of his monuments in Hyde Park. But the artist also knows that, as time goes on, more and more people will understand his motivation, and agree with him. One cultured New Yorker said at the time of the *Adam* controversy: "To me, Adam is as if he were not made by a man, but by mankind." Even more strikingly to the point is the defense of another admirer: "It seems to me Epstein is rejected because, after all, he is inferring that the blasphemer may be in hearts other than his own."

Epstein is extremely honest, and much too outspoken for his own good. He is not, and never was, a wealthy man. Philistines of many countries would have gladly forgiven him his "monstrosities," and even paid him excellent fees, had he consented to portray them flatteringly in stone or bronze. An art patron who commissioned Epstein to portray a well-connected aristocratic lady was infuriated when he discovered that he had made her look as she actually was, a middle-aged schoolmarmish woman, instead of a live Venus. And when a certain Duke requested that his likeness be carved in the gala uniform he had worn at the coronation of George V, the artist sternly refused to portray him in a majesty he did not possess, and insisted that the Duke wear ordinary clothes. Yet Epstein did not waste his art of portraiture on socialities and aristocrats alone. Among the men who posed for him were the novelist Joseph Conrad, great in all his sickness and loneliness; the exiled Albert Einstein whom he showed in a sweater with his wild hair floating in the wind; and another exile, Haile Selassie, a tired man with deeply melancholy eyes.

Twentieth century sculpture has gone far beyond Epstein who stands at the beginning of the road. But without Jacob Epstein there might have been no Henry Moore. As for such abstract or semi-abstract young





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Englishmen as Robert Adams, Barbara Hepworth and John Skeaping, and like-minded artists of the same generation elsewhere, they are grateful to the old man for having been provocatively revolutionary in a period when art was still complacently Victorian.

It is impossible to foretell how much of Epstein's work will withstand the strain of future criticism. To the generation of 1970 or 1980 he may be a "traditionalist." But even the most conservative estimate of his accomplishments cannot minimize his place in the history of art. He chased the "faiseurs de beaute" out of the temple of plastic arts; he clearly demonstrated to the world that it was the sculptor's task to translate the laws of human anatomy into organic sculptural terms, rather than into their naturalistic equivalent. To achieve these ends a great idealism and a primevally strong personality was required. It required a Jacob Epstein, one who like the giant Antaeus of Greek mythology gains his strength from having his feet firmly planted on the earth, that same earth out of which we come, unto which we return, which "shall endure forever . . ."

Lynching's Changing Pattern

Henry Lesesne observes in the *New York Herald-Tribune*, April 3, 1951, that mob violence in the South is meeting a new quality of law enforcement :

Atlanta, Ga.—A rather frequent complaint of editorial writers on Southern newspapers and the Southerners generally is that newspapers in other parts of the country seem only too willing to devote space in their news pages to Southern mob outrages when they occur, yet are not inclined to devote a similar amount of space to activities in the South which are aimed at curbing mob or terroristic activities.

For instance, recently the Legislature of Georgia, reversing its attitude of the two previous years, enacted a strong anti-Klan law somewhat like the one the Alabama Legislature adopted in the summer of 1949, and it is very likely that the Legislature of South Carolina will approve a similar statute in the coming weeks. The failure of the Eastern press to take much note of this has produced quite a few editorials of the aforementioned type.

The South—remember "Tobacco Road"?—is naturally sensitive on this score, and it has come to regard itself as the nation's whipping boy. But no one familiar with news values could argue that a legislative action in Georgia prohibiting the wearing of masks has a wider appeal among all classes of readers than a rather spectacular lynching or one of the more bloody inter-racial massacres. The sensitivity of the South in this respect is also evidenced by the fact that it will argue endlessly, not without some logic, over just what constitutes a lynching.

It is a fact, however, that the people outside the South who read the details of a mob outrage or racial crime are seldom ever made aware of the denouement, simply because it is not as shocking as the crime itself. All the foregoing is by way of a preface to two significant developments on the Southern scene: (1) The pattern of mob violence in Dixie has been changing in recent years, and (2) Southern public opinion has also become so sensitive to lapses in legal machinery that a new quality of law enforcement is emerging at last to make lynch mobsters and others of their ilk less certain of immunity from punishment.

Those organizations and individuals who for years have been seeking to bring about a more enlightened public opinion against the mob spirit have always contended, and rightly, that a record of arrest and conviction and punishment is the strongest possible deterrent to mob outrages and masked terrorism. But it comes to mind easily that in the summer of 1946 a group of masked white men lynched two young Negroes and their wives in Walton County, Ga., and despite the most exhaustive investigation there has never been so much as an arrest.

One easily recalls, too, the famous Greenville County lynching in South Carolina a few years ago. Thirty-odd suspects, all taxi drivers, were quickly rounded up after a Negro was lynched. The state prosecuted the case vigorously and thoroughly, yet the jury acquitted the threescore defendants in a verdict which shocked the civilized world.

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Since the 1930s there has been a dramatic decrease in the number of lynchings. In 1950 there were only two such crimes—exactly the average for the last four years. However, as the Southern Regional Council, a bi-racial organization of Southerners, recently pointed out, the small number of lynchings in 1950 is not particularly significant.

In the first place, lynching has become, not without reason, to be identified with racism, and the notion still prevails that the number of lynchings serves as a barometer of race relations. This isn't necessarily the case, when it is considered that white men may lynch other white men and, perversely enough, they may murder, rather than lynch, a member of the minority race. The technical definition of lynching may exclude the most horrible inter-racial slayings—for instance, the case in Mississippi last year of three escaped white convicts slaughtering a whole Negro family.

The change in the pattern of lynching has come slowly over a long period. Gone is the day of the spectacle of large mobs acting openly and publicly proclaiming their objective. The lynch mob has been replaced by very small groups who conspire in secret and dispose of their victims without any fanfare. This development has, naturally, widened the already wide field for argument over just what does and what does not constitute a lynching.

The Southern Regional Council calls attention to the fact that there were more bombings of Negro-owned homes in 1950 than there were lynchings. There were many more Negroes needlessly shot by policemen acting "in the course of duty." There were more abductions, more floggings, more actions designed to terrorize and intimidate, many of them committed by members of the Ku-Klux Klan or persons concealing their identity behind a reasonable facsimile of the regalia of the hooded order.

The real significance of the 1950 record of lynchings, painstakingly kept by Tuskegee Institute, is neither in the small number nor in the deviation of lynching from the classic example. The thing that is noteworthy is that most of the participants in the 1950 lynchings have been caught, tried and convicted. One need only review briefly the record of the two cases classified as lynchings by Tuskegee, which readily admits there is no really foolproof definition of a lynching.

Charlie Hurst, white, thirty-nine-year-old rolling-store operator of Pell City, Ala., was mortally wounded on February 22, 1950, in his front yard by a group of unmasked men. They had come to his home at bedtime and tried to force him into their car. Hurst's nineteen-year-old son, who came to his assistance, was also wounded. Hurst had previously told his son that "it looks like the Klusters are after me." There were no charges against the victim. The Tuskegee report concludes that "it seems the mob got 'the wrong man'."

The other lynch victim in 1950 was Jack Walker, a forty-year-old Negro laborer living near Gay, Ga. His body was found on August 18 in a creek near the Flint River by a group of fishermen. He had been shot to death by three men for whom he worked. According to the Tuskegee report, Walker knew too much about illegal whisky traffic.

Now as to what happened subsequently: One of the mob members in the Pell City slaying has been sentenced to five years in prison; one committed suicide and three other accused men are awaiting trial. A Georgia court has sentenced all three of the men implicated in the Negro slaying—two of them to life imprisonment and one to a term of three to five years.

Late in 1950 a group of Klansmen shot up a Negro resort near Myrtle Beach, in South Carolina, and in the shooting, somehow, a Conway policeman in Ku-Klux garb



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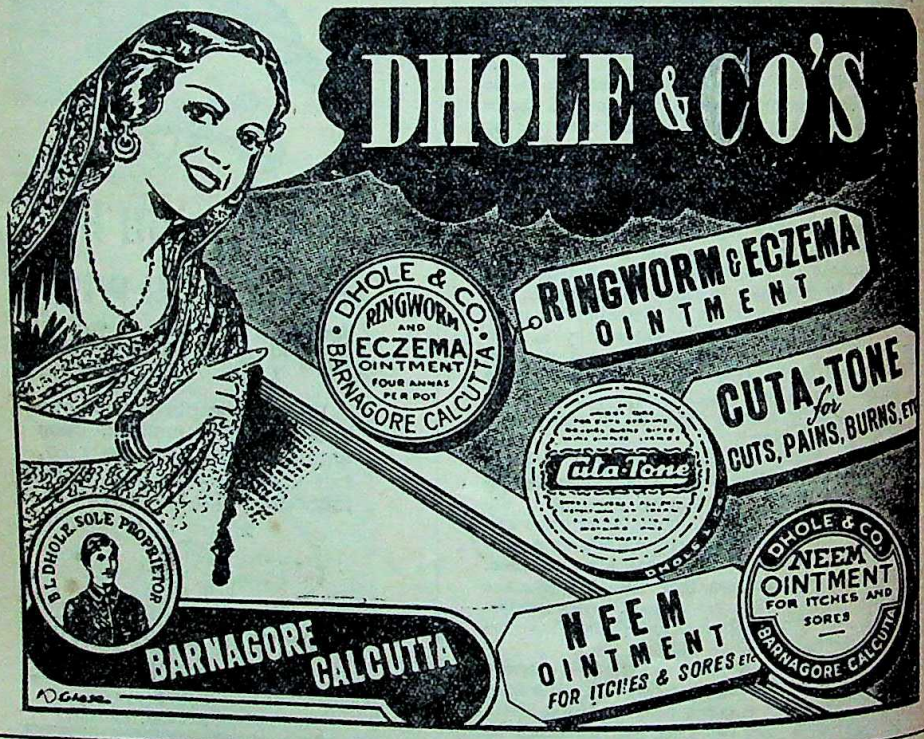
was fatally wounded. The sheriff arrested the Grand Dragon and others on charges of attempting to incite a riot and, although the grand jury failed to indict them, the fact that arrests were made, and so quickly, was generally considered a milestone in deterring such acts of violence and terrorism.

As evidence that the indifference, sanction and even downright co-operation extended to mobs by police officers in the past is less frequently condoned now, one might recall the case of the sheriff of Dade County, Georgia, and his deputy, who in 1950 were convicted by a jury of conspiracy with a masked mob in the flogging of seven Negroes and who were given the maximum penalty provided by law—jail sentences of twelve months each and fines of $1,000 each.

Last December a group of white men went to the home of a Negro in Greenwood County, South Carolina. The Negro called to his fourteen-year-old son for help, and the son answered the call, armed with a shotgun. A white man was killed. The Negro boy was arrested on a murder charge. The Negro boy subsequently was acquitted by a directed verdict, and thirteen white men, arrested on charges of criminal conspiracy, pleaded guilty and were sentenced to one year imprisonment each and fined $500, their sentences to be suspended upon serving two months and paying $200.

Tuskegee keeps a record of prevented lynchings as well as lynchings. It reports that during 1950 lynchings were prevented by peace officers in at least seven instances —six in the South and one in the North. Southerners interested in stamping out mob violence have long contended that the peace officer is the key to racial tensions and that the remedy lies in the professionalization of the police to the extent that they can view racial conflicts with a degree of objectivity.

A step toward the realization of this goal is seen in the recent establishment of a modern pioneering police college in Louisville, Ky., aimed at raising professional standards, with special emphasis on police work with racial minorities. The institute, under the sponsorship of the University of Louisville and the City of Louisville, serves all the South, and carefully chosen police officers from a number of Southern states are now attending courses under subsistence scholarships.





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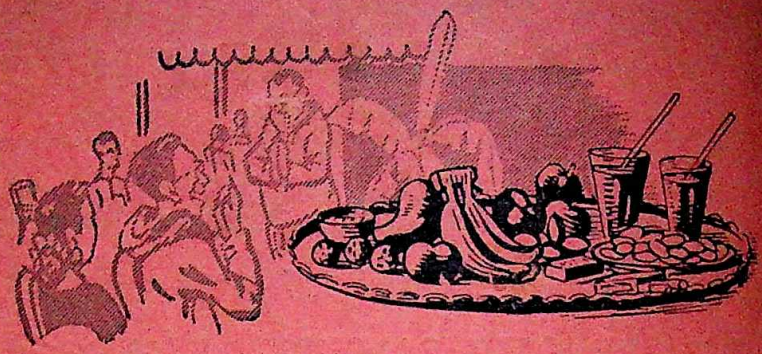
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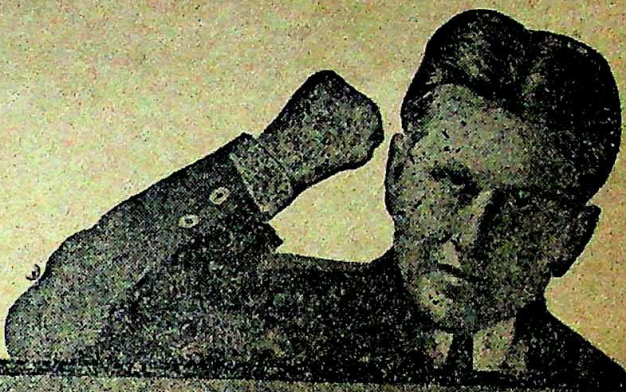
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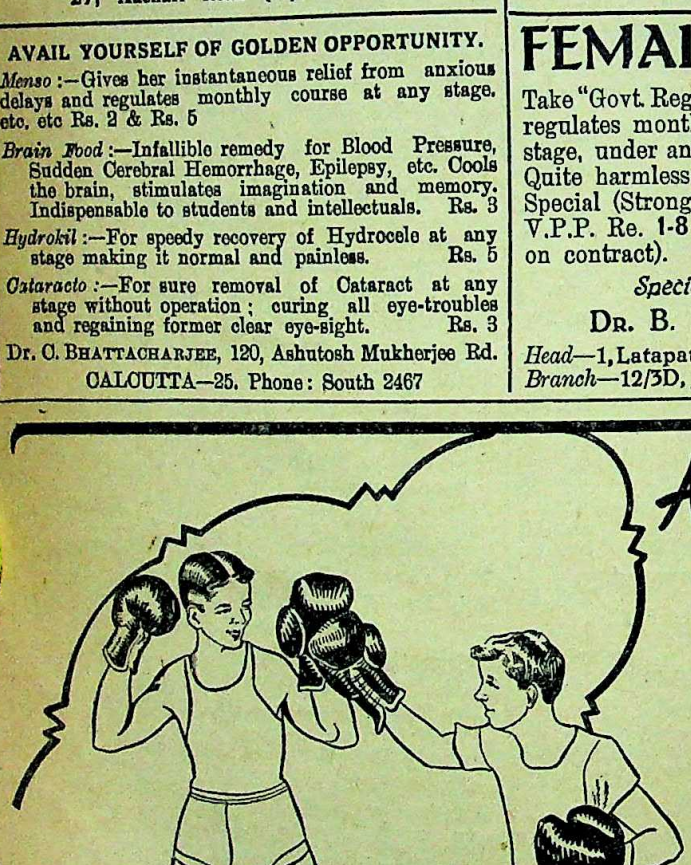
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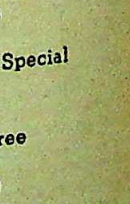
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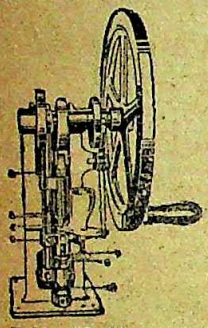
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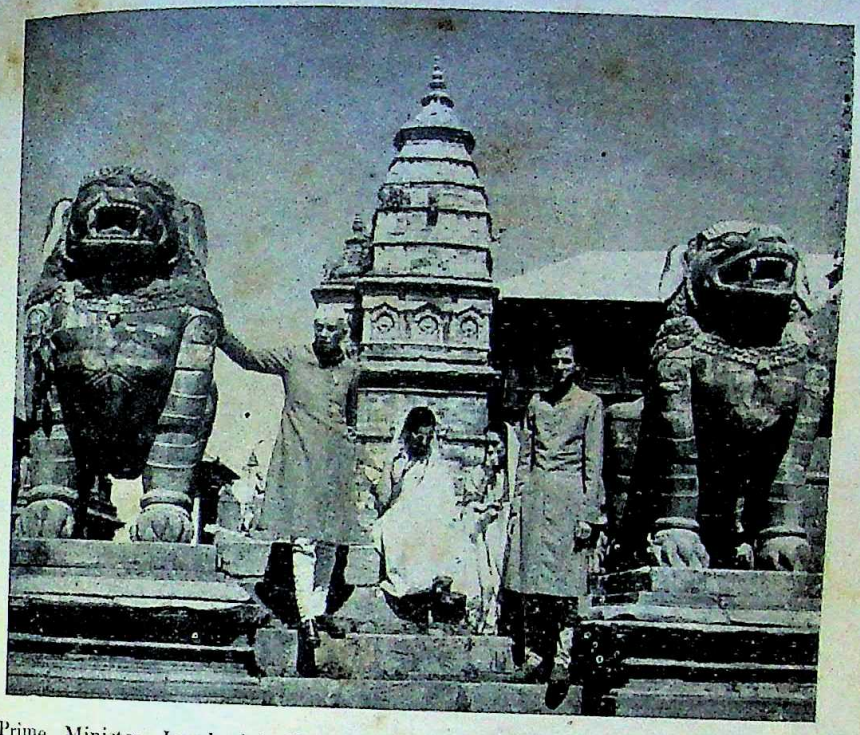
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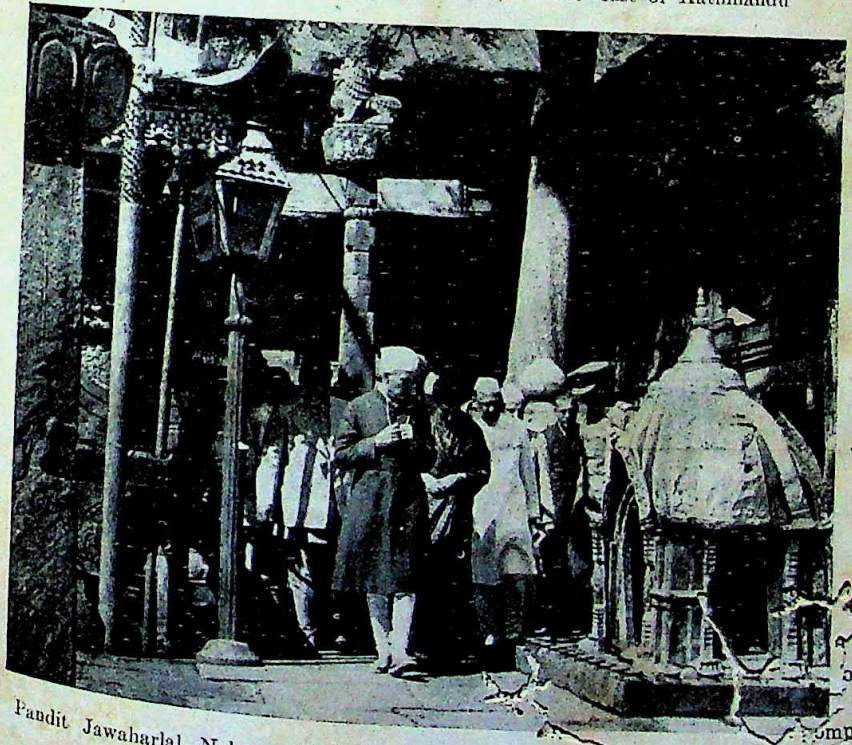
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Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru, accompanied by Srimati Indira Gandhi, Miss Singh, daughter of India's Ambassador to Nepal and Sri Koirala, Home Minister of Nepal, visits a temple at Bhadgaon, 8 miles east of Kathmandu

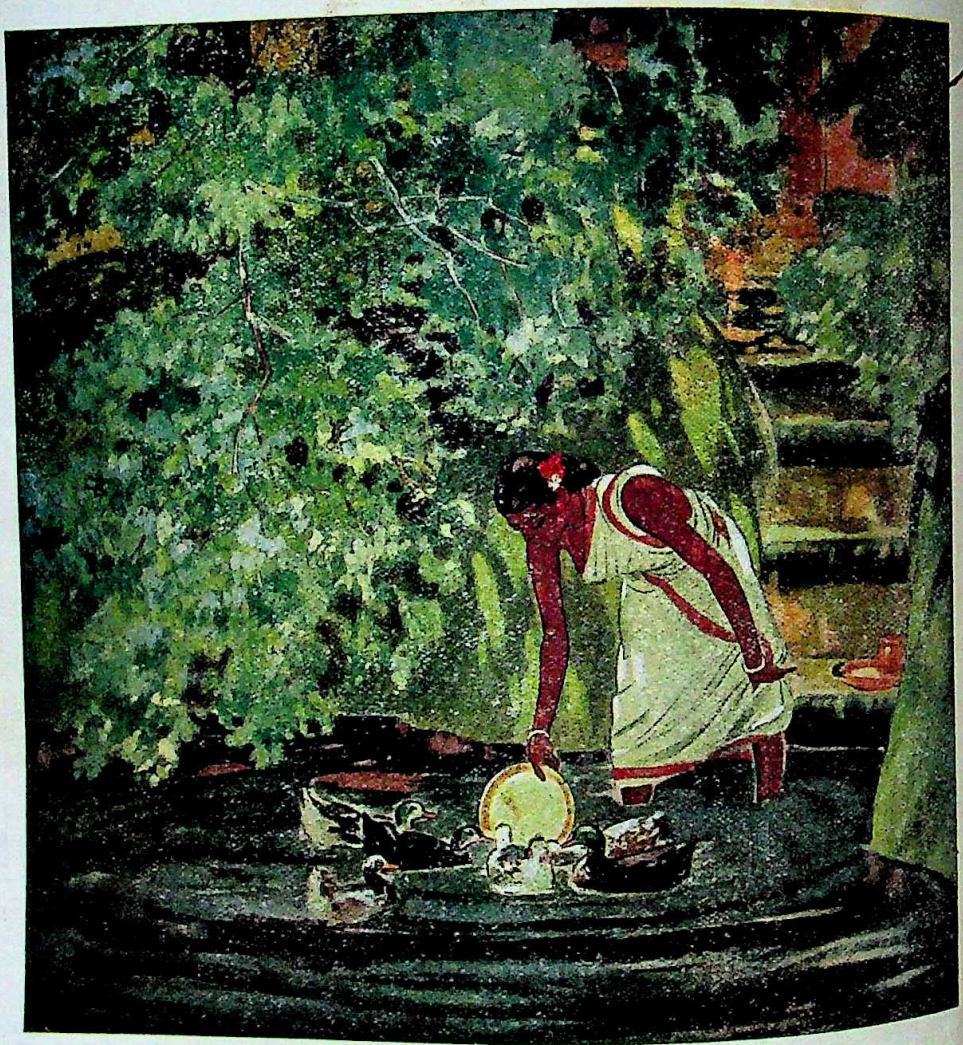


Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru visits the Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar of Kathmandu

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DOMESTIC MEMBERS
By Birendranath Chakravarty

Prabasi Press, Calcutta.

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AUGUST 1951

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NOTES

Prospects for the Coming Election

The elections for the Parliament and the State Legislatures are coming near. The contest will be as between the Congress and a whole host of opposition groups, of which there are no less than fourteen odd in West Bengal alone. There is schism within the Congress, both open and furtive. There are elements within the main body of the Congress itself, that are getting restive due to their confidence in leadership being increasingly lowered.

Apart from the splinter groups, which up till now have not been able to form effective opposition coalitions, there are the Hindu Mahasabha, the Socialist Party and the Krishak-Mazdoor-Praja Party led by Acharya Kripalani. The so-called Progressive Group and the Leftist parties are even now negotiating with all and sundry to form election combines in order to conduct an effective campaign against the Congress. They have had some petty successes in District and Local Board elections, mainly due to the action of recalcitrant local elements that are dissatisfied with the arbitrary and high-handed methods of the Congress.

The Socialist Party has issued an election manifesto, the substance of which is printed elsewhere in the editorials of this issue. Acharya Kripalani is touring the country on behalf of his party and the K.M.P. party has also issued a manifesto. Acharya Kripalani's speeches have been mainly directed against the Congress, in and out of office.

Dr. Shyamaprasad Mookerji's campaign is also directed against the Congress. His main plank is the question of appeasement of Pakistan. Hindu Mahasabha leaders are not much in evidence. The Communist party has come out in the open and is carrying on its propaganda throughout the country through a highly-skilled dissemination of news, views, propaganda articles and cartoons by the channel of its personnel that has infiltrated into almost every newspaper in India. The Party Politburo does not seem to have received any definite instructions as yet from Moscow.

The rest of the contestants, whom we have termed 'splinter groups,' have only localized influence and significance. In some provinces, like the State of West Bengal, they have as yet only considerable nuisance value, and where their influence is manifest, there will be a very considerable chance of violence and disruptive activities during the elections. None of these parties have any All-India significance, but if the proposed coalitions materialise then there is some likelihood of their affecting the Parliamentary elections to some appreciable extent.

All these parties, the major groups and the splinters are actively canvassing the support of disaffected Congressmen, the Have-nots or Have-littles within the party in power, as also the few genuine Congressmen who have stood aloof, with distressed minds, as silent spectators of the acts of perfidy against the nation being perpetrated by the dishonest ones in the Congress. Indeed the main strength of disruption lies in the corruption and malfeasance that is rife within the Congress, the administration as well as the body-politic. Honest men there are galore, inside the Congress, but they are powerless and are chewing the bitter curds of frustration in silent despair.

The Congress has issued an Election Manifesto, and the Congress Government has had a Five-Year Plan prepared in draft, a few copies of which have been circulated with discretion, so that there might be as little considered criticism and as much of empty fanfare as possible. And the A.I.C.C. has capped the Congress Manifesto with a bombastic proclamation, which in substance means that the A.I.C.C. is willing to accept and nominate for election "good men" from outside the Congress, provided the said "good men" are such congenital morons as to be willing to sell their very souls to that assemblage of pompous dictators who sit tog-

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A.I.C.C. with the notorieties that have reduced the once noble edifice of the Congress to a veritable Augean Stable! We shall consider all the manifestos in due course. But before that let us confess to a mind charged with dismal forebodings. Unless a miracle happens, we do not see how chaos can be averted in the elections and its aftermath.

The makers of the Constitution and the members of the Constituent Assembly have made an appalling mess of their jobs, and the High Courts—or at least some prominent judges—have completed the disaster. Today the Four Freedoms—indeed a hundred times four—are for those criminals who wage war against the nation and the social structure. Honest men are at the mercy of the corrupt ones who have filled the administration with their minions. The case of the Satyagrahis of Manbhum in Bihar is so shameful as to force us to hold down our heads. We know Pandit Nehru or Babu Rajendraprasad have no time to cogitate on the prostitution of justice in corrupt governments, but what has happened to President Purushottamdas Tandon's principles? In the Manifesto itself, the issue of linguistic readjustment between Bihar and West Bengal has been evaded in a fashion that is not only cowardly but flagrantly dishonest as well.

The crying need in the Congress, both Official and National, is a purge of corruption. Corruption has permeated into the very vitals of it, right from the top to the bottom. Ministries, administrative services, the Working Committee, the A.I.C.C. all need to be rid of those vile elements. *The Public Services Commissions have been reduced to fraudulent farces, nepotism and favouritism is rife everywhere.* So until such time as we see a determined move on the parts of the Congress Governments and the Congress bodypolitic, we shall take the Congress Manifesto in the same light as a prospectus of a shady company promoter. If the ricketty Congress of Nehru, Tandon and their satellites and sycophants is to be reconstructed, then let them implement their declarations of faith into actual deeds. We are unable to gather any inspiration from the Manifesto as it stands, but we have substantially reproduced it *infra*, for record and for the judgment of our readers, whom we request to judge for themselves as to whether any of the noble sentiments, pious wishes and plans for the coming of the millenium contained therein, are ever likely to materialize unless the entire structure of the Congress, political and administrative, be deloused, disinfected and rebuilt from the very foundations.

The Manifesto of the Praja Party, at the very first sight, betrays a bewildering lack of consistency and weakness in its treatment of the most vital problems of the day. Two of the most burning problems for our country, *viz.*, nationalisation of industries and abolition of zemindary have been practically evaded. Both these points show confused thinking. The third point of vital importance, *viz.*, the formation of linguistic provinces have been completely ignored. An air of Marxism has been injected in the manifesto, but a Marxist stand on the burning problems of industries and land has been avoided. Undue disparity between the lowest and highest income groups is admitted, but the framers of the manifesto have remained content only with a barren appeal to the good wishes of the people, knowing fully well that wishes of the people, unaided by State power, means little. In their urge to support democracy, they have laid emphasis on small units and greater decentralisation, but have totally ignored the defects of this step as revealed in the working of the Panchayat system in the U.P. Desire to strike a balance between a strong Centre and a thorough decentralisation has been expressed, but the golden mean has been left undiscovered. Decentralisation of industries has also been emphatically spoken of, but the exact structure that will bring about a synthesis of both big and small industries is missed. Too much trust has been laid on co-operation with Pakistan, about the fruitfulness of which most people have much doubt. Foreign policy of the present Government has been supported. Nationalization of major industries has been opposed by singularly muddle-headed arguments. The real objective, seems to be to give sop to the rapacious Labour-Caucus that is a part of the Party. Heaven help the Nation if they come into power!

The Socialist Party Manifesto is more bold and definite, but inexperience, woeful disregard for realities, fanaticism and finally frustration is writ large all over it. The Land policy aims at victimisation of all middle-class tenant farmers as well as large landholders—for unless there is victimisation of the bourgeoisie how can Marxian fanaticism be satiated. We for ourselves, neither possess land nor do we hold any brief for landlords but we consider forcible acquisition of anyone's property without compensation to be against all civilized moral codes. The other projects regarding land, industry, etc., seem to be permeated with an atmosphere of unreality.

Caution is the watchword of the much vaunted Five-Year Plan. Perhaps that is born out of the hard realities of the last four years' experiences. There is no bold display of imagination, neither is there any evidence that the Planning Commission has ventured beyond the secretarial dossiers of the development departments of the Central Government. We had only a cursory glance through the draft plan—for obvious reasons—but it seems to be a rather expensive plan.

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The Plan has been presented by the Commission as a Draft Outline. "Planning in a democratic State," says the Commission, "is a social process in which, in some part, every citizen should have the opportunity to participate. To set the pattern of future development is a task of such magntiude and significance that it should embody the best thought of the country and reflect as fully as possible the impact of public opinion and the needs of the community." The Draft is "intended to be a document for the widest possible discussion" *and therefore its circulation has been restricted as far as possible*!

The distribution of expenditure in the first part of the Five-Year Plan, which has been worked out in detail, is shown by broad categories:

First Part of the National Plan, 1951-52 to 1955-56

(Rs. Lakhs)

	Central Government	*Part 'A' States*	*Part 'B' States*	*Part 'C' States*	*Total*
Agriculture and Rural Development.	18.04	127.47	37.93	8.26	191.70
Irrigation and Power	175.90	191.60	79.91	2.85	450.26
Transport and Communications	309.69	56.47	16.37	5.67	388.20
Industry	75.38	18.04	7.10	47	100.99
Social Services	54.24	160.25	28.70	10.89	254.08
Rehabilitation	79.00	—	—	—	79.00
Miscellaneous	21.76	5.79	1.00	—	28.54
Total:	734.00	559.63	171.00	28.15	1492.77

(Figures in Thousands)

	Food (tons)	*Jute* (400 lbs. bales).	*Cotton* (392 lbs.	*Oil-seeds* (tons)	*Sugar* (Gur tons)
Assam	311	440	—	—	—
Bihar	879	390	—	8.5	50
Bombay	367	—	168	63.0	84
Madhya Pradesh	347	—	128	27.0	—
Madras	834	—	218	142.0	78
Orissa	295	200	—	—	—
Punjab	650	—	79	—	57
Uttar Pradesh	800	330	46	61.0	410
West Bengal	797	700	—	—	11
Hyderabad	633	—	88	49.0	—
Madhya Bharat	300	—	91	9.5	—
Mysore	159	—	75	—	—
P.E.P.S.U.	249	—	56	—	—
Rajasthan	86	—	75	—	—
Saurashtra	94	—	159	15.0	—
Travancore-Cochin	141	—	—	—	—
Other States	260	—	17	—	—
Total:	7202	2060	1200	375.0	690

(Rupees crores)

	Part 'A' States
Assam	12.5
Bihar	55.7
Bombay	120.4
Madhya Pradesh	43.7
Madras	137.0
Orissa	15.0
Punjab	15.5
Uttar Pradesh	91.1
West Bengal	68.8
	559.6

Part 'B' States	
Hyderabad	40.5
Madhya Bharat	22.8
Mysore	36.6
P.E.P.S.U.	8.3
Rajasthan	15.2
Saurashtra	21.5
Travancore-Cochin	26.1
	171.0

Part 'C' States	
Ajmer	1.61
Bhopal	3.67
Bilaspur	0.42
Coorg	0.53
Delhi	6.02
Himachal Pradesh	4.48
Kutch	2.68
Manipur	1.00
Tripura	1.50
Vindhya Pradesh	6.24
	28.15

ESTIMATE OF INTERNAL RESOURCES FOR THE PLAN

(Rupees crores)

CENTRE	
1. Surplus on Revenue Account	130
2. Resources normally set apart in the Revenue Account for development expenditure under civil aviation, broadcasting, education, etc., for grants to States for GMF and development, for rehabilitation of displaced persons, etc.	118
3. Resources available from Capital Account for development:	
(*a*) public loans	35
(*b*) small savings and unfunded debt	250
(*c*) others	78
4. Resources available for railway development	30
5. Total Resources available to the Centre	641
6. Assistance to States assumed in the preparation of their Plans	211
7. Resources available for the development expenditure of the Centre	430
STATES	
8. Surplus on Revenue Account	81
9. Resources normally set apart in the Revenue Account for schemes of expansion under social services, agriculture, irrigation, electricity, roads, etc.	275
10. Resources available from Capital Account for development:	
(*a*) public loans	79
(*b*) others	45
11. Assistance from the Centre assumed in the preparation of the Plans of States	211
12. Resources available for the development expenditure of the States	691

The surplus of Rs. 81 crores on revenue account in the States over five years is to be secured by raising additional resources of the order of Rs. 213 crores. There will still be a gap of Rs. 372 crores over five years in the first part of the plan.

The Congress Manifesto

The following is the substance of the draft election manifesto :

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The achievement of independence and the establishment of the Indian Republic concluded one phase of the Indian people's struggle for emancipation.

It was the high privilege of the Congress to serve the cause of the country and of the masses of our people and lead them to success. The Father of the Nation told us to value the moral and ethical basis of national life and made this the condition of political action. He emphasised that means were as important as ends and the means we adopt ultimately shape the end which follow.

Even during our struggle for independence, its content was not merely political freedom, but also the freedom of the masses from exploitation and want. The provision of basic material needs of food, clothing and shelter as the first essential, to be followed by the provision for cultural growth.

The last Great War put an end in many ways to the old world that we knew and posed entirely new problems; the partition of India left a bitter legacy behind. Our civil and military services had to be organised afresh and the very large foreign element in them replaced by Indians. India's relations with her neighbour country, Pakistan, have, in spite of our best efforts, continued to be abnormal and have raised and are still raising difficult problems.

Because of the multitude and complexity of the problems, the country has had to face since the achievement of independence, our economic progress has not been satisfactory. Millions in the country still lack sufficiency of food, clothing and shelter. The objectives of the Congress, which have been embodied in the Constitution in India, still remain, in a large measure, unrealised. The time has come for our struggle for emancipation to enter into its second phase of realising those objectives, without which political freedom can have little meaning for most of us. Economic progress must, therefore, be given first priority, subject only to the maintenance of the freedom and integrity of the country.

The key to the character of the future economic and social organisation of the country and its motive power is provided in the Congress constitution, which has as its objective the establishment in India, by peaceful and legitimate means, of a co-operative commonwealth based on equality of opportunity and of political, economic and social rights, and aiming at world peace and fellowship.

Thus the objective as well as the method is one of co-operation and the avoidance, as far as possible, of competition and conflict. This conception of social organisation inevitably leads to the secular State in which every individual has equal rights and opportunities, and the removal of barriers which may divide the people into opposing groups on the basis of religion, caste, class or region.

The application of this principle in the national sphere would lead to social progress and peace and would strengthen the nation. Its extension to the international sphere leads to an independent foreign policy basing itself on the promotion of world peace.

The progress of the country with limited resources, such as India is at present depends on the most effective utilisation of such resources for the various aspects of national life and activity. The Congress welcomes, therefore, the functioning of the Planning Commission and considers that the method of planned development is essential for progress and must be continued.

But such planning, in order to be effective, must have full support and co-operation from the public. Planning must include and might not be held up by some backward sector.

In India today, stress must inevitably be laid on the progress of the rural areas and the people, who live there.

The first and vital step has been or is being taken to free the land from the burden of old and out-of-date agrarian systems of tenure. The abolition of zamindari, jagirdari and the like must be rapidly completed.

Small and uneconomic holdings are not the way of rapid advance in agricultural production. The line of advance should, therefore, be co-operative farming with the object of making the whole or a substantial part of a village, a unit of co-operative management.

The conditions of agricultural labour should be improved, especially, in the lower wage pocket. Opportunities for work and employment in small-scale and cottage industries should be afforded to them. They should be given preference in allotment of land to newly-reclaimed areas, which should be worked on co-operative lines.

The preservation of milch and draught cattle and upgrading of cattle breeds are important for increasing the supply of milk and improvement of agriculture. Increasing attention will have to be paid to this.

The burden on the land of too many people subsisting on it has to be reduced by the diversion of part of this population to other vocations. Some of these can be absorbed in large industries but, in the main, scope for absorption will come through small-scale and cottage industries.

It is not possible to pursue a policy of 'laissez-faire' in industry. This has been rejected in most countries and is peculiarly unsuited to present-day conditions in India. It is incompatible with any planning. It has long been the Congress policy that basic industries should be owned or controlled by the State. This policy should and must be progressively given effect to.

A large field for private enterprise is, however, left over. Thus, our economy will have a public sector as well as a private sector. But the private sector must accept the objectives of the national plan and fit into it.

The progressive extension of the public sector in the field of what is now the private sector must depend on various factors, including the results achieved, the resources available and the capacity of the country at the moment. The test should always be what serves the social ends in view.

No vested interest or inherited privilage should be allowed to come in the way of the country's economic progress, nor should we allow ourselves to be distracted by slogans and doctrines which sound attractive but which might lead to a worsening of the condition of our people.

The general objective of economic progress has to be

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translated into concrete programme in close relation to the needs of the people and the available means and resources. The first consideration must always be to avoid a breakdown of any point in respect of whatever is essential for the life of the community.

This necessitates a system of controlled distribution in regard to commodities which are in short supply. It is also of the highest importance to keep prices from rising and to endeavour to reduce them. Many of our difficulties to-day are due to a high and rising price-level, and economic development has been seriously hampered because of this.

Therefore, it is of essential importance to follow firmly a price policy aiming at first, a prevention of a further rise, and secondly, to reduce present structure of relative prices as between agricultural commodities 'inter se,' and between them and manufactured articles.

If prices have to be held and reduced, some measure of controlled distribution becomes essential. In the matter of food, the fate of millions of people is bound up with the presence of a nation-wide system of controls. But for these controls, the threat of famine might have materialised in different parts of the country.

We must endeavour to create conditions of relative abundance of articles which are necessary for the masses. As this happens, these controls can be progressively dispensed with.

But till we have an adequate supply, we must cooperate to make the controls function more effectively. Hesitancy and opposition to controls themselves produce weakness in their working. It is true that controls have led to corruption. The way to deal with this is to make the controls effective and to improve their administration.

Considerable progress has been made in the development of scientific research and the application of science to industry. This must be continued and adequate provision made for technical education.

Top priority has been given and must continue to be given to river valley schemes which are basic for the development of agriculture and power supply.

In regard to heavy industry, priority should be given to those industries which are considered of basic importance, such as steel, heavy chemicals, fertilisers and machine tools.

Any all-round development of the country on a significant scale must strain its resources to the utmost necessitating the need for much larger savings on the part of the community. In order to build a better future we must be prepared to suffer hardships at present.

The achievement of economic equality and social justice must proceed side by side with economic progress. The post-war shift in relative prices has, to some extent, rectified the disparity between the rural and the urban sectors.

Direction of public expenditure in the interest of social welfare and the imposition of estate duties in succession should be fully availed of as a means for the removal of inequalities. The tax structure should be examined and other methods explored for bringing about a reasonable relationship between the minimum and the maximum incomes, both in the private and the public sector, in keeping with the economic conditions of the country.

Inequalities have been accentuated during recent years largely in consequence of illegitimate gains from black-marketing, tax evasion, certain forms of speculation and other anti-social activities. To give immediate relief to the people and to promote social justice, these evils should be curbed with a strong hand.

The concern of the State for safeguarding the rights and interests of labour has expressed itself in several advanced measures of legislation. There is, however, much room for improving the implementation of these laws. Housing for workers is of great importance and should be encouraged by the State to the best of its ability and resources in co-operation with the employers and the workers.

A rise in the standard of living of the workers is not only desirable in itself, but leads to greater productivity. The 'per capita' productivity in India, when compared to some other countries, is low. This may be due to a variety of causes which must be investigated. It must be borne in mind, however, that without higher productivity, the interests of the nation as well as of the workers must suffer.

The machinery and procedure relating to arbitration and adjudication of disputes should be so improved as to secure fair settlements, based on the principle of social justice and with the least expenditure of time and money. Legal technicalities, formalities and appeals should be reduced to the minimum.

Considerable improvement has been made in our railway services. The Chittaranjan Locomotive Works have been established as a State enterprise for the production of locomotives. The Hindusthan Aircraft Limited are also producing railway wagons. The objective is to move towards self-sufficiency. Progress is being made in this direction, though it will necessarily take time. Continuous attempt has to be made to bring about further improvements in administration and for the convenience of passengers, more especially those travelling in the lower classes.

In some States, transport services have been nationalised resulting in greater efficiency and convenience to the public. This policy should be continued.

The public services and methods of recruitment have to be conditioned and adapted for the purposes of the national plan. Special training should be given, where necessary for the purposes of the nationalised or public sector of our economy. It is essential that high moral standards should be maintained in our public work; and while good work should receive commendation, bad work should be condemned. An effective machinery for this should be devised.

There has been frequent reference to corruption and there is little doubt that various forms of corruption exist as social evils to-day. Every effort must be made to put an end to this evil and some form of summary method must be devised to deal with such cases. At present, the

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real difficulty in dealing with these matters is due to the dilatoriness of procedure in departmental inquiries and judicial proceedings in the law-courts, and the standard of proof required, which often leads to the guilty escaping punishment.

The importance of education and public health is well recognised, and yet, no marked advance can be made in them so long as our resources are limited. At the same time, it is necessary to direct education in the right channels and remove many of the evils from which it suffers today. Education should be looked upon as something which trains the intellect and builds the character of the student, and not merely as a means for employment. What the next generation will be, depends upon the education given now and the importance of this cannot, therefore, be exaggerated. Our system of education should not be divorced from the productive aspect and other needs of the community, but should be related to and be conducive to their fulfilment. The principles of basic education, *i.e.*, learning through a craft, should be utilised to the largest possible extent. Even in general education, some form of manual work should form an essential part of the curriculum, without which degrees or diplomas should not be given. An essential part of education should be an appreciation of and devotion to truth and beauty in their various forms.

In regard to public health, considerable progress has been made in the control of epidemic diseases and provision of improved water supply and general sanitation.

The Constitution has laid a special duty on the Government to bring about the economic and cultural advancement of Scheduled Castes and Tribes and other backward classes. Both the Central and State Governments have given particular attention to this important matter. The Congress, under Gandhiji's lead, has always made this social uplift of the backward classes as one of its principal planks and has laboured to this end with considerable success. This work must continue until these classes enjoy the same economic and educational opportunities and advantages as others. In particular, the tribal people have to be helped to develop according to their own genius.

Owing to certain historical and administrative necessities of the moment, certain States in India were classified as Part B, and Part C. States. This classification was transitional and cannot be considered to be permanent. It has to be remembered that certain parts of India have developed differently during past years. Certain border areas, as well as certain areas inhabited by Tribal people, require special treatment. The general policy in regard to Parts B and C. States should be to speed up the removal of differential treatment as rapidly as possible.

One of the major problems before us during the last four years which has demanded and must continue to demand priority and full attention, is that of the rehabilitation of the displaced persons from Pakistan. According to the figures of the last census, 49 lakhs came from Western Pakistan and about 26 lakhs from Eastern Pakistan. Of those coming from Western Pakistan, about 9 lakhs came from rural areas. Rural displaced persons connected with Western Punjab, who owned land or had been carrying on cultivation there, have been settled on land except those who preferred urban occupations. These latter number about 5 lakhs. Of the urban people from Western Pakistan, it is estimated that 13,17,000 have been rehabilitated in some way or other, by finding gainful employment in Government or other services or by being given special training in production at various training centres. Of the remaining, about 2 lakhs of urban dispossed persons did not require or ask for Government assistance.

The problem of displaced persons from Eastern Pakistan became serious early in 1950 and rehabilitation schemes were drawn up. The position was rather fluid, as large numbers of migrants returned to their homes. Of the 26 lakhs that remained, a little over half, 13.50 lakhs have been rehabilitated.

During the last few weeks, a new problem has arisen in West Bengal, where a continuous stream of migrants from Eastern Pakistan is flowing in.

By the end of the current financial year, the Central Government will have to spend about Rs. 140 crores on relief and rehabilitation of displaced persons from Western and Eastern Pakistan. In addition, about 56 lakhs of acres of evacuee and other land have been given to them and about 3,56,000 urban houses, shops and industrial premises have been provided. Of these, 85,000 were new houses constructed by Government.

The question of properties left by displaced persons in Pakistan have remained unsettled, in spite of repeated efforts of Government. This is a vital matter affecting millions of people, which should be settled as early as possible.

As India is a secular State, every citizen has the same duties, rights, privileges and obligations as any other. He has full freedom to profess and practise his religion. It is the particular duty of the State to protect these rights of all minority communities in the country and to give them full opportunities for development, so that they might play their part in the economy and public life of the country.

The women of India in the past, and especially in the struggle for the country's freedom, have played a notable part and distinguished themselves in many ways. They suffer, however, from a number of social and other disabilities. It is important that these disabilities should be removed, so that they may take their full part in the economy and social progress of the country.

Demand for a re-distribution of provinces on a linguistic basis has been persistently made in the south and west of India. The Congress expressed itself in favour of linguistic provinces many years ago. A decision on this question ultimately depends upon the wishes of the people concerned. While linguistic reasons have undoubtedly a certain cultural and other importance, there are other facts also, such as economic, administrative and

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financial which have to be taken into consideration. Where such a demand represents the agreed views of the people concerned, necessary steps prescribed by the Constitution, including the appointment of a Boundary Commission, should be taken.

In regard to foreign policy, India has pursued independent line in her own national interest and in the interest of world peace, and has sought to maintain friendly relations with all countries. This has been a positive policy, and, though sometimes criticised by others, has been vindicated by subsequent developments.

Certain small foreign establishments continue in India. The Congress has declared that these must revert to India, and our policy must be so aimed as to bring this about by peaceful means.

India's policy with our neighbour countries has been very friendly. We have welcomed the recent developments in Nepal. Unfortunately, we cannot say this in regard to Pakistan with which our relations have been full of difficulty. We have repeatedly endeavoured to find a solution of the many issues on which we are at variance, but without success. The chief among these issues is that of Kashmir. In spite of the aggression of Pakistan and the continuous provocative propaganda there, we have endeavoured to find a peaceful settlement in accordance with the wishes of the people of Jammu and Kashmir State. That policy holds and we cannot permit the Kashmir State to be disposed of in any other way.

The K.M.P. Manifesto

The following is the substance of the Krishak-Mazdoor-Praja Party:

It is easy to lay down certain general principles of social and economic reconstruction by which a political party may promise to lay the foundations of a new social order. Every party manifesto contains some excellent principles to which no progressive school of thought can take exception. We know, however, to our cost that the great aims enunciated in Congress manifestoes or in the directive principles of the Indian Constitution have little value because there are no corresponding plans and policies to give effect to them. Above all, the administrative machinery, as it is today, cannot be depended upon for the effective implementation of any plans. Its members have to deal with problems unknown to them before and in a spirit they never cultivated under foreign rule. As it is constituted today the administration lacks efficiency, integrity, and a spirit of service.

The constitution of our party lays down as our objective the establishment of a casteless and classless society free from political, economic and social exploitation. But here we propose to lay down our immediate programme of work. Our first task will be to overhaul the administrative machinery so that the services instead of acting as masters of the people act as their helpers anl servants. The task is urgent because in the complicated economy of today, even the prime necessaries of mere existence cannot be obtained except through a clean and efficient administration. Till a few years ago the State apparatus touched an ordinary citizen's life occasionally and at a few points only. Today, for a variety of reasons, the sphere of administrative regulation and interference has widened enormously. A corrupt and inefficient administration under the circumstances is bound to harm the country and lower public morale. It shall, therefore, be our endeavour to reform the services. We shall also examine to what extent and in what direction it is necessary and possible to reduce the scope of controls and of administrative interference in the citizen's life and work. In some spheres it may be desirable for the State to extend and intensify its activity to bring under effective control anti-social and disruptive forces. The State must also create a separate cadre for economic as distinguished from political service.

There is a general recognition of the fact that the great mass of our people live at a sub-human level. They are short of the vital necessaries of life such as food, clothing, shelter, education, sanitation and medical aid. Our economy is so unbalanced that it leads to the concentration of wealth and power in the hands of the few, exposing the many to unemployment, poverty, squalor and ignorance. No government which does not address itself to the solution of these grave contradictions has a right to the confidence and affection of the people. The situation we find ourselves in today can be improved only by radical changes to be brought about with the full and enthusiastic co-operation of the people. This co-operation, we believe, will be forthcoming in a generous measure if the leadership sets the example in service and sacrifice and is vigilant, earnest and careful, holding the interests of the masses as paramount. But no government is deserving of such co-operation that lacks the will or the guts to put down with a strong hand hordes of black-marketeers and other anti-social elements that have achieved so vicious a stranglehold on our economy.

In the political field we are pledged to democracy, both by the nature of our struggle for independence and by the Constitution framed for free India. But we believe that this democracy cannot function properly and effectively unless there is devolution of political authority and the local units are given reasonable power to shape their own life according to their requirements and genius. We believe that democracy works best in small units. This, however, need not mean a weak Centre. There are internal and international forces working today which necessitate a strong Centre. But a strong Centre, in a democracy, cannot rest for long on weak and helpless foundations.

The vast mass of Indian humanity is in a suppressed condition and yet there are classes, such as the Harijans, the aborigines and the hill tribes whose condition socially and economically is especially deporable. Their uplift shall receive the urgent attention of the State.

Our economic life must greatly improve if the miserably low standard of life of our masses is to be appreciably raised. This can be done by increased production, in all fields. For this increased production, it is necessary that for the time being at least there be an austerity drive to create the necessary capital and to solve our present

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difficulties. The example of austerity must, however, be set by the leadership in and outside the Government, the administration and by those who today are living in ease and luxury. In the past this austerity drive was sustained by the spirit of Swadeshi. We must review this spirit and impress upon the people the need for using home-made articles in preference to foreign goods, even at a sacrifice which ultimately will replenish the nation .As far as possible no consumer goods should be imported except such as are needed for the health and vitality of the people. Whatever foreign exchange we can build should be used exclusively for the import of capital goods and expert services which we lack. But this lack must be speedily filled so that we may not rely, in a war-threatened world, upon imports from outside for our vital requirements.

With the Industrial Revolution in the West there has been a progressive unbalance in the economy of modern countries. Instead of agriculture being the axis round which industry should revolve, the latter has been the chief concern of modern nations. This over-emphasis on centralised industrial production was made possible by the imperial policies of the Western nations. They got raw materials and food from colonial countries where they dumped unwanted and sometimes injurious manufactured articles. India was one such victim. The loss of balance between agriculture and industry and between the rural and urban economy has now to be restored.

Our agricultural methods are primitive. Our peasants are poverty-stricken and ignorant. There is little incentive to increased and better production. Intermediaries draw away from the cultivator much of the fruit of his labour. Our aim will be to remove all hindrances that impoverish the peasant, creats conditions of serfdom and impede increased production. For this the first necessity is to see that all land belongs to the tiller of the soil with necessary safeguards against its misuse. The place of the robust, self-reliant and resourceful peasant proprietor in our agricultural economy should be recognised. It is, therefore, necessary to check the further sub-division of land below on economic holding. The village cannot survive unless there is consolidation of scattered holdings and further sub-division of land is checked. However, we cannot at present deprive the peasant of his uneconomic holdings. We must, therefore, provide him with facilities for co-operative farming whereby the resources of land, labour, instruments and cattle are pooled. Even the holders of economic units must be encouraged to co-operate for various purposes, specially for the disposal of surplus produce and purchase their necessary requirements.

In recent years the question of landless labour has assumed a critical position. It can be solved only if there are schemes for the reclamation of waste and marshy lands. This reclamation must be speedily undertaken and the land divided either into economic holdings to be offered to landless labourers or worked in big farms on co-operative basis. Landless labour must also find employment in decentralised industry. Where there are big farms worked through machinery and hired labour they must be worked on a co-operative basis or labour there must be organised and so far as possible a scheme of co-sharing must be worked on a co-operative basis.

Our agriculture depends largely on rain. Yet in our streams and rivers we have water enough to make our agriculture largely independent of nature's vagaries. By training our rivers we can secure an assured supply of water to irrigate the land and thus save the agriculturist from the ravages of both drought and flood. This should also help us to get cheap hydro-electric power.

In the field of industry, considering the restricted amount of land available for cultivation in proportion to the population, it will be necessary to encourage cottage and decentralised industry. Our party will, therefore, lay great emphasis on this. Through decentralised industry, we believe, wealth can be widely and evenly distributed. Moreover, decentralised industry avoids a costly and complicated distributive mechanism and greatly reduce, if not eliminate, industrial conflict and unrest. It utilises and stimulates local initiative and skill. It is the only way to provide employment to the largest number of our unemployed and semi-employed population. The guiding principle of our industrial economy will be that whatever can be produced efficiently and adequately through decentralised industry must be so produced, leaving to large-scale production of defence and key industries, such as generation of power, mining and metallurgy, the production of heavy engineering machinery, machine tools, etc. Resources of science will be made fully available for making decentralised production efficient and plentiful, eliminating drudgery. A high priority will, therefore, be accorded to the electrification of the country so as to make available cheap power to the worker in the rural area.

While our bias will be in favour of decentralisation we realise that in the complex conditions of the present-day world, large-scale centralised industry cannot be avoided. For speedy and full exploitation of our resources, it would be necessary to utilise all modes of production, small-scale, large-scale, private and socialised. While some defence and key industries must be nationalised we do not believe in the necessity of the Government directly undertaking and conducting all industrial enterprise. This often creates State monopolies, indifferent to efficiency and cost of production and hence to the consumers' interests. This is more so the case in India where the administrative services are not equal to their own limited tasks. Under nationalisation, labour too in the end fails to get a square deal. Wholesale nationalisation of industry would ultimately create State capitalism inimical to democracy. Therefore, an increasing sector of centralised industries instead of being in private hands will be socialised and run by autonomous corporations or by co-operatives representative of various interests including the State. Some centralised industries would serve as auxiliaries to decentralised industry providing the latter with efficient implements to increase its productive capacity. The distinctive competition between centralised industry and

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decentralised industry will be discouraged by, among other measures, assigning to each its definite sphere. The large-scale private enterprise, in the sector which may be assigned to it in the light of the guiding principles we have stated above, will be subject to social control and regulated in the interest of the common man who is the labourer as also the biggest consumer.

So far, we have talked of production of wealth only. Proper and equitable distribution of the wealth produced is no less important. We have already said that our economy is unbalanced. Extremes of wealth and poverty not only disfigure our economy but are a menace to any prospect of peace and progress. Therein lie the seeds of greed and hate which are fruitful causes of war and violence. Wealth created must, therefore, be equitably distributed. This distribution can be effected even at the source of production through a decentralised and socialised industry and through co-operatives. This is the only way towards a peaceful and non-violent society. For this it is necessary also to prescribe for all practical purposes the minimum and maximum emoluments that a worker in any field of social activity can enjoy. Our effort will be to level up lower incomes and level down upper incomes so that there be some equitable adjustment between the different strata of society and the various vocations. The emolument potential must bear some proportion to ability and utility potential. Our aim will be to see that no worker in any walk of life gets more than twenty times the emolument or the standard wage the labour gets in the field or factory. The minimum wage must be high enough to enable the worker and his family to live a healthy, happy and decent life.

For all this we must devise a new scheme of education suited to our present needs. The intellectual bias given to our education by our foreign masters who needed cheap local talent in the administrative field needs to be modified. But this need not mean any lowering of the standard of intellectual attainment. Practical education through fruitful co-operative work and activity and the development of the artistic sense will enhance the intellectual capacity of the pupil and make it less theoretical and formal. Co-operative work is the best training for morals. Education will be related to the practical needs of the life of the community. This will not impoverish higher knowledge but will rather enrich it. It will also stimulate original research. But situated as we are to-day, the first great need of the community is a practical kind of basic education for the child and the illiterate adult. It will be our endeavour to wipe off illiteracy in the shortest possible time as had been done in many modern lands, specially in Russia.

There is one question that has affected our economy adversely after the partition of the country and that is the question of the displaced. We could have taken advantage of the enthusiasm of the people for our brethren, who had been made to pay the highest price for freedom, and we could have speedily solved the problem with the help and co-operation of the former. But we got unnerved at the immensity of the problem and allowed local and provincial considerations to weigh with us. The large-heartedness of the Centre was nullified by want of sympathy of its officers and the apathy of the provinces. The addition of the displaced persons to the Indian population could have been made an economic asset. We could have created with their help model townships and introduced co-operative farming and small-scale industries. However, it is no use regretting post mistakes. Whatever remains to be done must speedily be done, specially with regard to the claims of the displaced persons to their lost property. It must be settled with the co-operation of Pakistan. We recognise the claims of the Muslim evacuees to their property left in India. We expect reciprocity in the matter. However, if this is not possible our Government must settle property claims of the displaced persons on a voluntary basis under mutual guarantees, if Pakistan is agreeable.

We would fain not talk of foreign policy but a party statement is considered incomplete unless this complicated problem also finds a place in its aims and objects. We believe that our foreign policy must spring from, and be directly related to, our home policy. If we are adequately aware of our internal weaknesses and are conscious of the urgent and paramount necessity of building up a decentralised economy that is neither capitalist nor Communist, then the only alternative foreign policy for us is one of strict neutrality. Whatever the inclination of our intellectual sympathies, we must scrupulously avoid any involvement in international commitments which is likely to drag us into a war, either on the side of this bloc or that.

In all this we have concentrated attention on what is immediately possible given the determination and will. We have not talked of any ideology or ism. This we have purposefully refrained from doing. Unfortunately political ideologies have become fanatical creeds over which groups, parties and nations fight. They fight more over undefined, general and abstract terms than facts and substance. Whenever we talk outside ideologies we find that we understand each other better and appreciate each other's efforts at practical reform. In the world today each ideology in practice takes something from the other.

The Socialist Party Manifesto

The Socialist Party has issued a manifesto through its Secretary Sri Limaye. The following are the salient points in the Five-Year Plan therein:

(1) Abolition of zamindari without compensation. The maximum holding per farming family will be 30 acres of average productivity: all land above this holding to be taken over and distributed among peasants and agricultural labourers.

(2) Petty zamindars, however, will be given rehabilitation compensation and proprietors of land possessing more than 30 acres will receive an annuity for 10 years on holdings up to 100 acres.

(3) Village panchayats elected by universal suffrage and the multi-purpose co-operative societies will be the pivot of the reorganized agrarian economy. The panchayats will tabulate the resources and needs of their village

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and prepare a crop-plan which will be sent to their higher organs of the Planning Commission.

(4) There will be a thorough overhaul of State machinery, and the present multiplicity of agricultural departments will give way to an integrated administrative machinery consisting of land commissions on regional, State and Union levels.

The commissions will consist of representatives of village panchayats, co-operatives, the Government and agricultural experts. They will deal with rural credit, technical help, land revenue, irrigation, cottage industries, crop-planning, river training, flood control, export and import of agricultural produce and supply of agricultural implements. There will be as great a diffusion of power and responsibility as possible.

(5) To improve land productivity, land volunteers will be organized who will undertake minor construction work, such as digging of wells and compost pits, draining of water-logged land, and the building of bunds, roads, etc.

(6) A food army raised and equipped by the State will bring new and waste land under cultivation.

(7) All forms of co-operation, including joint farming, will be encouraged; collective farms will be organized on land reclaimed through the food army. Here landless labourers will find work, home and land.

Industry

(1) In order to release the productive power of the community, certain industries will be taken over by the State.

Nationalization of banks and insurance companies will help capital formation; social ownership of key industries —like iron and steel, power, mines, chemical fertilizers and plantations—is essential for planned economic development; taking over of the "derelict" textile, sugar, and cement industries, "which have failed the consumers so utterly," will enable the State to satisfy the basic needs of the common man.

(2) All other industries will be in private hands. State control will be so devised as to remove all restrictions on production and to give an opportunity to those with initiative to explore, experiment and expand.

(3) Emphasis will be not on capital intensive but on labour intensive technique. The world's best technical talent will be availed of.

(4) In the nationalized sector there will be autonomous public corporations competing among themselves and municipal enterprise which will avoid the dangers of monopoly, centralization and bureaucratization.

(5) Workers will be represented on these corporations through their works committee and production committees. In joint stock company concerns workers' participation in management will be compulsory. In proprietary concerns their interest will be safeguarded through a system of double audit. Management, however, will be the responsibility of the proprietors.

(6) Provision will be made for sickness insurance, maternity benefits and old age pensions. The principle of unionship—every worker a Union member—will be introduced and internal democracy within the Union will be safeguarded.

(7) Producers' co-operatives and handicrafts will be encouraged by reserving certain lines exclusively for them. State initiative will break "the stalemate in industry."

(8) Planning machinery will be built from the bottom upwards: Village panchayats, public corporations, local bodies, co-operatives and associations of small manufacturers, workers and "handicraftsmen" will prepare inventories of their resources and their productive capacity, as well as the facilities required to increase productivity.

These plans will be finalized by planning commissions on State and Union levels. On the commissions will be represented all interests, including the consumers. The primary bodies mentioned above will be responsible for carrying out these plans.

There will be State trading corporations which will import and procure all requirements of the nationalized sector and scarce capital goods and industrial raw materials. All products of nationalized industry will be exported and distributed on a wholesale basis by them as well as important raw materials like jute and cotton.

Village produce will be disposed through multipurpose co-operatives which will also buy the requirements of the village on a wholesale basis. Other trade will be in private hands. "State control over it will ensure both traders' and consumers' interests."

In order to avoid corruption and black-marketing, instead of "the present partial and ineffective controls" rational and integrated controls "right from raw materials and capital goods," will be devised. A "democratic check" will be provided by associating consumers and workers at every stage of manufacture and distribution.

Measures of economic equality, such as capital levy, ceiling on income, etc., will change the character of public finance. Public revenue will be so distributed as to bring increasing resources to the organs of administration closest to the people. Public expenditure will seek to augment production and not merely maintain law and order.

To reduce disparities in wealth the State will abolish "all privileges of Princes and their Saliyanas."

Taxation measures and graduated capital levy will be used; to curtail privilege and concentration of property and to bring all incomes within the range of a "floor" of Rs. 100 and a "ceiling" of Rs. 1,000. The floor and the ceiling will rise with increase in production.

All barriers of caste will be pulled down. The scheduled castes and tribes will be settled on reclaimed land. A sum of Rs. 100 crores will be spent over a period of 10 years to provide educational opportunities to scheduled castes and tribes. In public services there will be reservation for them at least in proportion to their population.

All disabilities imposed on women will be removed. They will get equal pay for equal work. A civil code granting equal rights will be framed and there will be reservation for them in such lines as teaching and nursing.

Minorities will have the right to profess and practise their religion and to promote study of their language, script, literature and religion through their educational institutions and cultural associations.

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Refugee agriculturists will be settled through co-operative land reclamation schemes; middle-class people and artisans will be fostered by the State.

Constitutional changes directed at (1) restricting the property rights enjoyed by a microscopic minority, which stands in the way of community's advance, and (2) expanding the sphere of the people's freedom, will be introduced.

Provinces will be rearranged on a linguistic basis, the boundaries of which will be determined by a boundary commission. All States thus brought into being will have equal status.

India will withdraw from the British Commonwealth and thus redeem the pledge of complete independence.

Administrative reforms will root out corruption, bribery, inefficiency "and red-tapism."

(1) Justice will be made cheap and fact-finding and punitive functions will be separated; (2) Public opinion will be associated at each level of the Executive; (3) There will be periodic departmental meetings of the staff to improve efficiency and abolish red-tape; (4) Talent discovered in the ranks will be offered opportunity of special training and exercise of initiative; (5) Legislative standing committees "will act as vigils"; (6) Promotion and demotion will be based on fulfilment of targets and efficiency audit; (7) An anti-corruption authority will deal with all cases of bribery and corruption; (8) Major offences will be dealt with by special courts.

India's foreign policy will be based on:

(1) Abstention from disputes between "the Atlantic and Soviet camps;"

(2) Collective security arrangements for the belt stretching from Indonesia to Egypt;

(3) Co-operation with such U.N. agencies as might help to increase living standards of retarded peoples and abolish hunger and war;

(4) Opposition to all charters and agreements that bolster up the international caste system of rich and powerful nations on the one hand and the weak and poor nations on the other.

India will also support freedom movements in Africa and Socialist movements everywhere.

Manbhum Satyagrahi's Statement in Court

It is well known in Manbhum how due to a previous intrigue between the local officers and some men of Jhalda, Sri Bibhuti Bhusan Das Gupta, Secretary of the Loksevak Sangha and six workers of the Sangha were arrested at Jhalda on the 22nd April last while they were conducting a peaceful public meeting there. They were charged with the offence of rioting, assault, theft and illegal detention. As Satyagrahis they did not put in a defence but filed a written statement in court—which was held not in public—but inside the jail. They were convicted for rioting and assault and sentenced to six months rigorous imprisonment. The judgment delivered by the Magistrate of Purulia shows how justice can be prostituted in the interest of mean and selfish politics. The joint statement filed in court by Sri Das Gupta and others throws a flood of light on the condition of the people of Manbhum. We publish a substantial portion of this statement which we consider a very important document in the history of the people's struggle against oppression and corruption.

We know this *Sangha*, and have not the slightest doubt that as true followers of Bapu they have observed *Truth* in all their statements and actions. Their punishment is martyrdom, suffered in the cause of humanity. Bapu is dead and so is his beloved Congress, who is there then to offer redress? Even his *Harijan* is silent on this matter.

"We had the duty, as Satyagrahis, to fight against the foreign rule in order to end its autocratic role along with the slavery under foreign domination, we have had our duty also to fight against our countrymen's rule that has become synonymous with misrule and autocratic rule, in order to establish the real "Swaraj," in our country for which we fought so long a period of time. With that conscious sense of duty and responsibility, we have been giving a sincere fight from our Manbhum front against the bankruptcy of this Congress Rule for the last three years; and the Provincial Government also have been fighting against us the Satyagrahis, devising undesirable methods to vainly crush our rightful plans of Satyagraha launched against the misdeeds and falsehood and oppression of the powers-that-be. The Centre have given long ropes to the Provincial Autocracies to do according to their ill-will, and we saw in our own field how the Provincial Government having been aware of this unhealthy state of things, have plunged unrestrained into the unholy games of power-politics and exploitation. So as a last resort, we had to launch Satyagraha to lead Non-violent Crusade against the wrong-doers and to secure civic rights to the People.

This statement of ours is to express our stand as Satyagrahis in a Court under this Swaraj Government. We have realised the necessity of giving this statement, *as we have decided not to defend our case, as Satyagrahis, even though the charges are concocted and not those which the Satyagrahis cherish to break.* If the charges be according to the laws which a Satyagrahi deliberately and conscientiously breaks, the question of defence does not arise herein. But if the charges are otherwise, the question of defence may naturally arise therein in a free country which is ready to secure justice for its citizens. *So, there are baseless charges against us;* the court is sitting with us which is expected to do justice to the case in question; there is a Constitution for India which has assured to have provided safeguards to secure rights and justice the people deserve; and every citizen is naturally expected in this situation to exercise his rights to have justice for him through Constitutional ways, when all those things are there. We are fighting today against the mischievous laws, mal-administration and the misdeeds of the Government. We have waged non-violent fight against the misdeeds of the Government, not only not having met with a single instance of justice being done from the part of the Government in hundreds of appeals for rectification of wrongs done by the Government, but also having met with the Government's attitude of doing more harm, in

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the matters in question for which the rectification was solicited.

It may be suggested that, if we defend our case we may at least torpedo the false story of the case by the very instrument of their own, having foiled *the design of the government to inflict punishment on us for untoward charges which we never dreamt to commit;* and that by this, our case may be cleared of all wrong imputations that are made and the opposite party may be exposed therein. By our deliberately refraining from defending our case, we express our protest against the condemnable condition that has come to stay in the field of justice and rule under a National Government.

We know that there is the Bihar Maintenance of Public Safety Act. We unequivocally declare here that we have violated this aforesaid Act with the full consciousness of the action of ours; and we may be considered guilty in the eyes of the unjust executor of that undesirable Act, but we feel ourselves to be not guilty to our conscience and to our sense of duty towards our country and the cause we serve. But here we would do well to mention that such violation on our part of this infamous Act has been made by the holding of many a similar meeting in the recent days, for which the Government have not had the moral courage to take legal actions against us. The Government know that we are on the right and that the Government lack in the moral stand and moral actions.

Hence where the straight way was lacking, the authorities have had to invent, and to take recourse to, many improper and immoral methods to achieve their object. *We have been charged with rioting, theft and making illegal detention of a person* whom we are alleged to have assaulted and robbed. Before saying anything about it as our reaction to it, we would like to say that this is not a question of mere defending the particular case of ours in which our pisition is seemingly at stake, but this is a question *how an entire Government machinery is engaged in unclean practice of cooking false stories to serve their purpose for the reason of which,* defending of the whole position is involved in the question. *What can we gain in fighting our individual cases, in which we are falsely implicated, if the Government themselves are there to enjoy freedom for endangering anybody and everybody they like,* having engaged themselves in doing so with unchecked liberty, by taking advantage of their having Governmental powers in their hands? A very important question also is how the agencies of the *Government dare to concoct a false and baseless case out of an incident that has occurred before the eyes of thousands of people who are there to reveal truth for the sake of truth.* The reason is clear as daylight. Such a deplorable state of things has been made possible to happen openly and daringly in an Independent Country and before the eyes of millions of people to-day, since there is nobody in all the Governmental spheres of India to raise any question for whatever wrongs they commit under this Swaraj life. *The Provincial Government is there as the perpetrators of these evil deeds, and the Central Government is there as willingly silent spectators of all wrong doings of those whom they have had to conduct and control.* In this state of things today, it is not the question of defending only this individual case of ours that matters much in the civic life of our present-day country, regard being had to the broader question involved in the case, but what matters much for us to consider is what has become the general condition of the administrative ways of the country in which such cases like that of ours are possible to be made. So our case is a broad-based case; and the defence for it, in order to have the real justice as required for the same, may only take place in some other competent court than the court we are in—that is, the Court of the people at large. In this present setting of things if this present Court expresses his willingness to administer true justice that the case and the condition of things deserve, then it would have to extend the range of its field of investigation, which, we are compelled to say, it is not competent to do, even though it be willing to do the same. *If it could do so, then it could see that persons have been made accused by conspiracy on the part of the Government of wrongful confinement of a person after robbing and assaulting him, as a reward of their saving the very person from a trouble at some risk.* In such investigation it would have been seen that the peaceful persons are being wrongfully confined in the jail by the very persons who have raided them, without reasons, with deadly weapons and have mercilessly lathi-charged their peaceful assembly. It would also show that these men of power who are the cause of this case are men who have unfortunately undertaken to lead a life in which they have left recorded endless unattended crimes all over the district in the wake of their unfortunate Hindi Imperialism and their ill-conceived autocrative exploitation in Manbhum, having been armed with the power of the Congress regime of the country. *We say all these with due responsibility involved in it and are ready to fully substantiate what we say;* and we think all these evidences are really necessary for arriving at the truth in the case.

We know that the moral and prospering existence of a country consists in its observing the rules of justice in its own life. The Father of the Nation gave us light for it. The Congress of the by-gone days committed itself to it. But now the Congress regime has deserted it in such a pitiable way that the country is on the verge of disintegration to-day. So in this distressing state of things in our country we the Satyagrahis of Manbhum voice out a humble warning from a remote corner of India, that by forsaking justice and justice thus we shall bring in our doom."

Liaquat Ali Khan's Statement

"I am deeply disappointed to read your telegram dated July 17, 1951. Instead of revoking the concentration of Indian troops on Pakistan frontiers, which you have admitted, and thus removing a serious threat to the security of Pakistan and international peace you have proceeded to make a series of allegations and statements unrelated to facts.

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"You have asserted that India's policy continues to be to preserve and ensure peace and to avoid war. The use of military force in Junagadh, Hyderabad, and more recently in Nepal, are grave warnings against the acceptance of these assertions at their face value. The continued denial by force of arms to the people of Kashmir of their right of self-determination and repeated threats to the security of Pakistan by massing of Indian troops on its borders are hardly indications of a desire for peace.

"You have referred to a reduction of the Indian Army last year. The facts proclaim otherwise. Your defence budget has risen from 151 crores in 1948-49 to 195 crores in the current year. Last year the original defence budget was 176 crores, but, the revised budget rose to 191 crores. In the current year's budget an announcement was made of a small reduction in the strength of the Indian Army counter-balanced by increase in the Navy and Air Force; but two months later it was reported that even the proposed reduction would not be made. Actual defence expenditure in the current year is thus likely to rise to still higher levels.

"Your allegation that the armed forces of Pakistan were largely massed on Indian frontiers is completely without foundation. This would be borne out by any impartial observer. You have been at pains to distort the significance of expressions of discontent which have appeared in the Pakistan Press over your persistent refusal to allow a peaceful solution through a free plebiscite in Kashmir as propaganda for war against India. At the same time, you have either ignored or belittled the continuous and blatant propaganda for war against Pakistan by the Indian Press, prominent Indian leaders and political organisations. This propaganda has been going on in spite of the Delhi Agreement of April, 1950.

"As any impartial observer will testify, for a long time after the Delhi Agreement, the Pakistan Press strenuously propagated goodwill towards India while the Indian Press and political leaders continued to fulminate against Pakistan and to make attacks aimed at the integrity of Pakistan. When I drew your attention to this violation of the Agreement and asked for action against those responsible for it under Clause C-9 of the Agreement, you pleaded your inability to carry out the obligation undertaken by you.

"You have referred to the recent border incidents which you have reported to the United Nations. These incidents have been magnified by you out of all proportion and attributed entirely to Pakistan.

"I would draw your attention to the statement made by General Nimmo, Chief U. N. Military Observer on July 13 that quite a number of such violations of the cease-fire agreement have occurred on both sides and that the recent incidents were less serious than some of those which occurred in the past. Surely, it would be a gross distortion of facts to treat these incidents as any evidence of a desire for war.

"You have also referred to the no-war declaration. But as you are aware, the proposal for a no-war declaration could not be carried to a conclusion only because of your refusal to agree that if disputes between India and Pakistan could not be settled by negotiation and mediation, they should be referred to arbitration. In spite of the clear direction in your Constitution calling for the settlement of international disputes by arbitration, you maintained that it was beneath your national dignity to agree to this procedure.

"There can be no clearer proof of Pakistan's desire for a peaceful solution of its disputes with India than the proposal I have repeatedly put to you that all our disputes should be settled by negotiation and mediation and failing that by arbitration. Unfortunately you have preferred the threat of use of force in settling disputes in your favour wherever the opportunity has offered itself.

"You have admitted that troops movements have been ordered by you but you claim that these are for defensive purposes. The nature and magnitude of these movements and in particular the forward move of your armoured division and armoured brigade would not lead anyone to feel that their presence so close to Pakistan frontiers is for defensive purposes.

"This plea of defensive purposes loses all validity in the face of the fact that Pakistan had made no troop moves before the concentration of your forces against Pakistan borders.

"There can be no severer strain upon the relations between our two countries than to be subjected time and again to the threat constituted by concentration of forces. I would again urge you most earnestly to withdraw these forces so that this threat to the security of Pakistan and international peace is removed."

Nehru's Telegram to Liaquat Ali Khan

"I am in receipt of your telegram dated July 20. I regret deeply that my message of July 17, which I tried to make as frank and straightforward as possible should have evoked an answer which I can only describe as propagandist.

"Your references to Junagadh and Hyderabad are wrong and irrelevant. Do not propose to discuss these issues because our position in respect of both has been repeatedly explained. Your reference to Nepal is extraordinary and wholly unjustified. The Nepal Government itself has issued a strong protest against it. At the request of the Nepal Government small Indian forces are now cooperating with Nepalese forces near the

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border in rounding up some terrorist gangs engaged in looting and other acts of lawlessness and violence.

"As regards our defence forces, the Central fact is that our Army was reduced in 1950-51 by over 52,000 men. This is easily verifiable. Your reference to our budget figures is irrelevant and misleading as these reflect certain economic factors, such as rise in prices and change in exchange value. We frame our budget every year in the hope of reducing our Army still further.

"If the further reduction in our forces proposed for the current year has not been carried out, this has been due to Pakistan's war propaganda and to the absence of any reduction in her armed forces. You have not controverted our statement that the size of the Pakistan forces has been steadily increasing. Thus while we have been reducing our Armed forces, you have been increasing yours.

"I have neither ignored nor belittled what you say about the Indian Press. Outside a small and irresponsible section there has been no such propaganda as you suggest in the Indian Press. I am quite willing to leave the judgment on this to any impartial student of the Press of the two countries.

"I am surprised that you should dismiss the virulent and persistent propaganda in favour of *jehad* in the Pakistan Press as 'expressions of discontent over' our 'persistent refusal to allow a peaceful solution by a free plebiscite in Kashmir.' Threats of war over Kashmir in the Pakistan Press have occurred almost daily for many months. I would quote only a few extracts from reports of views publicly expressed by persons in Pakistan holding the highest offices:

'You can take it from us, that the day we become desperate and lose all hope of a just solution of the problem, not only the entire Pathan population of Pakistan and the tribal areas will rise up for the *Holy Jehad* in Kashmir, but our brothers from across the Afghan frontier will also throw in their lot with us for the cause.'—(Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan, Prime Minister of N.-W. F. P.).

'So long as a single Pakistani is alive, nobody dare snatch Kashmir from Pakistan by force—if the problem was not settled immediately the whole of Asia would be engulfed in the flame of war which might lead to a world conflagration.'—(Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar, Governor of West Punjab).

'I say this with full responsibility that India has now over several months taken up the attitude with regard to Kashmir which deliberately blocks progress along peaceful lines. What does India desire? It has no right to complain if it gets something else.'—(Sir Mohammad Zafrullah Khan, Foreign Minister of Pakistan).

'Prime Minister Liaquat Ali Khan told a Press Conference in Karachi that the Kashmir question cannot brook any delay. He said there were only two courses open to Pakistan to settle the issue—One was to pursue the matter in the Security Council. The second I would not tell you.'

"The charge that India has persistently refused to allow a peaceful solution through a free plebiscite in Kashmir is, as we have repeatedly pointed out, wholly baseless. It is the armed aggression of Pakistan against Kashmir and the continuing presence of Pakistan armies there that has come in the way of a peaceful solution. Progress towards a peaceful settlement has not been made because of the non-fulfilment on the part of Pakistan of conditions under which alone a free and impartial plebiscite could be held.

"In these circumstances, it is difficult to draw any other conclusion from the views of Pakistan's spokesman and the virulent and frequent comments of the Pakistan Press, than that Pakistan is preparing to seek a settlement of the Kashmir dispute by resort to force. This, and this alone is responsible for the wholly precautionary and defensive measures that we have taken. After what happened in Kashmir in 1947, we should be failing in our duty if we did not take adequate steps to safeguard ourselves against a repetition of those events and the far-reaching consequences to which these would lead.

"I would once more affirm in complete sincerity that military movements on our side have not been inspired by any aggressive intent or design on our part against Pakistan. India has no intention whatever of attacking Pakistan or of seeking the solution of any problem by force, but if Indian territory, including Kashmir, is invaded by Pakistan then India will take all measures in self-defence. If, as you say, it is also Pakistan's policy not to attack India, I see no reason why peace between our two countries should be in any way threatened. My proposal for a 'No-War declaration' by both countries was a simple and straightforward one without strings attached. You did not accept this and added many conditions.

"What is needed to ease the present tension is a declaration by your Government that on no account will they attack or invade Indian territory. Even now anyone can contrast the war propaganda and preparations in Pakistan with the absence of any such activities or propaganda in India. If the militant propaganda against India and talk of war in Pakistan cease, I am confident that not only will the present tension ease, but the way will be prepared for a calm discussion, in a peaceful atmosphere, of disputes outstanding between our two countries, and for their amicable settlement."

Liaquat Ali Khan's Invitation

Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan, Pakistani Prime Minister, invited Mr. Nehru to visit Karachi. The invitation was contained in Mr. Liaquat Ali's latest reply to Mr. Nehru, which outlined a fivefold plan for the creation of a peaceful atmosphere and the establish-

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ment of friendly relations between India and Pakistan.

The Pakistani Premier said that the visit should come off "as soon as the first essential step towards the restoration of a peaceful atmosphere, namely, withdrawal of concentration of forces, has been carried out." Other points of the peace plan are:

1. As soon as the troops have been withdrawn "both India and Pakistan should reaffirm their agreement that the question of accession of the State of Jammu and Kashmir to India or Pakistan be decided through the democratic method of a free and impartial plebiscite held under U. N. auspices."

To this end both Governments should state their readiness to implement without obstruction or delay, the obligations undertaken by them under the UNCIP resolutions of August, 1948, and January, 1949.

These obligations include observance of the cease-fire agreement, withdrawal of armed forces from the State and acceptance of the decision of the Security Council in the event of any difference in regard to the interpretation and execution of these agreed resolutions.

2. Both Governments should also declare their renunciation of the use of forceful methods in the settlement of any dispute and refer such disputes to arbitration or judicial determination if they are not resolved by negotiation and mediation.

3. Both Governments should reaffirm the obligation undertaken by them in the Delhi Agreement, particularly that "they shall not permit propaganda in either country directed against the territorial integrity of the other or purporting to incite war between them, and take prompt and effective action against any individual or organization guilty of such propaganda."

4. Both Governments should make a declaration that they will on no account attack or invade the territory of the other.

Auchinlek's Activities in Pakistan

Statesman's Diplomatic Correspondent at New Delhi reports:

"New Delhi, July 27: Informal discussions have taken place between the External Affairs Ministry and the Deputy High Commissioner for the U. K. over the Prime Minister's recent reference to British military officers in Pakistan.

"An informal approach is believed to have been made by Mr. Garner to obtain an amplification of Mr. Nehru's allegation that British military officers in Pakistan had 'added greatly to the prevailing tension.'

"While it is not known what specific complaints Mr Garner received during his conversations, India's main charge is believed to relate to the activities of F.-M. Auchinleck, who has been in Pakistan since April.

"A complete dossier about the Field Marshal's movements in Pakistan over the past four months, now in the possession of the Indian Government, suggests that his interests may have been connected with more than trade and business.

"Meanwhile the U. K. High Commissioner's Office here is believed to have received from F.-M. Auchinleck an explanation regarding his movements, apparently in answer to inquiries made by the High Commissioner.

"According to Indian sources, bellicose statements about Indo-Pakistani relations have also been made by General Gracey, whose visit to Pakistan was brief, and certain serving officers.

"That Mr. Nehru could not have intended a sweeping statement about British officers generally is evident from the fact that India herself has two senior British Army advisers and British Chiefs of the Navy and the Air Force.

"A *PTI-Reuter* report from Karachi says that Auchinleck had a meeting today with Chaudhry Nazir Ahmed, Pakistan's Minister for Industries, according to a Pakistani Government handout.

"The handout said that the Field-Marshal met the Minister 'to inform him of the progress of the carpet manufacturing concern he was going to sponsor'."

Conditions in India and Pakistan

Especially since the latest ration cut there has been severe criticism of the policy that our rulers, both Central and State, are following. It is said that the land of Pakistan has become by comparison a land flowing with milk and honey. Whatever may be the faults of our rulers—and we are not defending them, Pakistan is not a land flowing with milk and honey. The following statistics are self-revealing:

Unemployment

	India	Pakistan
1948	224,900	77,983
1949	293,043	70,996
1950	314,336	96,439

Index of general consumer prices and food prices:

General
1939=100

	India (Bombay)	Pakistan (Lahore)
1947	263	398
1948	286	444
1949	290	408
1950	295	415

Food
1939=100

1947	302	460
1948	305	497
1949	321	452
1950	334	453

The above informations are taken from the latest issue of the *International Labour Review*, U.N.O.

J. M. D.

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The Unity of Leftism in India

We share the opinion of the *Behar Herald* of July 7th last. "There are today a dozen Leftist Parties in Bengal, and more will sprout up by December next. These are: (1) The Socialist Party of India; (2) The Communist Party of India; (3) The Krishak-Praja-Mazdoor Party; (4) Forward Bloc of Nanu Ghosh of Howrah; (5) Do of Leela Roy; (6) Do of Shilbhadra Yajee; (7) The Revolutionary Socialist Party of India; (8) The Revolutionary Communist Party of India of Soumyendra Nath Tagore; (9) Bolshevik Party; (10) The Socialist Republican Party; (11) The Democratic Vanguard; (12) The Party of National Synthesis. While the Leftists will be quarrelling among themselves, the Rightist Congress will have an easy victory in the elections."

We desire, however, to ask a question: Why have the esteemed lady and the gentlemen who have felt impelled to captain these shows differed? They are by profession all followers of Marx and Lenin. Are we then to think that like the pre-1917 Russian revolutionaries they differ because they cannot agree to the position of a coma, or a semi-colon at which Israel Zangwill poked fun?

Zemindari Abolition in Madhya Bharat

The Madhya Bharat Zamindari Abolition Act received the assent of President Prasad on June 25 last. The Act which will be promulgated within 48 hours will bring a new era in the history of the newly-created Madhya Bharat State.

More than 8,600 zamindaries, covering an area of 18,636 sq. miles, will be taken over by the Government after the promulgation of the Act. This Act, it is said, would affect 1,21,993 zamindars of the State.

The Patels appointed by the Collectors will take possession of the lands, forests, etc., belonging to the zamindars on behalf of the State Government. The Government have made provision for the grant of compensation to the zamindars, the official announcement said.

The compensation grant would be paid in fifteen instalments. The zamindars have been divided into six grades for the compensation. Those paying an annual revenue up to Rs. 100 to the Government have been placed in the first category, those paying Rs. 101 to Rs. 500 second; Rs. 501 to Rs. 2,000 third; Rs. 2,001 to Rs. 3,500 fourth; Rs. 3,501 to Rs. 5,000 fifth; and above Rs. 5,000 in the sixth and last category.

Zamindars belonging to the first category would receive compensation amounting to 20 times of their net income, the second category 17 times, the third 15 times, the fourth twelve times, the fifth ten times and the sixth eight times. Zamindars whose annual income does not exceed Rs. 3,500 were also to draw a rehabilitation grant to enable them to settle down in other occupations.

The compensatory rates are patterned after those fixed in the Uttar Pradesh and Bihar Acts. These latter are subjects of litigation in the Supreme Court.

Orissa's Financial Crisis

A Cuttack news dated June 21 last told the world that the Governor of Orissa, Mr. V. P. Menon, and the Chief Minister, Mr. Nabakrushna Chaudhuri, are now daily "holding conferences at Government House to find a solution of the financial crisis" which the State is stated to be passing through. It is understood that as a result of the deficit budget of the State during the last three years the State Government had to overdraw to the extent of about Rs. 2 crores 30 lakhs from the Reserve Bank of India against its capital investments. The over-drawings being progressive without any possibility of repayment so far from Revenue Account, the Reserve Bank of India and the Government of India are understood to have drawn the immediate attention of the Government of Orissa and asked the latter to revise its financial position.

Meanwhile the Ministers of Orissa are understood to have been asked not to leave the headquarters but be in readiness to attend a short notice cabinet meeting likely to be held before June 25 to consider the joint report of the Governor and the Chief Minister and finalise the proposals for the resolution of the "financial crisis."

It is considered likely that the first announcement of the crisis and the steps taken to meet will be made in the Orissa Assembly which meets on July 11.

Drastic cuts in expenditure on unproductive schemes and retrenchment are anticipated in the Public Works Department.

Since then, the Governor and the Chief Minister had been to Delhi and the public have been informed that the news created a darker impression of the situation than the facts justified. Now that the old Governor, Janab Asaf Ali, has returned with fresh refreshed, we hope our neighbouring State will share his freshness.

India's Food Problem

During the second Vana-Mahotsav (Tree-planting ceremony) a fresh spate of speeches has been released over the country. Its inaugurator, Food Minister Munshi, fertile of ideas and compact of imagination has not learnt wisdom from the first year's result of his brain-wave.

We do not know who is responsible for the present food scarcity. War and profiteers are there to wreck natural economic relations. But with all this, we are afraid that our Prime Minister with his create for "planned" short harvest to share a part of the blame

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forgetful of the lesson of American experience in this line.

For the benefit of his advisers we desire to draw attention to a report of the Rockefeller Foundation in which occur words of wisdom that should have a lesson for all of us. We quote these below:

"The capital required (for the better utilization of natural resources), particularly in agriculture, need not at the start take the form of spectacular dams, power facilities and industrial plants. Rather it could consist of thousands of small improvements, such as local water systems, small dams, wells and a variety of other constructions and implements."

India's food problem can be solved not by 'spectacular' planning but by making the agriculturist realize that his habitual practices have grown out of date. We hope our rulers will yet realize the generally incomplete nature of the *experts'* advice.

Animal Husbandry—Its Regionalization

We thank the Central Publicity Department for sending us a reprint of an article from the *Indian Farming* of June, 1950. A summary says that the Indian Council of Agricultural Research was established in 1929. But there was lack of co-ordination amongst its various organs and over-lapping. After 1945, this experience led to certain reforms and the setting-up of Regional Committees which work under the following scheme, the result of the enquiry by a Research Regionalization Committee. We cull the following from the article:

"(i) *Dry Northern (Wheat) Region*—comprising of the Punjab, Wetsern Uttar Pradesh, Western Madhya Pradesh, Madhya Bharat, Rajasthan, and Patiala and East Punjab States Union.

(ii) A. *Wet Eastern (Rice) Region*—comprising of Assam, West Bengal, Bihar, Orissa, Eastern Madhya Pradesh, Eastern Uttar Pradesh and North-east Madras.

(ii) B. *Coastal Region*—comprising of the two coastal strips in South India bordering on the Eastern and Western Ghats, parts of Mysore, Coorg, and Travancore-Cochin.

(iii) *Southern (Millet) Region*—comprising of Jhansi Division of Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Madhya Bharat, Eastern Hyderabad (Deccan), West Madras, Bombay and part of Mysore.

(iv) *Temperate Himalayan Region*—consisting of two sub-regions, *viz.*, the Eastern Himalayan Region including Assam (hilly parts), Sikkim, Bhutan, Nepal and the Western Region including Kumaun, Garhwal, Simla, Kulu, Chamba and Kashmir.

Four Regional Committees were appointed to consider the schemes of research, both current and proposed, with a veiw to fit them in, into the regional plan. The Committee have since made their recommendations and these would now be placed before the Scientific Committees.

Some of the new schemes recommended for consideration on a regional basis are:

(*i*) Setting up Regional Nutrition Centres—one in each region.

(*ii*) Study of sterility in cattle on a regional basis and in various areas.

(*iii*) Study of trace elements and deficiency diseases.

(*iv*) Improvement of wool.

(*v*) Utilization of industrial by-products and unusual feeds for liverstock."

There is, however, another side of the problem which mechanized-minded people in India have been pressing forward for acceptance by the people. Their attitude was reflected in an article in the Nagpur *Hitabada* of June 25 last entitled "Draught Animals—A Major Obstacle to Efficient Food Production," with a second title "Form Mechanization is the Key to Prosperity." The thesis contradicts all the purpose of the work of our Animal Husbandry Department. Our readers should know the process of their thought.

According to the standard rations for livestock in Britain, something like five acres of land is needed to feed a horse. If the total number of draught animals in the world is multiplied by five, we find the staggering total of 1,114 million acres are occupied unnecessarily. The best estimates show that between 3 and 4 thousand million acres of the world are cultivated, which means that an area equal to one-third of the world's cultivated acreage is given over to feeding draught animals. Is it any wonder that the progress of civilisation is so halting and spasmodic when the availability of food—the first essential—has such shaky foundations?

It may be argued that some draught animals do not require five acres for feed. It is just likely that a high proportion occupy a much greater area of rough, uncultivated land. The precise area is not important. The vital point is that almost all land used for draught animals could be made available for human food production. If we reckon only three acres for each draught animal, the result is still shocking.

Here are up-to-date figures of draught animals and tractors in the main regions of the world:

	Draught animals	*Tractors*
Europe	29,982,617	1,300,000
North & Central America	14,558,000	3,214,190
South America	15,155 000	54,638
Oceania	1,076,000	99,759
Asia	148,248,500	27,177
Africa	13,950,000	63 354
	222,970,117	4,759,930

With so great a proportion of the world's cultivable area given over to draught animals, the wonder is that famine is not more constantly recurring than it is in one or other part of the world. Land hunger lies at the root of agrarian unrest in nearly every country. Draught animals are a major cause of land hunger, but their braking effect on human endeavour is, per-

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haps, greater in that they rigidly limit man's own effort. The output of work from a man driving horses or oxen is not more than a quarter of what he would accomplish from the seat of a tractor. Thus, tied to draught animals he cannot earn the reward that is expected to meet present-day standards of living.

Bombay's Milk Plan

For sometime past a pamphlet on the subject has been lying with us written by Sri D. N. Khurody, Milk Commissioner, Bombay, holding a position analogous to that occupied by Dr. L. Sikka, Milk Commissioner in West Bengal. There is an impression prevalent in Bharat that Bombay's Milk Scheme has been made a success, and it will continue to serve as a model to others in Bharat's other States. The pamphlet has helped to justify this impression. The Prime Minister of India by laying the foundation of the new offices of the Are Milk Colony on March 14 last added strength to it, and the Bombay press rose enthusiastically to boost it. Friends have told us that the praise showered is fully deserved. We accept their opinion, and wish that other Milk Commissioners make up their minds to be as active as Dr. Khurody.

Plantation Labour in Assam

In the July issue of *Employment News* appears an article on the subject under the signature of Srijut H. P. Duara, Labour Commissioner. A summary of it is published below:

"Plantation labour comprises nearly one-eighth of the total population of Assam and plays a very important role in the industrial harmony and peace of the State.

"The tea industry is by far the most important industry in Assam. The name of Major Robert Bruce is associated with the early discovery of tea in India, who, in 1823, found indigenous tea growing in Assam.

"The tea industry in Assam employs nearly a million souls scattered over a wide area, spreading from the heart of the State and extending as far as the foot of the Bhutan Hills in the north, Burmese frontier in the east and East Pakistan border in the south. There are at present nearly 1,000 tea estates in the State.

"The tea labour population of Assam consists of emigrant labourers from West Bengal, Bihar, Orissa, Madras, the Madhya Pradesh and the Uttar Pradesh. The Tea District Emigrant Labour Act of 1932 now regulates the condition of recruitment of plantation labour in the tea gardens of Assam. Although some of these emigrant labourers return to their native lands after the expiry of the contractual period, the majority of them have settled down in the tea estates for generations and have become a part of the population of the State.

"When the Congress Government came into power their first and foremost task was to improve the conditions of Plantation Labour and accordingly labour laws, enacted by Government of India, were enforced and extended to all tea estates.

"Recently, the State Government have sanctioned a lakh of rupees for the inauguration of a scheme for the welfare of the Plantation Labour, with a view to bringing about all-round improvement in their standard of living.

"It is proposed to open fifteen centres for the male workers in the first year with a target to open fifty centres in course of three years. For the female workers, fifteen centres are proposed to be opened in course of three years; and for the ex-garden labourers five centres will be opened in the first year with a target to open fifteen such centres.

"In housing, the tea industry in Assam has made quite a good start although there is still a lot more to be done to bring it up to the standard as envisaged by the Royal Commission of Labour on plantations."

Corruption in India

We have been making such a display of our own shortcomings and corruptions in places high and low that we lose sight of the fact that other countries have had these experiences. In issues of this journal we have on more than one occasion drawn attention to how the U.S.A. fared after the exaltation of the War of Independence (1772-87) and of the Civil War (1860-64). Today we refer to Italy and to what one of its makers, Cavour, said. When his friends urged the difficulties caused by corruptions amongst Neapolitans (Naples) he is reported to have said in justification: "It is not their fault, poor people; they have been ill-governed; you must moralize the country; but it is not by insulting of Neapolitans that you will modify them." There is a world of wisdom in these words which rivals of the Congress should take to their hearts.

Recognition of Labour's Dignity

Labour has through struggles and conflicts attained the dignity of a separate "estate" in every State in the modern world more than equal with the others. This has been brought out in the news-item published on May 23 last. Much of the tensions in strikes and lock-out is ultimately concerned with this "dignity" question as the following will show:

"Agreement was reached on a large number of important issues concerning industrial relations at the meeting of the development committee on industries which concluded its two-day session here this evening.

"The meeting discussed various aspects of industrial relations in order to formulate an agreed basis for industrial relations in the country as well

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as future legislation on the subject. It was agreed that industrial relations are not a matter between employers and employees alone but a vital concern of the community as economic progress is bound up with industrial peace.

"While it was agreed that in an economy organized on the basis of competition, private monopoly or private profit, the workers' right to have recourse to peaceful direct action for the defence of their rights and the improvement of their conditions cannot be denied and should not be curtailed unduly. It was generally accepted, however, that in an emergency, as at present, these things should be dealt with on a special footing. The objective should be just treatment of all concerned.

Complete unanimity was reached on the view that the employer-employee relationship should be conceived of as a partnership in a constructive endeavour to promote the satisfaction of the economic needs of the community in the best possible manner. The dignity of labour and the vital role of the worker in such a partnership must be recognised.

"It was also agreed that industrial relations should be so developed that the workers' fitness to understand and carry out his responsibility grows and he is equipped to take an increasing share in the working of industry.

"Members also found themselves in complete accord on the fact that adequate machinery should be provided for arriving at impartial decisions regarding disputes which are found incapable of settlement by conciliation. It was considered advisable to empower labour courts to take cognizance and dispose of any complaints relating to working conditions, health, safety, welfare and kindred matters.

"Reference of disputes relating to such crucial questions as wages, hours, rationalisation schemes, should, as far as possible, be left to be settled by voluntary arbitration, it was further thought.

"The most honourable and patriotic course for both employers and employees, it was felt, would be to agree to submit any present or future dispute or classes of such disputes to arbitration of any person or board of their choice. The number of such agreements would be a good index of real progress in industrial relations in the country.

"It was considered that there was ample need for continuous education of employers and employees as well as the public with regard to their duties and mutual obligations. The conduct of the parties must be in keeping with the objectives of the Constitution and the declared social policies of the State."

Calcutta's Dockers—Their Noble Deed

When a section of the so-called "Leftist" press appear determined by means fair and foul—more by the latter than the former—to stiffen labour's non-co-operative mood, it is a crowning mercy that Calcutta's dockers should have refused to toe this dirty line and risen to accept a challenge to their human instincts.

Between last May 1st and May 20th, the hottest part of this summer's abnormal weather—one lakh tons of foreign food-grains were expected in Calcutta. And it was apprehended that the dockers would refuse to work during these dog days. But as the event showed they were fully aware of their duty.

And the Port authorities are glad that their fellow-workers should have helped in releasing the ships and in moving 90 thousand tons out of this food-grains to Bihar. Thus was a great anxiety relieved both for Calcutta and for Bihar. And they desire that their noble deed should be known all over India inspiring others to similar deeds. We are glad to act on this suggestion, as ours is an all-India organ of public opinion.

Central Aid to Part B States

"The States of Hyderabad, Mysore, Travancore-Cochin and Saurashtra will receive from the Central Government annually for five years, beginning 1950-51, a sum of over Rs. 10 crores in all as grant-in-aid. Following federal financial integration, the Centre entered into agreements with these States which provide for such assistance on a graduated diminishing scale subject to the review of the Finance Commission to be set up under the Constitution.

"Under the above agreement, the Centre will also assume liability for an equitable share of the public debt of Hyderabad, Travancore-Cochin and Mysore. No other Part B State has any public debt. The Central Government's share of the public debt of Travancore-Cochin has been fixed at Rs. 276.4 lakhs and for Mysore at Rs. 470 lakhs. The figure for Hyderabad has yet to be worked out. Privy purses of rulers to the tune of nearly Rs. 4.8 crores annually are already charged to the Central revenues. The two-year and five-year plans now being finalised by the Planning Commission are likely to lead to further substantial Central assistance to Part B States.

"The aid proposed, it is pointed out, is not in the nature of 'compensation' for the loss of 'federal' revenues. It will be recalled that the Krishnamachari Committee laid stress on the principle that there could be no question of compensation for the Centre taking over the 'federal' functions, together with the connected revenue and expenditures, assets and liabilities. The Committee, however, realise that the States which had so far depended to a greater or less extent on their 'federal' revenues would not be able to maintain their existing scale of expenditure in the 'provincial' field immediately after financial integration without special assistance for a transitional period.

"The guaranteed annual recoupment for Travancore-Cochin has been fixed with reference to a 'revenue-gap' of Rs. 280 lakhs. The 'revenue-gap' represents the measure of the immediate transfer of 'federal' revenues and expenditure to the Centre. The computations have been made according to the principles laid down by the Krishnamachari Committee with reference to the 'federal' revenue and expenditure of the State concerned during an agreed basic period. The corresponding figures for the three other States are: Mysore Rs. 345 lakhs; Saurashtra Rs. 275 lakhs and Hyderabad Rs. 135 lakhs (O.S.).

"The grant-in-aid to cover the revenue gap will include the State's share of divisible Central

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taxes, which at present applies only to income-tax. If in a year the divisible tax share of a State exceeds the annual grant, the State will receive the higher figure.

"When the Centre took over the 'federal' revenues and expenditure of Mysore, Saurashtra, Travancore-Cochin and Hyderabad, it was found these States needed special assistance to maintain their expenditure on subjects in the 'provincial' fields as before the financial integration, in order to avoid any dislocation. In the case of PEPSU, Madhya Bharat and Rajasthan the reverse was the case, federal expenditure being in excess of federal revenues and, therefore, there was no immediate dislocation to their finances as a result of the transfer to the Centre. A similar scheme of financial adjustments between the Central Government and Part A States is being evolved in respect of the merged States. For Part C States the problem does not arise as the Centre is responsible entirely for Central as well as State subjects.

"With these arrangements there is now complete equality between Part A and Part B States in all matters of financial assistance, subsidies, grants, etc., from the Centre. These settlements between the Centre and the States will be reviewed by the Finance Commission under the provisions of Article 280 of the Constitution. The President may terminate or modify the Federal Financial integration Agreements after the expiration of five years from the commencement of the agreements as provided for in Article 278."

The above New Delhi news, dated June 15 last indicated the financial help that the Central Government of India proposes to extend to its B class constituent States. The cases of A class and C class are being separately considered causing not a little heart-burning.

Somnath's Revival

The colourful ceremony that signalized the rebuilding of Somnath has given rise to various feelings in India. In Pakistan there is fury; in Bharat there is elation. But we are concerned with the revival at the same time of the so-called Dravidian-Aryan conflict that has become the stock-in-trade of a certain school of politicians in the Tamil country (South India). The *Sunday Express* of Madras has become its mouth-piece. And in a recent issue, it summarized from various publications what it represents as a true version of the "Mohmed Gazani" episode. We quote portions of the article :

"Mohmed Gazani Never Reached Somnath"

"There is no historical proof to substantiate the legend of the sacking of Somnath temple. In fact, there is no evidence to substantiate the belief that Mohmed Gazani ever reached Somnath.

"It is believed according to legend that the invasion of Somnath took place in 1025 A.D. There are two great contemporary works of history of Gujarat of the same period. One is the great classic *Dvayashraya* by Hemchandra Acharya, and another is called *Prabandh Chintamani*. 'Neither of them mentions even casually the invasion of Somnath.'

"Muslim historians of that period would have jumped at this subject. Even if Gazani had reached Somnath, they would have painted in glowing colours as to how the Kaffir's temple was demolished by the Lord of Gazani. 'But they do make no mention of Somnath.'

"The great Sanskrit scholar and historian of Gujarat, Sri Rasiklal Parikh, writes:

'It is, however, strange to find that no mention of sacking of Somnath is found in the *Tarikh-i-Lamini* of Al-Utbi who was a sort of a private secretary to Mohmed. He wrote a good account of Mohmed's biography, and is definitely known to have lived for years after this event. Rasimuddin and Hamidulla who came more than two hundred years after and have written accounts of Mohmed also make no mention of this account.' (*Kavyanusasana*, Introduction).

"The first Muslim mention is by Ibu Asir in 1230 A.D., Shri Parikh concludes:

'From this absence of reference amongst early Muslim historians, we are driven to the conclusion that this expedition against Somnath must not have been an event of that importance which it is reported to be by later Muslim chroniclers upon whom the modern historians have almost uncritically relied. It might have been just ordinary looting of a marauding army as the places came on its way'." (*Ibid*).

"All evidences prove that the idol of Somnath was of pre-historic antiquity. It stood there before the Aryans came to what they contemptuously called the *linga-sisne-devah*. In their onward barbarous march across India, it would be no hazard to assert that the very first destruction of the ancient Somnath temple built by the Siva-ite Dravidians was perpetrated by the Aryans. Even as the destruction of Somnath and thousands of other temples and idols by the Muslims did not destroy Hinduism, the destruction of hundreds of *sisne-devahs* by the early Aryan barbarians did not destroy Saivism or the traditional Dravidian form of phallic worship, which was, however, common to all early human civilisations and still goes strong in India. Failing in their attempt either to destroy *linga* worship or the higher civilisation of the Dravidians, the Aryans got civilised by the Dravidians and incorporated Indian phallic worship and the whole system of religion connected with it in Brahmanism, which slowly widened into the all-embracing Hinduism. The *linga* worshipped in Somnath was the *linga* discovered in Mohenjo-daro. When the Aryans destroyed Mohenjo-daro they must have destroyed the prosperous Somnath in the same period."

National Library at Calcutta

We draw the attention of the authorities to the following letter received from an eminent scholar of international standing:

"The present administration of the National Library has spent large sums in buying expensive racks from England, replacing quite good serviceable old book-racks. But very little money is being spent in buying most necessary and important books of Indian history and culture. For instance, the following books though published a year ago have not been purchased:

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Dr. J. Leeuw: *The Scythian Period of Indian History*, published in 1949.
Basil Gray: *Royal Academy Exhibition Catalogue of Indian Art*, published in 1950.
Majumdar: *Vedic Age* (*National History of India*, 1951).
G. H. Gjirue; *Caste and Class in India*, 1950.
Sir J. Woodroffe: *Serpent Power* (4th Edition), 1951.

This list is not exhaustive. Formerly, the Library used to maintain a suggestion book, book for suggestions on the part of readers. This has been stopped. The Library publishes a Report of its administration. But this is not available to the public, so that no criticism could be made."

This system has militated in every way against the usefulness of the library for scholars, therefore this procedure has to be altered.

Massacre of the Innocents in Bengal

The public have learned with admiration how the devoted and thoughtful Vice-Chancellor Mr. Justice Shambunath Mukherji has added another task to his tireless activities for improving the Calcutta University. He has held a conference with the heads of colleges to discover how it was that only 27 per cent of the students who sat for the last Intermediate examination have passed. That over seventeen thousand youths have wasted one year of their lives and all the expenses of study for twelve months and gained nothing in return—except bitterness of soul—is not a matter to be dismissed with one day's thundering in the morning papers and two days' talk in the public parks. It needs probing; but no committee is necessary for discovering the cause, which is well-known to guardians and teachers alike.

The roots of the mischief are two—lack of common sense in the teaching and examination and greed for money as the supreme consideration on both sides. Any honest teacher could have told half of these youths after their test examination (I am assuming for the moment that the test examination is not a sham in most colleges) that judging from their state of preparation they had no earthly chance of passing the University examination three months later. Any honest head of a college should have told them that he was not going to send up such palpably immature candidates. A college venturing to do so would at once lose customers.

But why blame the colleges? The holy mother (*Alma mater*) herself is not sinless in this respect. A Matric examination that does not truly sift those who have received the necessary preliminary grounding for a college course from those who are unfit, brings shoals of lads to the University, and thus swells the University's income in various ways, particularly that "best seller in India," the I.A. English Selections, a paper-cover booklet of some 200 pages, costing Rs. 3, without any illustration or copyright extract that has been paid for. And the University's own Bible Selection too,—which happily few students buy and fewer still read; a note-book sufficeth. If, under the inexorable law of nature, the myriads thus easily entering the colleges, are two years later subjected to a 73 per cent massacre, the University has at least pocketed six lakhs of rupees in fees (of diverse kinds) from these failures alone, without giving them anything in return. After all, the ancients hit at one or two truths in spite of their lack of modern civilisation: the Christian Chhrch has proclaimed *Radix malo-rum est cupiditas* (Love of money is the root of all evils). And Sankaracharya too, with his *Artham anartham bhavaya nityam.*

The path of reform lies in (1) freeing the curriculum of its cumbrous pretentious mass of books (whose mass and cost drives the student to seek refuge in Notes). (2) Holding a commonsense practical test in modern English prose, as an instrument for reading, —and no niceties of grammar or subtleties of aesthetic criticism below the Honours stage. (3) Curbing the natural tendency of the (compulsory) Bengali paper-setter to maintain the dignity of his subject by making it as stiff as the Honours paper in English. (4) Ensuring that the questions are fairly well-distributed over the entire subject or book, and not confined to one corner of it, which happens to be the examiner's special preserve. In 1927, the question paper in Pass Economics III (Indian Economics) was almost entirely confined to Banking,—in which the paper-setter had taken his Doctorate. Such irrational action on the part of the question-setter drives the student to be dishonest; it discourages industry, as leaving everything to chance. A revision (called *moderation*) of question papers by actual teachers of the subjects, before they are printed, is indispensably necessary. The chance of leakage is not ruled out, I admit; but that is a lesser evil than the present freaks and caprices.

Above all, disciplinary action against the inefficient mercenary colleges—which swell the percentage of failure, should be rigorously taken. Mushroom colleges after the first year's trial, should be compelled to die out like mushrooms. And that hoary-headed sinner—with 2,000 youths on the rolls (which was the laughing stock of the British members of the Radhakrishnan Commission) and whose boys pointed out the Sealdah Station third class passenger shed as their Students' Common Room to the Sadler Commission, well, a little blood-letting reducing its numbers to 500 will certainly cure it of its present elephantiasis. The accepted conditions of affiliation, if honestly enforced, can effect this surgical operation.

J. S.

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Assassination of King Abdulla

The assassination of King Abdulla will have consequences far into the Arab world. He became a part of history during the first World War of the 20th century helping to overthrow the empire of the Turks. All seemed hopeful for his family. His younger brother, Emir Feisal, was the instrument through whom the fates found a leader of the Arab Revolt. In Lawrence's book *Seven Pillars of Wisdom,* we get a glimpse of the policy of the British Government, and the betrayal of Arab hopes by Prime Minister Lloyd George and his civil advisers.

Lawrence was an archaeologist, digging into the ruins of the area in Syria, Palestine, Lebanon, Trans-Jordania and the Hejaj. Then unconsciously to himself he got entangled in Britain's far-flung scheme of a vast South-West Asian Bloc with herself as the boss. This required the break-up of the Turkish empire; and Sheriff Hussein, Emir Abdulla and Emir Feisal were its dupes. Lawrence saw before his eyes the wreck of all he had laboured for, and was naturally very bitter with Lloyd George and Clemenceau. And throughout the book he gave the freest expression to it on every conceivable occasion.

In the earlier pages he threw out pen-pictures of men and things that will remain enshrined in the English language. Of Emir Abdulla he had no high opinion; Emir Feisal was his hero. We quote from the book portions that have become relevant today:

> ". . . nothing was futile in the atmosphere of higher thinking and responsibility which ruled at Feisal's . . . Abdullah would sometimes ride a little, or shoot a little, and return exhausted to his tent for a massage . . . He was fond of Arabic verses and exceptionally well read . . . He was also interested in history and letters . . . He affected to have no care for the Hejaj situation, regarding the autonomy of the Arabs as assured by the promises of Great Britain . . . The leaven of insincerity worked through all the fibres of his being. . . . His brain often betrayed its intricate pattern, . . . Yet they never separated into straight desires or grew into effective desires. . . ."

Feisal was driven from Damascus by the French, and the British looked indifferently on. The latter made him King of Iraq. Abdulla, King of Trans-Jordan. But when King Hussein was driven from Mecca by Emir Ibn Saud, they did not raise even their little finger to help their protege. This betrayal explained much of the Arab distrust of British promises; the Palestine episode with a promise for "a Jewish home" in Palestine, was the limit of ignominy.

Abdulla, however, had to pocket it; and in recompense he has been protected by the Arab Legion captained by Glubb Pasha, the best trained and equipped force in Arabia. But this did not avail against Jewish idealism and endurance. The State of Israel was born. The Arab world, however, feels that in the pursuit of his Hashemite kingdom fantasy made up of Syria, Lebanon, Palestine and Iraq Abdulla has been lukewarm in the common Arab fight against Israel. This feeling will minimize the grief that would otherwise have been felt by them.

But the real loss will be Britain's. With Iran threatening her oil interests, there remains none in the Arab world to speak a good word for her or stand up for upholding these. This appreciation of the Arab situation supports our contention that in life King Abdulla had been a stabilizing factor in the maelstrom of Arab nationalism and the creeping inroads of Communism.

"Birth of a Nation Suspended"

Under the above heading Andrew Roth wrote in the London *Daily Herald,* reprinted in the *Leader,* an article indicating the multi-racial elements of the problem.

> "Those who planned the Communist revolt in Malaya fervently hoped that the Malays would help them. Instead, hardly a single Malay has joined them in their jungle hideouts, while 50,000 have volunteered as special constables against them.
>
> "Under the harsh impact of the eight-month-old anti-British rising, the growth of Malayan national consciousness, rapid after the second World War, has accelerated. The Malays, as a people, are waking up. Except for 30,000 aborigines, they are the oldest inhabitants of the peninsula into which their ancestors penetrated 4,000 years ago.
>
> "During 140 years of British rule these hard-working cheerful people have multiplied more than seven times, but even so they are being outnumbered by the Chinese. Predominantly agricultural, the Malays bitterly resent this influx, which began to strength 70 years ago to meet the labour shortage in the tin mines and on the rubber estates.
>
> "Though immigration has officially stopped, the Chinese in the peninsula and Singapore today number about 2,600,000 compared with 1,700,000 in 1931. The Malays number 2,200,000, compared with 1,900,000 in 1931.
>
> "In the Federation the Malays are in the majority, while in Singapore they form a small minority. The relentless increase in the Chinese population makes the Malays feel they may ultimately become strangers in their own land.
>
> "Since the revolt began, Sino-Malay differences have so widened that some leaders darkly foresee that if the British left tomorrow there would be inter-racial violence on a large scale. Recently in parts of the country Malays have been taking their krises (scimitar-like national swords) to sorcerers to be blessed. One of them assured me that the charms were so powerful that they can deflect bullets.
>
> "Asking for special benefits to help them increase their members and ensure their security, the Malays assert with justice that the terrorists are almost one hundred per cent Chinese. With equal truth they insist that the ordinary Chinese have little or nothing to contribute

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terrorists, while many have actually helped them either by paying 'protection money' or in other ways.

"Of Chinese claims for political rights, made two years ago when the constitutional future of the country was in the melting pot, Malay leaders now suggest that those who gain rights also incur obligations. In a determined effort to bring the communities together, a nine-man Malay-Chinese goodwill committee, with Mr. Malcolm MacDonald, U.K. Commissioner-General in South-East Asia, as liaison officer, has been set up. The leading Malay member is Dato Onn Bin Ja'afar, Chief Minister of Johore and President of the United Malays National Organisation. Dato Onn is personally convinced that the future of his race is at stake. With other leaders he is trying to find a way out. . . .

"Most Chinese in Malaya heartily wish that the terror would end, but they seem incapable of assisting openly in its elimination. Only recently have Chinese miners begun to stop paying 'protection money' to the terrorists. As more of the security forces swing into action more information should begin to come in.

"One significant result of the revolt has been its effect on Malaya's embryo Trade Union movement. Before the outbreak in June, 1948, there were in the Federation 302 trade unions, with 149946 members. Today, with the Communist elements gone, there are only 162 trade unions with 76925 members. But they are unions, not rackets. Aiming eventually to paralyse industry, the Communists early got a grip on the unions by mailed fist methods. Chinese secret societies, with schoolboy thriller names like 'Red Face' and 'Skeleton Gang' and wired initiation rites, also infiltrated, and through them extortion and victimisation boomed."

Later news from Malaya, dated June 18 last, described how a purely Malayan nationalist leader proposed to solve it. We share it with our readers:

"Plans for the achievement of Malayan independence, sketched by the Malay leader, Dato Onn Bin Ja-afar, early this month, have had their strongest critics so far in a section of the Malays themselves, writes K. N. Ramanathan, the *P.T.I.* staff correspondent in Malaya.

"Some observers see in this opposition to Dato Onn from a section of his own community, the working of a "hidden hand," which, they consider is trying to divide the Malays and obstruct the development of national untiy.

"In the ten days that have elapsed since Dato Onn "caused a sensation" in Malaya (to quote one newspaper) by his announcement, public opinion has had the time to consider his plans. The Malays and the Chinese communities have generally welcomed them. The British comment has been cautious. It has expressed appreciation of Dato Onn's approach but has also dwelt on the difficulties of the problem.

"Dato Onn, president of the United Malaya National Organisation, probably the most outstanding leader in Malaya today, said early this month that he would form a political, non-communal 'Independence of Malaya' party to work for the achievement of independence.

"He thought that an independent Malaya would seek to remain within the Commonwealth. . . .

'but there is no such thing as independence in self-government, if it is strangulated by preconditions of what it can or cannot do.'

"The Malayan Indian Congress—one of the three Pan-Malayan Indian organisations in this country—at its annual session during the weekend, adopted a resolution in favour of forming, or assisting in the formation of a Malayan organisation with membership open to all Malayans. He said that the Congress would give him every support.

"The Indian-owned newspaper, the *Indian Daily Mail*, has found it difficult to believe that Dato Onn could be really interested in forming a party for the achievement of Malaya's unity or freedom."

We have a certain feeling that the resident Chinese have lost their chance by aligning themselves more secretly than openly with the "fifth-column" activities of their own nationals.

Soviet Post-War Reconstruction

Prof. Maurice Dodd, lecturer in Economics, Cambridge University, who is a visiting professor at the Delhi School of Economics from January to March, 1951, spoke to members of the Indian Council of World Affairs on the above subject. Speaking on the success of "planning" there during the last 30 years, he appeared to be appreciative of the courage and endurance of Soviet leadership of rulers and the ruled alike. The following extract from the address will give our readers an idea of the various undertakings. We make this quotation from the *Indian Quarterly*:

"As regards the canal schemes: one of the most interesting is the famous Volga-Don Canal, joining the Volga just below Stalingrad with the river Don. It is a difficult engineering feat because of the substantial difference (some 90 ft.) between the levels of the two rivers. The canal will be just over 60 miles in length when it is completed. It was apparently started before the war, but was interrupted by the war; and the intention now is to complete it by the spring of 1952, if nothing in the international sphere occurs to interrupt it again. The importance of this project is that it will provide a continuous inland waterway system from the Baltic to the Black Sea, and one which will link Moscow with the Black Sea, enabling ships, for example, to carry fresh fish from the Black Sea to Moscow. To give some idea of the carrying capactiy of the waterway: it will be capable of taking large cargo ships, and with the deepening of the channel of the lower Don and a raising of its water level, these cargo ships will be able to proceeed from the Volga down to the mouth of the Don near Rostov and into the Black Sea. Diesel-engine ships carrying 500 passengers apiece are to be constructed for the Moscow-Stalingrad-Black Sea service when this canal is completed. Power stations with 2½ million and 1¾ million kilowatts capacity are to be simultaneously built on the lower and middle Volga at Kuibyshev and Stalingrad, and are designed to be completed in 1955 and 1956 respectively. The first of these, the Kuibyshev scheme, will be linked with an irrigation scheme covering 2½ million acres of land.

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"Finally, what the article from the London *Times* calls 'the boldest in conception and most difficult of all these schemes'—the highly interesting project of the Turkmenian Canal, which will run from the river Amu Darya or Oxus, across the Kara Kum desert to the Caspian Sea. The canal will extend to nearly 700 miles and will bring some 3 million acres of desert under cultivation (mainly for cotton). This scheme is to be completed in the year 1957. The forest shelter-belt schemes will be applied here also, and according to the plan shelter-belts will be planted on either side of the canal, and subsidiary dams and power stations will also be constructed along its route. Like the Volga-Don Canal it is designed to carry cargo ships."

Korea War's Cost to U.S.A.

The Korean war has cost the U.S.A. from $2,000,000,000 to $10,000,000,000 depending on how the main figure is worked out, according to the Assistant Defence Secretary, Mr. McNeil.

And if it continues, he told the Senate Finance Committee, the Armed Forces will have to ask for another $2,000,000,000 to $3,000,000,000 during the 12 months ahead.

Mr. McNeil was reluctant to give an exact estimate of the war's cost to date because of the difficulty of deciding what factors were to be included. He said he could 'prove any figure from two to ten thousand million dollars' depending on what assumptions were used.

Mr. McNeil said afterward that he would try to get the Committee as accurate a figure as possible on the cost of the Korean War.

A Washington news of date July last told us this story. We have read somewhere that the last World War cost about 4 lakh crores of rupees. Mr. McNeil's estimate is rather vague, and he declined to make himself responsible even for any near exact figure. We do not know what the American ruling classes mean by publicizing this huge expenditure of money and men, the latter being about 60,000 in killed and wounded and prisoners taken by the Communists of North Korea and China. It is time they realized that leadership in international affairs cost money.

Europe's Encroachments into Middle East

In the *Hitavada*, Sri M. F. Soonawala threw light on the doings of European powers in the areas washed by the Atlantic in North Africa and the Persian Gulf in Asia. They are on the retreat today, and their burden is being increasingly thrown up on the United States. And she is, willingly or unwillingly, playing her part, this being her destiny, as her politicians and publicists say with pride. She is inheriting Britain's hegemony; and thus do we find her intervening in Persia's oil trouble, trying to mediate between the rising nationalism of Iran and Britain's vanishing capitalistic exploitation.

The most interesting and informing portion of the article, however, is where the writer quotes the British publicist Marvin on the contrast between British and Russian technique of dealing with Asian peoples. He thus summarizes the argument:

"During the 19th century the Russian influence over the Muslims became so great that the latter almost completely identified themselves with their conquerors. One proof of this is to be found in the names of Muslim generals and politicians like General Alikhanoff, the Governor of Merv, General Nazibegoff, Muratoff and last but not the least, Jacob (Yakub) Malik, the present-day Chief Russian delegation at U.N.O., the Suffix 'off' added to the names means 'son'."

And to give added strength to it he quoted Marvin's exact words, written in 1885:

> "The people not only identify themselves with Russians, but the Russians identify themselves with the people. Englishmen would never think of placing their home army under a Sikh or a Maratha, or permitting a Bengali to become a Cabinet Minister. An Indian has practically no career in England; on the other hand, every avenue in Russia is open to the Caucasian. The Armenian, Loris Melikoff, rose there to a position next to that of the Czars. Generals Tergonkasoff and Lazareff, two other Asiatics, commanded Russian troops in the Turkish War of 1877-78, and when Alikhanoff accomplished his famous raid upon Merv, the exploit was acclamied as a Russian exploit, and not as the achievement of a mere native."

Crown Prince William & Marshal Petain

Within a few days have died two leaders of armies of the First World War—Crown Prince William of "Imperial Germany," first son of Kaiser William, and Marshal Petain who beat back the German attacks on the Fortress of Verdun. Both of them have departed from the field of their munificent activities in disgrace. William shorn of his glory, and Petain as the man who made his peace with Hitler. William's come-down was a fruit of Germany's defeat in 1918; Petain's of 1940. He was put up by French appeasers as the most considerable French leader who would be able to save some part of France's glory. History will say whether or not he succeeded in his venture. But this we know that the conquerors of the Second World War did recognize his status and treated him with courtesy. The death of these two men would, in no way, affect the fortunes of their country. Peace to their souls!

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ROLE OF VILLAGE PANCHAYATS IN INDIAN ECONOMY

By Prof. C. B. MAMORIA, M.A. (Geog.), M.Com.

Village Panchayats

India has been a land of Village Communities or Gram Panchayats from time immemorial. It is claimed that the syetem was first introduced by King Prithu while colonising the Doab between the Ganga and the Jamuna. There are definite references to the existence of these "Grama Sanghas" in the *Shantiparva* of the *Mahabharata* and in the *Manusmriti*. Kautilya, who flourished in 400 B.C., has also described these Village Communities in his *Arthashastra*. In the Valmiki *Ramayana* we hear of the Janapada, which was, perhaps, a sort of federation of the numerous village-republics. It is also certain that the system was widely in existence in this country at the time of the Greek invasion, and Megasthenes has left vivid impressions of these "Pentads" as he termed these Panchayats. Chinese travellers Hieun Tsang and Fa Hien tell us how India at the time of their visits was very productive, and the people were "flourishing and happy beyond compare." An account of these Panchayats during the middle ages is provided in Sukracharya's *Nitisara*.

The Village Communities which were self-governing little republics all over India flourished under Hindu and Muslim governments and survived the wreck of dynasties and the downfall of empires. Even the Committee of Secretary of the East India Company reported in 1812 :

"Under this simple form of Municipal Governments, the inhabitats of the country have lived from time immemorial . . . The inhabitants give themselves no trouble about the breaking up and division of the kingdom; while the village remains entire they care not to what power it is transferred or to what sovereign it devolves; its internal economy remains unchanged."

"One foreign conqueror after another has swept over India," comments Sir Charles Trevellyan, "but the Village Municipalities have stuck to the soil like their own Kusha grass."

In 1930, Sir Charles Metcalfe described these Village Communities as little republics having nearly everything within themselves, and almost independent of any outside relations:

"They seem to last where nothing else lasts. . . . The Union of the village communities, each one forming a separate little State in itself, has, I believe, contributed more than any other cause to the preservation of the people of India through all revolutions and changes which they have suffered, and it is in a high degree conducive to their happiness and to the enjoyment of a great portion of freedom and independence. I wish, therefore, that the village constitutions may never be disturbed and I dread everything that has a tendency to break them up."

It is interesting to note that the attention of Karl Marx was also drawn to these Indian Village Republics. He writes in his *Das Capital*:

> "The small and extremely ancient Indian Communities which still exist to some extent, are based upon the communal ownership of the land, upon a direct linking up of manual agriculture and handicraft and upon a fixed form of the division of labour which is adopted as a cut-and-dried scheme whenever new communities are founded. They constitute self-sufficient productive entities, the area of land upon which production is carried on ranging from a hundred to several thousand acres. The greater part of the products is produced for the satisfaction of the immediate needs of the community, not as commodities; and production itself, is, therefore, independent of the division of labour which the exchange of commodities has brought about in Indian society as well . . . In different regions of India we find different forms of such communities. In the simplest form the land is commonly tilled and its produce is divided among the members of the community, while every family carries on spinning, weaving, as an accessory occupation. The simplicity of the productive organism in these self-sufficient rommunities . . . unlocks for us the mystery of the unchangeableness of Asiatic society, which contrasts so strongly with the perpetual dissolution and reconstruction of Asiatic States, and with the unceasing changes of dynasties. The structure of the economic elements of the society remains unaffected by the storms in the political weather."

Sir Henry Maine points out that

> "Indian village community was a living and not dead institution and the Indian and the ancient European systems of village communities were, in all essential particulars, identical."

He further observes:

> "That the earliest English emigrants to North America organised themselves at first in village communities for purposes of cultivation."

The Indian villages had evolved a well-balanced social, economic and political system by eschewing the two extremes of laissez faire and totalitarian control. They had developed an ideal form of co-operative agriculture and industry in which there was hardly any scope for exploitation of the poor by the rich. As Mahatma Gandhi has put it, "The production was almost simultaneous with consumption and distribution," and the vicious circle of money-lender economy was conspicuous by its absence. Production was for the immediate use and not for distant markets. The whole social structure was founded on non-violence and fellow-feeling. The Gram Panchayat administered the village affairs either on its own responsibility or as an adjunct to the village Headman or Patel. It also administered justice and peace, maintained local order by watch and ward, provided facilities for education, sanitation and public works such as erection and main-

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tenance of public buildings, roads, tanks, wells and the keeping of village tracts in order, provided all other common amenities—social, and economic—of the village life and collected and distributed the charity to the needy and the poor. It derived its finances from the rich and wealthy inhabitants of the village and from other donations. The labour for the works of public utility the village community could get from the village people. In this way it was self-sufficient and self-supporting having little to do with the outside world. In the past, indeed, these Panchayats played a very useful role in developing the village corporate life but unfortunately the advent of the British Rule in India led to their decay and disappearance.

An extreme anxiety to enhance the land revenue to its utmost limits induced the East India Company to make direct arrangements with every individual cultivator, instead of with the village community as a whole. An equally unreasonable anxiety to centralise all judicial and executive powers in their own hands led the British administrators to virtually set aside the village functionaries, and thus deprive them of their age-long powers. These republics, therefore, fell into decay. This decay was further helped by a number of factors. The administration of the village by the agencies of the Central Government, the extension of the jurisdiction of the modern civil and criminal courts of the towns, the new land revenue system, increase in the means of communication, progress of education, police administration, migration of the best and ablest persons from the villages to the towns, the growing spirit of individualism and the break-up of the joint family system—led to the decay and disintegration of the so important an institution like the Panchayats. Thus the self-sufficient nature of the old quasi-democratic rural polity was broken and consequently the village Panchayats as a rural institution sank into insignificance. As R. C. Dutt remarks:

> "One of the saddest results of British Rule in India is the effacement of that system of village self-government which was developed earliest and preserved longest in India amongst all the countries of the earth."

Gradually the British Government took steps to establish such local bodies as could look after their own affairs. This led to the enactment of a number of Acts between 1842 and 1862 resulting in the setting up of Municipalities in the towns but no attempts were made to reorganise or newly start the village institutions, although in urban areas the municipal bodies rapidly increased. Later on, with the systematic attempts and sympathetic attitude of Lord Ripon (1882) a number of sub-district boards were set up in Madras and Assam, and in other provinces powers were wholly concentrated in the hands of the district boards but the start was made at the wrong end because the process did not lead to the federation of smaller units transforming them into large ones but instead it led to the devolution of powers by District Boards to smaller bodies.

The Royal Commission on Decentralisation remarked:

> "The scant success of the efforts hitherto made to introduce a system of rural self-government is largely due to the fact that we have not built from the bottom—the foundation of any stable edifice which shall associate the people known to one another and have interests which converge on well-organised objects."

It recommended that an attempt should be made to constitute and evolve Village Panchayats for the administration of the local affairs, even though the system can be gradually and tentatively be applied to make the village a starting point of public life. Consequently the Government of India passed a resolution in 1915 and issued definite instructions to all the Provincial Governments to give full trial to a practical scheme of Village Panchayats, wherever it could be worked out in co-operation with the people. The Act of 1919 which transferred local self-government to ministers was followed by measures in several provinces leading to legislative enactments. Consequently a number of Acts were passed in various provinces, *e.g.*, in Bengal the Bengal Village Self-Government Act was passed in 1919; the Madras Village Panchayats Act 1920 (replaced and supplemented by Madras Local Boards Act, 1930); the Bombay Village Panchayats Act, 1920 (replaced and supplemented by the Act of 1933); the Central Provinces Village Panchayats Act, 1920; the U. P. Village Panchayats Act of 1920; the Bihar and Orissa Village Administration Act, 1922; the Assam Rural Self-Government Act, 1926; etc., were also passed respectively in the provinces.

Functions and the Working of the Panchayats

For the establishment of Village Panchayats there is no uniform practice and hard and fast rules in India owing to the diverse circumstances and conditions prevailing in the different parts of the country. Thus in Bombay the Village Panchayat Amendment Act of 1939 has made it compulsory to have a village panchayat for every village with a population of 1,000 and above. By the end of January, 1950, the number of such panchayats stood at 3,500, whereas in West Bengal, Uttar Pradesh and Madras every village area is a panchayat area and there has to be a statutory panchayat. In West Bengal there are 5,[illegible] panchayats, in U.P. 34,755 village panchayats and 8,190 *adalati* panchayats; and in Orissa 528 [illegible] panchayats and 173 *adalati* panchayats. Similarly in Baroda, Travancore, Cochin and Mysore and Madhya Pradesh there is a statutory panchayat for every village. Since the formation of Himachal Pradesh the Punjab Municipal Act, the Punjab District Board

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Act, the Punjab Small Town Act and the Punjab Panchayat Act have been applied to this state and fresh incentive has been given to the growth of gram panchayats. According to the Madhya Bharat Panchayat Act, every villager will be a member of a panchayat. A group of such panchayats will constitute a *kendra* (central) panchayat. The heads of these Kendra panchayats will form a larger unit known as *mandal* panchayat. The members of village panchayats will be elected on the basis of adult franchise and the *kendra, mandal* and *nyaya* panchayats will be elected indirectly.

The constitution of the village panchayats however varies from province to province. They usually consist of 5 to 11 members. In some Provinces like U.P. they are wholly nominated, while in others they are elected by voters having property, taxation or educational qualifications. In Madhya Pradesh, the members are elected by adult franchise.

The functions of the panchayats at present are judicial or administrative or both. In Bombay and Madras, panchayats are administrative, *e.g.*, in Bombay, the panchayats have been empowered to exercise control over government properties like open sites, waste lands, vacant lands, grazing lands, trees, public roads under the revenue department. In Madras, the panchayats look after the construction, repair and maintenance of public roads in the village, the lighting of public roads and public places, the construction of drains, as well as sanitation and public health. They also have the power to administer civil and criminal justice, besides registering documents. In Madhya Pradesh, the panchayats perform a variety of functions, such as promotion of public health and medical relief, water supply, lighting of streets, opening of schools. The judicial work of the *gram* panchayats has been entrusted to *nyaya* panchayats. In U.P. wide powers and duties with regard to organisation and maintenance of schools, hospitals, community buildings, pastures, public wells, sanitation, justice, village statistics, improvement in agriculture, commerce and industry, have been given to the panchayats. The list of discretionary functions is also very large and includes plantation of trees, breeding and medical treatment of cattle, organisation of village volunteer force, assistance in agricultural credit, co-operation and famine or other calamity and establishment of libraries and village *akharas*, Control of village streets, waterways and power to effect improvements in them all in village sanitation is vested in the panchayat. In West Bengal, these panchayats have been entrusted with the responsibility of village roads, preservation of tanks, planting of trees and sanitary arrangements in the village.

From the foregoing description it will be seen that the functions of the panchayats are of two kinds, administrative and judiciary. The administrative powers relate to village lanes, ponds, wells, drainage, epidemic protection through vaccination, maintenance of school buildings, night watch, etc. Occasionally they may also arrange for lighting, libraries, improvement of agriculture and handicrafts, organisation of festivals and management of travellers' rest houses.* Thus they do useful work particularly in respect of education, health, conservancy and public works. They have been of special service for maintaining dispensaries for villagers in Bengal; for supplying electricity and for enforcing Town Planning Act in rural parts of Madras; for spreading adult education in U.P., C.P., Berar and Assam; for introducing agricultural improvements in the Punjab and Mysore and giving effect to sociol legislation, such as the Marriage Registration and Child Marriage Restraint Act, the Marriage Expenses Controlling Act in Indore.**

The judicial powers of the panchayats relate to the trial of civil suits for money due on contracts, recovery of moveable property or its value, etc., of a value up to Rs. 200 (the maximum varies in different provinces) and of petty criminal cases wherein they may inflict fines up to Rs. 50. Judicial powers have been conferred on the panchayats in various provinces. In Bengal, U.P., Bombay, Bihar, Baroda, Cochin, Mewar, Travancore the panchayats are empowered to try minor cases like theft, simple hurt, offences of cattle trespass.

Every panchayat is given exclusive jurisdiction and no other court entertains complaints falling within its jurisdiction. The procedure of trial is informal. No lawyer is allowed to appear on behalf of the party. Usually the only punishment which the panchayat can impose is fines. Whatever the functions of the pachayat be it is regretted that where panchayats have both administrative and judicial duties, they have generally concentrated on the latter to the neglect of the former.

Control

In all provinces adequate provision is made in the Act for the control of panchayats. In judicial matters its actions are controlled by a competent authority with power to quash its proceedings, to revise its decisions, to withdraw or transfer cases to the higher courts, and in the last resort to cancel the jurisdiction or to supersede it.

The administrative control of the panchayat is in some cases entrusted to the government agency ranging from a Tahsildar to the Collector or Commissioner; and in most cases to superior local bodies like the Local or District Boards, *e.g.*, in U.P. the panchayats are requested to co-operate with the District Boards which can delegate duties to them. In C.P., the panchayats are controlled by the District

*Blunt, *Social Service in India*, pp. 362-63.

**Nanavati & Anjaria, *Indian Rural Problem*, pp. 290-91.

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Board subject to the supervision of the Government officers. Again in Madras and Bengal the village panchayats are controlled partly by the Government and partly by the District Board. In many provinces special government officers or regular salaried staff of panchayats like the Registrars and Circle Officers are appointed to supervise over the panchayats and to direct their growth. Where special officers are appointed the panchayats work efficiently as in Madras, Mysore and Baroda. The control is exercised through audit and inspection. The officers have power to cancel its resolutions and enforce performance of particular duties, and in extreme cases the panchayats may even be superseded or dissolved.

Sources of Income

According to the provision made in the Act, nearly every panchayat has a village panchayat fund, to which are credited all allotments, general and special contributions and donations from the Central, and the Local Governments, Municipalities, District and Local Boards. The panchayats also derive their income from some other sources too, *viz.*, all kinds of grants-in-aid, taxes, cesses, rates, tolls, fees and costs, income from property and endowments, sale-proceeds, interest or penalties on arrears, forfeitures, fines and compensations and donations from private persons. In nearly all provinces the panchayats are authorised to augment their income (according to need) and levy fee, tax, or assessment on land with approval of the government or superior local body.

The principal sources of income vary widely from province to province, *e.g.*, in Bengal, the panchayats derive half their income from the proceeds of the Chowkidari tax and one-sixth from the Union rate. In Madras, 46 per cent of the income is derived from house tax, 17 per cent from the markets, cart-stands, and slaughter houses, 16 per cent from the property tax. In the Punjab, special rates and village rates together account for 18 per cent of the total receipts.

Items of Expenditure

As in income so in expenditure, the principal items vary from province to province, *e.g.*, in Bengal (1939-40) out of the total expenditure of Rs. 103 lakhs, Rs. 8.4 lakhs were spent on roads and communications, Rs. 7 lakhs on water supply, Rs. 3.6 lakhs on medical relief, Rs. 8 lakhs on education and Rs. 2.7 lakhs on sanitation, drainage and conservancy. In Madras Province education absorbed the largest amount, it being Rs. 16 lakhs; Rs. 9 lakhs were spent on sanitation, Rs. 7.9 lakhs on lighting and Rs. 3.1 lakhs on road construction and repair in 1940-41, out of a total expenditure of Rs. 65 lakhs.

Many panchayats have also accumulated large balances often disproportionately high when compared to their incomes. It may be possible that the panchayats may be collecting these sums to [illegible] some capital projects in future. Even where this is the case, such a course would mean the postponement of items of minor expenditure but of greater need for some future date. In such cases the better course to follow is that arrangements should be made to give the panchayats financial assistance by way of loans so as to expedite the bigger works for immediate relief and benefit of the people.

Defects in the Working of the Panchayats

The experience of the working of the panchayats has shown that they have not fulfilled the high expectations that were raised about them on the basis of their glorious past. Various reasons have been advanced for the deficiencies in their working. Among them may be mentioned the following as being the most commonly put forth :

(1) That there is faction among the villagers which makes the common acceptance of the decisions of the panchayat impossible. Faction also makes it impossible for a common mind to develop within the panchayat and decisions are coloured by the factious interests of the members.

(2) That there is a lack of proper leadership in the village so that the panchayat becomes a tool in the hands of irresponsible elements in the village population. No respect is possible to develop among the villagers for an institution which is so abused.

(3) That there is indifference among the villagers to the need for the maintenance of proper civic amenities in the village.

(4) That the panchayat is often under the overpowering influence of the big landlord or moneylender in the village and therefore, fails to inspire confidence among the majority of peasants in the village. Further, the powers that are parted with by the Provincial Governments in favour of the village panchayats with a view to training the villagers in the art of self-government are always usurped by this small group. The interests of the small minority are served at the cost of the needy majority. Thus the main ideal of democratic training and exercise of local power for the benefit of the people gets frustrated. Instances have been common where the subsidies given for the village roads or sanitation were spent on the roads in front of the houses of this small group, or only the insanitary and ugly spots near them were attended to while the rest of the village was neglected. Sometimes the funds disappear altogether but the villager cannot dare to call for the explanation of the small group. The villager is loath to come trouble on account of the very scant protection given to him by the distant Central Government and also because he is lost in toil and care for his daily bread.

(5) That the financial resources of the panchayats are very meagre so that they can never hope to look after even the elementary functions assigned to them. Government subsidies go only a little way towards removing this want. Some long works have to be left out on account of their heavy cost, in spite of their urgent necessity. For example, village water-works are in a lamentable condition because they cannot be constructed on the scale required for the population, and even if constructed they cannot be maintained for want of funds or

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repair. Approach roads furnish another example; they cannot be constructed on account of costs of and opposition to acquisition proceedings as well as of the cost of the construction of bridges and culverts.

(6) That the villagers resist the imposition of taxes like the house tax and would rather go without the panchayat than have one and be subjected to taxation.

Rehabilitation of Gaon Panchayats

In order to reconstruct India on peaceful and democratic foundations, it is desirable to establish self-governing Village Communities or Gram Panchayats as of old, with necessary modification to suit the modern conditions. These Panchayats will be very different from the present Local or District Boards which posses limited powers. They will be autonomous so far as their internal administration is concerned, and will be, as far as possible, self-sufficient in regard to at least the basic requirements of life like food, clothing and building materials. They will be linked up with the Taluka, District, Division, Province and country as a whole, for purposes of common policy and interests.

Every village with a population of 1,000 or more and having sufficient income for its needs should be declared a *Gaon* (village) Panchayat, and that villages with population below 1,000 should be grouped together to make a panchayat. Grouping of villages should be undertaken when lying within a radius of two miles and after taking into account the local conditions of those villages and their ability to raise the finances required.

Any person of 21 years of age or above, residing within the Panchayat area, should be elected a member and entitled to vote. No voter should be entitled to vote or to stand as a candidate for more than one Panchayat. There should be 9 to 15 members in a village Panchayat and the electoral roll, like the register of voters for each village, should be prepared by a Patwari, and revised periodically by a Kanungo. The assistance of a few non-officials in the preparation of the electoral roll will be appreciable. It will be opposed to democratic principles if the zamindars and moneylenders should be disqualified from standing as members of the Panchayat, although the legitimate fear of the Kisans is for the Zamindars who as a class have considerable power and influence in villages and dominate the Panchayat. Therefore, it will be desirable that at least three-fourths of the members should be tenants and field-workers. The inclusion of the village artisan, the patwari and the chowkidar would, no doubt, facilitate the work of the Panchayat.

Every village panchayat should be assured of a certain income for the efficient working of its plans. The sources of their income should be:

(*i*) *Fasli Chanda e.g.*, 5 seers after each plough in the village may be charged as *Fasli Chanda* per harvest. Such payments in kind are, undoubtedly, very convenient to the cultivators.

(*ii*) Manual Labour: It is a very natural form of public co-operation. In ancient India, and even now in certain villages of Mewar, public buildings, tanks, wells, etc., were and are constructed by the joint efforts and voluntary and honorary labour of the villagers. There should be at least 5 days of free manual labour after every plough in the village. This will facilitate the work of the Panchayats a great deal without any botheration regarding money and cash.

(*iii*) Private donations, on the occasion of social functions like marriages, sacred-thread ceremonies, etc.

(*iv*) Miscellaneous receipts, in the form of arbitration fees and fines, grazing charges and other special cesses for various purposes. Such cesses must, however, be realised in kind.

(*v*) Capital grants or grants-in-aid for recurrent purposes should be freely provided by the various reconstruction funds set up by the Provincial Governments.

(*vi*) Borrowings may also be allowed in special cases as regards Panchayats whose position is sound.

Each Gaon Sabha should have a Gaon Fund to which shall be credited the following: (*i*) Taxes on the rent payable not exceeding one anna in a rupee, and on rent received not exceeding six pies in a rupee, on trade, calling, and profession, and on buildings owned by persons who do not pay any of the aforesaid taxes; (*ii*) sums handed over or assigned by the Provincial Governments, District Boards, Courts or gifts; (*iii*) portion of rent or other proceeds from the *nazul* property; (*iv*) rent or revenue collection charges; (*v*) income, *adalat* panchayats, fairs and markets; and (*vii*) loans and the existing balance of the village panchayats.

As regards the functions to be followed by the Panchayats two things must be borne in mind. Firstly, the Panchayats should not be the only local authorities for the villages but there would be the District Boards also exercising jurisdiction over them. It is not, therefore, necessary that all the local services for the villages should be provided by the Panchayats. Secondly, the amount of political initiative and talent available in the village is bound to be small and their financial resources too cannot be very large. In view of these considerations it does not seem feasible to entrust the Panchayats with the maintenance of costly institutions whose clientele should be under the District Boards.

Functions of the Village Panchayats should be of three kinds:

Firstly, their own independent functions should be only a few relating to construction and upkeep of village works like roads, wells and tanks, and buildings; lighting, provision of village libraries, reading rooms, gymnasiums and *akharas* and other measures

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of public utility. They should also allot the land to the peasants and collect the Land Revenue on behalf of the village. The regulation of the inter-village markets, celebration of the local festivals, establishment and maintenance of the village primary schools, and the organisation of basic and adult education, and management and care of village grazing lands for the benefit of all the people—should also fall under the ambit of the Panchayats.

Secondly, they should be entrusted by the District Boards with a large number of agency functions in connection with the repairs of Board's buildings situated in the village, distribution of seeds and manures, starting of cottage industries, encouragement of co-operation, and consolidation of holdings, marketing of agricultural produce, improvement in the means of communications, regulation and distribution of water-supply for irrigation purposes, extension of village sites and control of rural housing, regulation of hours of work and conditions of employment in agriculture, making arrangements for the co-operative purchase of raw materials and consumption goods, and the co-operative sale of the articles of village handicrafts, and the regulation of village trade, industry and commerce by organising credit and non-credit co-operative societies under the supervision of the experts.

Thirdly, they should have the right of making representation and complaints to the Government and the District Boards regarding the inadequacy or mismanagement of any of the services which it is the duty of these authorities to provide for the villages. Thus they should have the power to enquire and report about the misconduct of certain officials, *e.g.*, Amin, Vaccinator, Constable, Patwari, Patrol, Peon, Process Server, to contract for collection of taxes and other dues on behalf of the Government and proprietors on payments and to acquire land through the collector.

Lastly, the proper judicial duty of the Panchayats should be conciliation and arbitration rather than adjudication. Conciliation is resorted to by disputants for resettlement of disputes informally, even in the absence of legal revision but if the law recognises it as a regular part of judicial administration, its utility and effectiveness will be greatly increased. To this end in view the law should provide that civil suits shall not be filed in a court, until the plaintiff has tried conciliation with the help of the Panchayat of appropriate jurisdiction. A certificate of failure of conciliation from the Panchayat should be necessary to enable the plantiff to go to a court. When a dispute comes before the Panchayat for conciliation it should summon the parties before it, hear the statements, note the points of disagreements and try to effect a reasonable compromise by arousing their friendly feeling and pointing out the troubles, delay and cost of litigation. No lawyers should be allowed to appear and nothing said before the Panchayat should be admissible as evidence before the courts should the case ultimately go there.

If an agreement between the parties is reached it should be formally recorded and signed and should have the same validity as a formal judgment of a court of law. In cases arising out of contracts the Panchayats may also act as arbitrators. The law can help by providing that debt and other contracts up to a certain value shall compulsorily contain an arbitration clause binding the parties to the acceptance of the Panchayat's award, should a dispute concerning it arise.

Conciliation and arbitration have been the traditional role of the Panchayats. If properly organised they can dispose of a very large number of cases out of the courts. It is said that in Denmark and Norway about 75 to 90 per cent of the suits are settled in this way. The Panchayats should have no jurisdiction in criminal cases.

Supervision of the Panchayats

The duty of inspection of the work of the Panchayats should belong to the District Boards and they should create for the purpose a force of Panchayat Supervisors or Inspectors each of them having under him 40 to 50 Panchayats or fewer. Their qualification and pay should correspond to those of the organisers of rural development work. The District Boards should be allowed to dissolve the Panchayats where necessary. Their initial establishment and supervision should not be the duty of the District Boards. This work should be entrusted to a Panchayat officer maintained in each district by the Provincial Governments who would work in close collaboration with, but independently of the District Boards. He will also act as a kind of Super-Inspector of the Provincial Government supervising the work of the District Boards' Panchayat supervisors and inspectors in relation to these bodies. He will as well report to the Government cases of failure of the District Boards to foster and promote the Panchayat organisation.

Smooth and cordial relations among the Gaon Sabhas will also be necessary. The spread of proper type of education and appointment of honest selfless workers as Panchayat officers for organising and supervising the working of the Panchayats in early stages of their growth appear to be essential factors for efficient working of the Panchayats. These duties can be entrusted to the development staff appointed for the development work in rural areas, instead of Panchayat officers, although the existing system of their appointment should be considerably changed.

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The rural development officer, on the one hand, should create interest in the village activities for self-help and self-improvement and, on the other, it should represent the village to the Government in the spirit of a spokesman of the former. The Village Panchayat area should be a seat of all public services or a unit thereof. For instance, it must have a veterinary sub-dispensary, a civil sub-dispensary, and it must be the headquarters of the agricultural supervisor, the Sub-Inspector of Weights and Measures, the Head Constable of Police, and the Chief Village Patel for all villages in the group, the beat-guard of the Forest Department; it must have also a small branch of post office, and a secondary school for boys and girls.

During the last 200 years, the spirit for co-operative action and corporate life has been greatly destroyed. Individualism and materialism have replaced community life and moral obligations. The present-day experience of the way democracy is functioning and of party factions even at the top cannot but make one a little pessimistic about the practical working of the existing Panchayat Acts in the provinces. It is certainly a great responsibility on the people's government to see that the provisions of the Act are not misused for the sake of party aggrandisement and for destroying the last traces of the community life. The dangers are not imaginary but real. Finally, let us not lose faith in the innate goodness of human nature and let us share the optimism with Dr. K. N. Katju that

> "What is definitely a poisonous fungus of recent growth of human origin can also be destroyed by human endeavour."

Model Gaon Sabhas for U.P.

The U.P.'s lead to the rest of India in promoting Panchayats all over the State is well-known. Finding that the response of the villages to the scheme has been very encouraging, the Government has now embarked on the second stage in the scheme, *viz.*, establishment of an ideal Gaon Sabha in every tehsil to serve as a model to the other Gaon Sabhas in the district and the State.

These ideal Gaon Sabhas will work to bring about conditions in the rural life as can promote the mental, spiritual, moral, physical, economic and social uplift of the people.

In order to implement the ideal Gaon Sabha scheme, a committee will be set up in each district, consisting of the president of the district board (chairman); district panchayat officers (secretary); president, district development board; president, district congress committee; district inspector of schools; officer-in-charge, P.R.D. in the district; district medical officer of health; district agriculture officer; district co-operative officer; district engineer; district information officer and two others to be co-opted by the committee.

The committee will select a suitable site in every tehsil for the location of the ideal Gaon Sabha. Though the initiative for building up an ideal centre will rest with the committee, actual work will have to be done by Gaon Sabhas and the members of the panchayats. These ideal centres will be given a 16-point constructive programme and the committees will be expected to secure co-ordination and co-operation of the Village Sabhas in its execution.

The aims and objects of this programme may be summed up as follows:

(*i*) To arrange for land for the panchayat house, office of the panchaytai adalat, a hall for meetings, and accommodation, for a library and reading room;

(*ii*) To display in the panchayat house the exhibits of village crafts;

(*iii*) To arrange entertainments with moral and educative background;

(*iv*) To open a dispensary or arrange for a medicine chest;

(*v*) To arrange for the education of adults and children;

(*vi*) To conduct games and exercises;

(*vii*) To hold practical demonstrations to educate the people in regard to sanitation;

(*viii*) To demonstrate how nightsoil could be disposed of and how it could be turned into manure;

(*ix*) To arrange for the construction of roads, drainage, etc.,

(*x*) To arrange for lighting in villages;

(*xi*) To plant shady trees on the road-sides;

(*xii*) To educate people in respect of animal husbandry problems and proper maintenance of the livestock;

(*xiii*) To install cane-crushing and fodder-cutting machines for the village public;

(*xiv*) To introduce compost-making schemes;

(*xv*) To make provision for the improvement of the breed of milch cattle; and

(*xvi*) To organise boy scouts, women uplift societies, etc.

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LONDON LETTER

By Major D. GRAHAM POLE

Midsummer Day has come and gone and what seems to many to be the longest year in our history pursues its dismal course. History is full of ironies but it cannot often have happened that in a given year, in a matter of days, its greatest achievement and its greatest failure should be embodied in the person of one man. But such is the present case. 1951 will be remembered in our history books as the year of the Festival of Britain. The Festival it will be recorded owed its inspiration and its success to the organizing genius of Mr. Herbert Morrison. But the year will also be remembered for the crisis which arose in the Anglo-Iranian oil-field. And that crisis it will also be recorded was mishandled from the beginning by the same Mr. Herbert Morrison, now turned Foreign Secretary. Foreign affairs have been the grave of many a reputation. Sir John Simon was too legal and Neville Chamberlain too vain. And Mr. Herbert Morrison? The verdict is: suicide. Hanged himself in his own garters, the garters being the narrow circle of his atrophied views on 'imperialism.'

There have been many important debates on foreign affairs in the House of Commons. There has too for a long time been the assumption that such matters are the concern of the whole nation, to be approached objectively and not from the party angle. On these occasions the House feels entitled to be taken to a certain extent into the Minister's confidence, to be given a survey of the situation and rather more than a hint of the course which the Government proposes to follow. Nothing like this occurred last Thursday when the Foreign Secretary wound up the debate on the Persian crisis. The only hint that the speech gave, it is fair to say, was to the Persians. Plainly they could go ahead without any fear of a check from Whitehall. Mr. Morrison indeed never came down to realities. Instead he spread himself in gibes at the Opposition and the 'imperialism in which they had been brought up' or stooped to a cheap joke about the action of the Persian Government in closing the Oil Company's information bureau. But the most astonishing levity of all was an entirely gratuitous comment about wanting to 'colonize Persia.' This of course brought Mr. Anthony Eden to his feet (with a graceful reference to Persia's long history). But what a gift to Persian extremists was all this irrelevance. For their propaganda hand-outs to the Press, to the world, they have only to garble Mr. Morrison just a very little.

Our modern anti-imperialists are very like Pontius Pilate. All they think they need do is to wash their hands of the past. But who is going to benefit if the Anglo-Iranian Company pulls out? For if ever an 'imperialism' has done more good than harm, it has done it in Persia. An article by Mr. Hilary St. George Saunders has just appeared in the *News Chronicle*. He was formerly Librarian of the House of Commons and is the author of many best-selling War Reports. And since the War he has travelled Persia from end to end, except north of Teheran where he was barred by Russian influence. A competent and sympathetic observer—and the tale he tells is extraordinary.

He traces the history of Abadan from the year 1909 when the Anglo-Persian Oil Company first appeared on the island. It was then utterly barren but the land was needed for a refinery to deal with the oil which had been discovered in the hills away to the north. Today Abadan is

> "a town of 170,000 inhabitants, of whom about 165,000 are Persians . . . the most modern town in the Middle East, with drainage, electric light, well-built brick houses, lovely gardens, hospitals, schools, cinemas, everything in fact of which civilisation today is proud."

It is connected by pipe-lines with the seven main oilfields, and around the headquarters of these oilfields other towns are also rising.

> And "in all these places unemployment, poverty and disease, as it is known in the East, do not exist. In a generation the company has virtually stamped out malaria, small-pox and typhus by an intensive programme of preventive medicine which is unique . . ."

That is what life is like in the Anglo-Iranian concession. Its area, incidentally, is larger than that of the United Kingdom and Northern Ireland put together. So that when the present feverish times are past—and the British finally gone—the Persians will have plenty of object lessons around them from which to come to a just conclusion as to the nature of British 'exploitation.' Conditions in Persia proper are very different. Listen again to Mr. St. George Saunders :

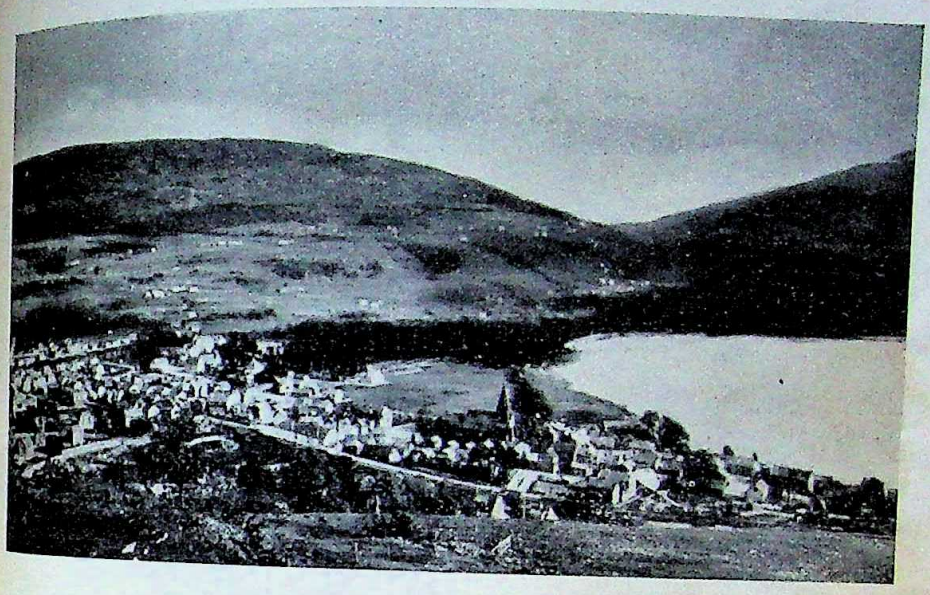
> "Outside the confines of the concession, no public health or other social services exist and the sewers run down the open streets in Teheran and Isfahan and in all other towns I visited and there are no signs of any change. You hardly see a child who is not afflicted with some loathsome eye disease, the peasants are in rags, not one in ten can read or write."

Indeed, in Abadan, the Persians can see the two systems existing side by side. Large parts of it are not under the company's control but in the hands of the local council. And, says Mr. St. George Saunders:

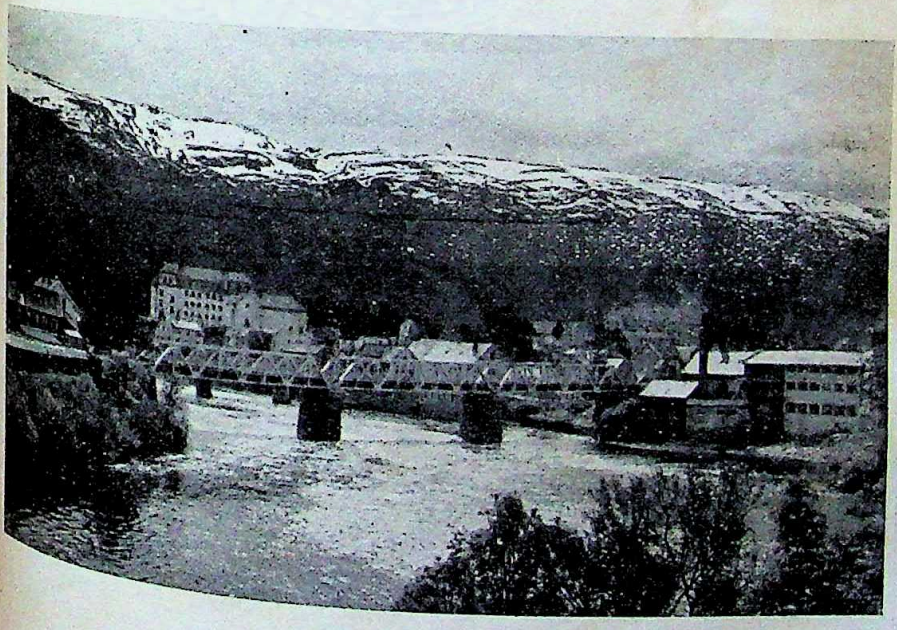
> "They contain the second worst slums I have ever seen or smelt. The first are to be found in Teheran."

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Voss Station



Voss District

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In Teheran also are to be found the Persian upper classes. They are described as charming, highly civilised, some would say decadent. They count their wealth by the number of villages they own and it is they who are in control in Persia and who receive the royalties paid by the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company. To a large extent they control the elections to the Majlis. They have plenty of power but will not exert themselves. A 'modest' programme of social services was adopted a few years ago, but they have not implemented it. (It will be remembered that the Persian Prime Minister, in the role of the devil citing scripture for his purposes, the other day conducted foreign newspaper men round the slums of Teheran!)

And it is to these people that we are delivering over our concession and with it the defenceless Persian labourers. How long can such a state of affairs persist? Communism has already found a footing in the Persian towns, in some of which children aged four and five are employed in making carpets at the rate of 4d a day. Communists make it their business to fish in troubled waters . . .

From every point of view it is a mismanaged, mangled business, and no one can feel happy about it. Why could not the Persian Government have agreed to arbitration—and why could not our Government even have drawn up a statement setting out their view of the rights and wrongs of the crisis? In England, the man in the street feels nothing but scorn for our drifting doctrinaires. All his sympathies and respect are with the men on the spot, with the Manager Mr. Drake and the undaunted army of tankers.

Dislocation, unemployment, uncertainty. These are the heritage on which the Persian labourer is entering. The Persians have no tankers. How are they going to manage? And, as the London *Star* points out, the pipelines across Iraq and Transjordan are still the property of the Company. The Company, incidentally, could hardly have conceded more to Persia than it did already and still remain in business. The *Star* gives the split-up of the Anglo-Iranian revenue last year. To the British Government in taxes £26,000,000; to the Persians in royalties £23,000,000. Only £3,900,000 went to the shareholders of which the British Government, the principal shareholder, took half. Well, these figures do not bear contemplating. That a Government should do so well out of a Company and then abandon its servants . . . There are many Scots employed in that company. Thinking of the treatment that has been meted out to them by the Foreign Secretary many of them must be recalling that line from Marmion: 'His cowardice has undone us all.'

The Persians are embarking on an experiment in nationalisation. We in this country have now had several years of it and it hampers our life at every turn. The doctors are being killed off by the strains and stresses of the National Health Service. The local authorities want their hospitals back. The railways want to recover their old identities. The public get bad coal at a higher cost. They pay more for their electricity and gas. More for travel and more for freights. Of one thing we all are certain: nationalisation means redundancy. In this connection it is worth quoting from a letter which Lady Violet Bonham Carter, daughter of the late Lord Asquith, published in the press this week. She referred to three expressions of opinion—none elicited by a tendentious question on her part—and all from workers in a nationalised industry. One was from a miner who told her: "We used to grumble because there were three cars outside—one belonging to the Boss and the others to his two sons. Now we have something like twenty bigger cars and twenty Bosses in them. And not one of them *is* the Boss." Two were from railwaymen. Said the first: "Too many Bosses. We've got twelve in this station where we used to have two—all with new offices furnished and done up 'regardless.' And not one of them knows his business." He was on a northern line. On a midland line it was the same story:

> "We used to use our own judgment in this station—but now we can't settle anything on the spot. Even if we want to put on a few extra coaches we have to telephone . . . There's long delays and then the wrong answer comes back. The railways executive say they can't afford to meet our needs—but look at the waste on what we *don't* need. They've just put a gas-oven costing £40 into our waiting-room. What do they think we want to do on it? Cook turkeys? Why, we only want a gas-ring for a cup of tea."

Too many men. Too much equipment. *Everywhere* one hears that tale.

From time to time the *News Chronicle* publishes a Gallup Poll on the state of political parties in this country. Such a poll was published this week. The question posed to a cross-section of the public was: 'If there were a General Election tomorrow, how would you vote?' After excluding 12 per cent who were undecided, the Conservatives led with 48, Labour came next with 41, the Liberals had 10, and other parties 1. Thus the Conservatives have a lead of 7 points—although last February they were leading by 14. Those who conduct this poll believe that the crucial question is, to what extent are potential Labour voters influenced by the breakaway of Mr. Aneurin Bevan. Accordingly, they analysed the Labour vote still further, and asked:

> "Are you more inclined, or less inclined, to support Aneurin Bevan and his views since he left the Government?"

And 30 were more inclined, 35 less inclined, while 35 didn't know. The most interesting thing about this analysis is that the odds should be so even! How can

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anyone say 'I don't know' in reply to a question about so catastrophic a personality as Mr. Bevan? It suggests, what I think is pretty obvious since the war, that voting Labour is becoming a habit—just as voting Conservative used to be.

Until the flare-up in Persia put every other topic out of our heads, most people were concerned with the question of the two diplomats who have disappeared. The Foreign Secretary assures us that they can have taken no important information with them. And the general opinion seems to be that they were not very valuable members of society in any event. So, setting aside the extraordinary fact that one of them should ever have been put at the head of the American section of the Foreign Office, the only point of interest that remains is—their motive. If they are gone to Russia, as it seems they must be, why should they choose to go?

Caesar could never understand why men should fear death—and I shall never understand why men should embrace Communism! Anyway as it is practised in the modern world. No free speech. No free press. People torn from their homes by the secret police. Wives not allowed to join their husbands. No one allowed out of the country. Where, in the name of all the gods at once, is the attraction? These defections to Russia are a strange phenomenon. Something has knocked these people off their balance and somehow we must discover what it is. A friend of mine had a curious experience this week. Coming up from Cheltenham in a first-class carriage she fell into conversation with her travelling companion, a man in the thirties who was reading a book by G. K. Chesterton (Chesterton the saint, Chesterton the *individualist*!) Asking him his views on the disappearing diplomats, she was startled to receive the reply that he expected there would be many more such defections. 'We intellectuals,' he said, 'have a lot of sympathy with Communism.' My friend, as it happened, once attended a meeting at which a Polish politician who had been kidnapped by the Russians gave an account of the psychological torture to which he had been subjected while their prisoner. She spoke of this to the 'intellectual.' 'Oh,' he replied, 'we are not in sympathy with *that*. We are more interested in the kind of Communism that is practised in *Burma*.' I leave it to Indians to reflect upon that.

But *are* these intellectuals really drawn to Communism? Are they not, rather, a little mad? Sometimes it seems to me that just as modern art has cut itself off from tradition, has become a head without a body—so it is with these so-called Communists. Kicking away the past is the need that they feel: not the need of Communism for its own sake. And, certainly, there can be no surer way of cutting loose from the past than by getting oneself shut up behind the Iron Curtain. It is to them the great and obvious Escape.

But how will they feel if war comes? It is recorded that James II of England greatly annoyed Louis XIV by his loud admiration of the prowess of the English sailors in a sea-battle in which he and the French were engaging the English in an endeavour to restore James to the English throne. Instead of cheering on his French allies, he kept exclaiming: 'O the brave English!' Will not our muddle-headed escapists have an even more remorseful awakening?

Talk of war, alas, is in the air. The Festival may be brightening up the banks of the Thames but not many people can match its mood of gaiety. An old lift-man remarked to me this morning: 'There don't seem to be the happiness about that there used to be. There certainly don't. Everyone fears that war is coming. In a very real sense, too, there is a feeling that the last war was left unfinished—that there can be no peace, no stability, so long as Russian armies hold down the peoples of Eastern Europe.

How far off is war? If a writer in this week's *Spectator* is correct in his assumptions, then war will come next year. First of all he thinks that war cannot now be averted, not even by Stalin. The reason why this is so, he finds in Russian propaganda.

> No Power, he says, has ever maintained "year in, year out, a campaign of such bellicose and hate-breeding defamation against its opponents . . . Propaganda of so much virulence as that now daily injected into the minds of the Soviet populations is calculated to produce a mental current towards war too strong for even its authors to resist."

That war will come in 1952 he thinks is probable on strategic grounds. In the armaments race which is now being waged, Russia is superior in land forces and in the air: America has a great superiority in atomic weapons. But both superiorites, he points out, are in process of being diminished—'the Russian land and air superiority by the working of the Atlantic Pact and the American atomic superiority by the Russians' quick use of the secrets sold to them by the traitor-scientists—Fuchs, Nunn, Pontecorvo and the rest.' And so he concludes:

> "The Russians could not wait too long lest their land and air superiority disappears; but equally they could not afford to start too early lest they find themselves without sufficient atomic weapons . . . Balancing these opposites, I have long thought that 1952 might be Russia's latest date."

All I have to say about this is that by far the worst part of it lies in what he says about Russian propaganda. What a terrible wrong to have inflicted upon a whole people—to warp and corrode their minds until nothing can turn them from their mission of destruction.

Is there no way of piercing such madness?

Westminster, London, 28th June, 1951.

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WHEN CONSTITUTIONS BECOME FLEXIBLE AND CURVACEOUS

Pandit Nehru at his most "Dynamic"

By C. L. R. SASTRI

"'But what good came of it at last?'
Quoth little Peterkin.
'Why, that I cannot tell,' said he,
'But 't was a famous victory'."—*Southey*

THE proverb tells us that out of the abundance of the mouth the heart speaketh. What it does not tell us, however, is that when the heart is full words fail to issue from the mouth—or, for that matter, from the pen. My heart is full just now and, needless to say, my pen is fumbling for words. It all, to cut a long story short, comes back to the age-old question of patriotism. The whole point is that some are born patriotic, while, as unquestionably, some are not: the love of our Motherland is instilled in us at the time of our birth. If, for any reason, it was not so instilled, not all the King's horses nor all the King's men are likely to get it instilled thereafter. It means only that by merely taking thought, so to speak, we may not expect to burgeon into full-blooded patriots. One cannot, that is, inject patriotism into another through, if I may say so, a hypodermic syringe: one has heard of many things but, surely, not of dragooning people into an adoration of the land of their forefathers. If one has to be dragooned into such a state one writes oneself down, not as a man, but as a moron.

Congressmen Spearhead the Anti-Patriotic Hordes

Speaking for myself, I have, let me proclaim it from the housetops, loved my country ever since, in the poet's words, I was

"A six years' darling of a pigmy size."

But the longer I live the more convinced I am becoming that there are enough barbaric hordes in every clime, *and not least in our own*, to whom the love of one's country or, to put it mildly, as unfamiliar as "this goodly frame, the earth, ... this brave o'erhanging firmament, this majestical roof fretted with golden fire" must be to the congenitally blind or the heavenly harmonies of Mozart and Beethoven to the chronically deaf.

Talking of barbaric hordes I have no hesitation in including our worthy Congressmen (the partition-wallahs, indeed and unashamed) among them. *Now*, of course, this testament of faith on my part is in no immediate danger of bringing down the all-consuming wrath of the "many-headed" upon me. It is a mere commonplace—the sky is blue. For instance, asserting that the grass is green or that not bolstered up this proposition. But my supreme merit lies in the fact that I had the prescience to vote for it wholeheartedly even in the palmy days of the Congress when, as the public will recall, it was nothing less than treasonable to question either its wisdom or its nationalism. I had a sort of hunch even in that "dark backward and abysm of time" that that *soi disant* premier political organization of ours would, if left to its own devices, speedily encompass the ruin and desolation of our beloved Motherland. Those who can legitimately boast of having minds of their own, and cannot be accused, by friend or foe, of being "dead from the neck up," as the saying is, will agree with me that from 1920 onwards the Congress has led the country from one irretrievable disaster to another, culminating in the cataclysmic partition of August, 1947. But stay! Did I say "culminating" in the partition of August, 1947? A slip of the pen, gentle reader, a slip of the pen!

Partition not the End of the Story!

But now we know, having lived through four years of so-called "independence," that partition, dastardly as it undoubtedly was, was by no means the end of the story and that, as our ill-luck would have it, in the lowest deep we were destined to discover many a lower one still. It looks, indeed, as though partition had been only the beginning and not the end of the story. Partition, we have found to our utter dismay, was but *one* of the numerous offspring of that frightfully prolific parent, appeasement. "The roses and raptures" of appeasement apparently grow on one; and it is permissible to argue that we have yet to see the last of the wonder progeny of that prolific parent aforementioned. Partition, it is becoming increasingly clear, instead of, as had been fondly imagined by the mass of our countrymen and countrywomen, bringing up the rear of that sinister procession, really formed part of its more prominent vanguard.

"Secularism"

"Secularism" is the *second* offspring of appeasement; and in its sacred name those modern orphans of the storm, *the poor Hindus*, are steadily losing what I may call their "residuary" rights. The post-1920 Congressmen (or, at any rate, the vast majority of them) have, as a direct result of clamping that "putrefying albatross," appeasement, around their necks, had, perforce, to forget what patriotism is and thereby to cease to have any kind of sympathy or fellow-feeling for their Hindu brethren, fearing that it might be a glaring blot on the otherwise spotless escutcheon of their much-vaunted "secularism." This malaise has spread so far, indeed, that the very word, "Hindu," as musical as is Apollo's lute, has well-nigh been expunged, erased, unceremoniously wiped out, from their lexicons, yielding place (*horresco referens!*) to what they doubtless regard as the overpoweringly more enchanting syllables, "non-Muslim." Even after that major surgical operation on our body politic—namely, partition—the Congress's marked emphasis has been on "Muslim" and not on "Hindu", and to this vicious slant of the Congress's

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mind must be attributed the continuing grotesqueries of the Congress Government. The latest of these grotesqueries, I need hardly remind my readers, is the Constitution (Amendment) Bill so belligerently sponsored by our distinguished Prime Minister a few weeks ago on the floor of our august Parliament, as a consequence of which our Constitution has become dynamic and flexible and curvaceous.

The Britishers' Stock Argument

It used to be the stock argument of the British whenever we demanded complete emancipation from their crippling suzerainty that, for their part, they would rejoice to transfer power into our hands at the earliest possible moment but that the trouble was that the people were not ripe for self-rule and that, anyway, no eastern country, least of all Ihdia, knew the rudiments of democracy. The implication, no doubt, was that they were loath to leave us to the tender mercies of sheer anarchy. It was, of course, never any use telling them that good government was no substitute for self-government and that how we ruled ourselves after their departure should, strictly speaking, be none of their business. The British (God bless them !) looked upon themselves as the heaven-sent trustees of the "masses"—the mute inglorious Miltons and the Cromwells guiltless of their country's blood—as well as of the "minorities" (meaning, the Muslims, their foster-children); and that sacred trust, we were given to understand, compelled them to stay on here, though, if they consulted their own interests, nothing would please them more than to shake the dust of our "vast subcontinent" from off their feet. Democracy, forsooth is a plant of slow growth in our clime, and the British were there to water it and to nurture it until it developed into a veritable Upas tree—beneath whose umbrageous branches we could shelter ourselves from the raging storms of oppression outside or from "the madding crowd's ignoble strife." If the British were lording it over us it was, obviously, only for our own ultimate good, to familiarise us to the democratic ways of living from which, for ages past, we had, it would seem, been shut out by a malignant fate. The insinuation was that, by immemorial tradition, we could appreciate only the crack of the whip and the whack of the bludgeon, not any softer mode of approach by our rulers, whoever they might, for the time being, be.

Congress Steps into their Shoes

Our political parties, and the Congress in particular, never accepted this preposterous thesis of the wily British. We all protested to high heaven that we were as democratic (as a nation) as any other, and that we could prove it, up to the hilt, the moment the British left our shores. Even if we were not, we contended (plausibly enough), that was no valid argument for their staying on indefinitely in our midst. Much less could that be a valid argument when, as a matter of bare, historical fact, democracy has never been unknown to us or we to it. Eventually the British left our shores—*though not for the reasons that Congressmen love to adduce.* Congressmen affect to believe that the British withdrawal had been necessitated by the overpowering moral pressure that they brought to bear upon them. According to these oracles the British withdrawal was not entirely voluntary, nor did they "bestow" freedom on us: the British went because the Congress (of course, non-violently) drove them away; and the freedom that we now enjoy, or are supposed to enjoy, was "wrested" by that organization from their unwilling hands. In the last resort, perhaps, we all believe what we wish to believe; and I must content myself with simply marvelling at Congressmen's child-like credulity.

Dictatorship

But two facts are indisputable: the British went, and the Government that the Congress has established in the country since that historic date of August 15, 1947 was not conspicuously democratic at its start and has become less and less democratic with the passage of time. At the moment of going to press it bids fair to be nearly as anti-democratic as Hitler's Germany or Mussolini's Italy in the long run. The Government we now have can be called a democracy only with extreme violence to truth: it is a dictatorship rahter and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru is that dictator. He had once been the idol of the nation. For aught I know he may still be that—for some sections of our people. But his consuming passion (as we are entitled to deduce from the evidence at our disposal) is, obviously, to become a dictator—in reality, if not in name. That is how he has elected, after mature deliberation, to repay his countrymen and countrywomen for their boundless idolatry. We may, if we are so disposed, derive a modicum of consolation from the conjecture that, probably, we get the idols we deserve; probably, also the dictators we deserve. When we elevate mere humans to such giddy altitudes it usually does not take us long to be thoroughly disillusioned. Our essentially weak systems cannot be expected to stand the stresses and strains of that rarefied atmosphere, and in the end we are shown up to be what we are in actual fact as distinguished from the extravagantly fertile imaginaton of those who love us, not wisely, but too well. This has now happened to our beloved Panditji: let us hope that his perfervid admirers will, even at this admittedly late hour, take that bitter lesson to heart and, having taken it, determine to be more circumspect in their adulations hereafter.

At least for the sake of disproving the British thesis referred to above by me the Congress leaders, I am convinced, should have made a firm resolve when they "took over" from our former rulers that they would govern the country in an unmistakably democratic way and bearing in mind the greatest good of the greatest number. The British, as I have remarked, propagated the revolting view that we could not recognise democracy if it was presented to us on a platter. If ultimately they abandoned their stranglehold on us it was not because they suddenly became converts to the opposite

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while, according to their calculations, the going was good: and, even then, let us remember, not without administering a parting kick in the form of the dastardly partition of our hallowed land, a kick that, as one might say, will ring down the corridors of time as the most shameful act of their hundred and fifty years' rule over us. It was Napoleon's dictum that we should not oblige our enemies by doing as they wish us to do. A kind of self-rule that is not pre-eminently democratic defeats its own purpose; and that purpose is defeated all the more when those enemies can say, unctuously: "We told you so!" Before coming to the Constitution (Amendment) Bill let me take this opportunity of cleansing my bosom of the perilous stuff that has been weighing upon it for so long and charge the Congress Government, in the light of what has transpired since 1947, of never having even toyed with the notion of administering the country in the accepted traditions of democracy. Perhaps we had expected too much of an organization that, ever since 1920, has been used to dictatorial methods and has not been on nodding terms with democratic usage. Strict obedience to the merest whim of an exalted personage has been the rule, not the exception, with the result that an abjectly slavish mentality was assiduously cultivated that could, with difficulty, "break its birth's invidious bar" overnight. A Congress Government could, in the circumstances, mean only that democracy would get short shrift at its hands; but, as I have suggested earlier, it might have done otherwise if only to disprove the British thesis that western concepts of egalitarianism could hardly be transplanted to our soil.

Worse to Come

But worse was to come. The Congress has itself been telling it in Gath and bruiting it about in the streets of Askalon that we, as a nation, are not fit for democracy. It would even seem that it would take ages and aeons for us to fit ourselves for it. In a sense, of course, they may be said to be right. The Congress would have been driven out of office long ago if the country had been democratically-minded. The Congress, however, is still in office and, what is more, strengthening its position by every means in its power, fair or foul. But I can offer another explanation for our present malaise. At the top of the Congress heirarchy is one whom the masses love dearly. If the Congress falls he, inevitably, falls with the Congress; and, much as the masses may like the Congress to fall, they have no wish that their loved one—with all his failings—should fall with it. With the advent of the Mahatma into Indian politics the "exalted personage" cult, as I may call it, has taken deep root in our minds and we love the reigning exalted personage so much that we are willing to turn a blind eye to his, as well as to his party's, manifold shortcomings. We could have "cocked a snook" at the Congress if it had not been for this crippling disability. It has severely cramped our style. In this "exalted personage" cult has lain the root of our trouble. The question of our being fit, or not being fit, for democracy hardly arises in this context; and ("sorrow's crown of sorrow!") for the Congress itself to advertise far and wide that democracy is allergic to us or that we are allergic to democracy is merely to "make the gruel thick and slab." It is merely to twist the knife in the wound. It is not to put too fine a point upon it, the unkindest cut of all. The Congress might have stopped short of *that* indignity at least. But the Congress is power-drunk; and is in no mood to listen to reason.

On this Foundation they Build

In the foregoing paragraphs I have been at considerable pains to sketch the background of the Congress's unimaginably despotic rule over our unfortunate countrymen. The poor Hindus who, on any reckoning, are the only real citizens of the present "India" have been steadily ground down between the upper and the nether millstones of appeasement and "secularism;" and what has not been so ground down is being equally steadily polished off by the draconian legislation that our new "Ma Baps" see fit to enact whenever they find themselves in a tight corner. To this legislation there does not seem to be any end. The British, during their hegemony, were wont to perpetrate some preposterous laws; and, in the midst of the last war, did not scruple to perpetrate some even more preposterous than the general run of them. The British, because they were an alien race, had, to be fair to them, a sort of excuse; and war conditions, we may concede, are an excuse in themselves. But it has fallen to *our own* Government—*and in peace time*—to out-Herod Herod, so to speak. The British can congratulate themselves on having had such apt pupils, pupils that have improved upon their preceptor. They may, not unjustifiably, apply to themselves the well-known lines of Walt Whitman :

> "I am the teacher of athletes,
> He that by me spreads a wider breast than my own proves the width of my own.
> He most honours my style who learns under it to destroy the teacher."

What Price Freedom?

Our country—at long last—gets freedom from foreign domination. But with what result? With this humiliating result, gentle reader, that the common people—you and I, in fact (the legatees of that freedom)—may be deprived even of that much of freedom, *under indigenous rule*, that we had been privileged to enjoy under an alien dispensation. We are being made helots by our own rulers. Can anything beat that in the way of anti-climax? Perhaps there is a kind of poetic justice in it. We had placed too much reliance on the innate good sense and patriotism of the Congress leaders. We even prided ourselves on possessing men of such sterling character, men who could, under all weathers, be trusted to despise low joys, low gains, "disdain whatever Cornbury disdains," as the eighteenth century poet has put it. It almost looks, indeed, as though when these gentry came to power they swore within themselves that the people should jolly well pay for it.

Let me state it starkly. Four years' of Congress overlordship has left a bitter taste of "freedom" in our mouths.

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It was—we shall do well to remember—not merely freedom from British domination that we had so incessantly clamoured for: we had clamoured for something much more than that—for freedom *a outrance*, for freedom simply as such. *We had no wish at all to appeal from Philip sober to Philip drunk.* But what has happened is precisely that: the British rarely trod on our corns more cavalierly than our own "popular" (save the mark!) Government has been doing ever since that fateful day when (the gods sleeping) it stumbled into office. I am so full of this grievance that were I to begin quoting chapter and verse in support of it I might almost become incoherent. This article would be in danger of being inordinately longer than it is if I decided to cite instance after instance of Congress's gross misrule—if I decided to pile Pelion on Ossa, as it were. Some such piling may have to be done anyway before I go much further: I cannot, obviously, content myself with simply stating that (thanks to our beloved Pandit) our constitution has at last become dynamic and flexible and curvaceous—*curvaceous, especially.*

Still They Come!

The Congress, having come into power, has all along been straining every nerve to consolidate it and to perpetuate it until "this insubstantial pageant" fades, leaving "not a wrack behind." There is nothing inherently wrong in consolidating one's power—by all *lawful* means: it is when one stoops to unlawful methods that our gorge rises. The snag, of course, is that what, indubitably, would be regarded as unlawful in an individual is only too often considered as perfectly lawful and above-board by "the powers that be." A Government, it would appear, may do *any* unlawful thing it pleases if so be it is politic enough to clothe that misdemeanour in the garb of a *new* law, a *fresh* enactment. A Government, as we are all aware, can legislate: the corollory has, somehow, been taken to follow that it can legislate itself out of harm's way. A Government is subject to law like any other institution; and if it imagines that it is at liberty to embark on any iniquitous course it chooses, merely because of that unique advantage it possesses over other bodies of initiating acts and ordinances (as and when it pleases), then we must gently tell its members that those acts and ordinances come under the category of "lawless laws": a category with which the Congress cannot pretend to be wholly unfamiliar inasmuch as it was the Congress itself that had invented that term with respect to the Rowlatt Act and the innumerable war ordinances of the British. These "lawless laws" are not "laws," properly so called: they are the very negation of laws, they bring the ordinary laws into contempt; and if even then the Government escapes scot-free it is only because of its *zabberdusti*, of its *force majeure*, which are not other names for legality but the very opposite. When such conditions prevail the Government is no longer girt round by a secure shield of unimpugned law: if there is any party in the country powerful enough to eject it the moment it evinces symptoms of going on the rampage, as it were, these lawless laws cannot save its skin and it falls like ninepins. That is all the sanctity that attaches to these mushroom growths.

Had there been a Capable Opposition . . .

If the Congress Government has not so far fallen in spite of a lengthy list of obnoxious laws that it has contrived to pass by dint of its "brute majority," by reason of its familiar steam-roller tactics, it must thank its stars that no opposition capable enough to oust it has as yet arisen: it cannot go about pretending that those laws are immaculate. The various Public Safety Acts, the Preventive Detention Acts, *and now* the Constitution (Amendment) Act form the corpus of the obnoxious laws aforementioned. *Once laws of this nature are enacted it is well-nigh difficult to foresee an end to them*: Governmental appetite grows by what it feeds on, and before one knows where one is another of those mushroom growths stares one in the eye. A vicious circle is formed thereby: there is no opposition worth speaking of to prevent the enactment of those laws, and the laws themselves prevent the formation of such an opposition by their "steel-frame" nature. If such attributes of civilised society as free speech and free assembly are strictly forbidden by a Governmental ukase there is, practically, no scope for an opposition crystallising around the nucleus of vague discontent. Our Congress leaders, smelling disaffection in their vicinity, have, obviously, made up their minds to stifle it at its very birth lest it grow into a lusty child and gradually become, so to speak, a thorn in its flesh. It is panic that is at the root of all this obnoxious legislation: in its heart of hearts the Congress knows that it has had its day and that it has ceased to be. But it is not democratic—has never been so since 1920, as I have had occasion to remark already—and it has no intention of letting go its present advantage. "The Congress must rule for ever!"—that, evidently, is its motto. It has forgotten that nothing in this world is permanent, is imperishable: least of all, the power-drunk and the vainglorious:

> "The boast of heraldry, the pomp of power,
> And all that beauty, all that wealth e'er gave,
> Awaits alike th' inevitable hour:
> The paths of glory lead but to the grave."

Even the mighty British Empire has gone the way of "the many Ninevehs and Hecatempoli!"

Equating of Party with State

There is a deeper reason for these emergency enactments: the Congress believes, or affects to believe, that it is not just *one* of the parties in the country: it believes, or affects to believe, that it is *the* country. I am prepared to concede that it is the largest and the best-organised of our political parties: that, however, is tantamount to saying that it is *the* country. The country is vaster far than a single party, be that party's pretensions what they may. The Congress is in the saddle not because it is the country, but because, as every

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where else, it is the party that commands the greatest following in the country. To be against it is, therefore, not to be against the country as a whole. *Disaffection for the Congress Government is not, on this reasoning, disloyalty towards the country.* That being so no punitive measures need be contemplated in regard to those who cannot see eye to eye with the men in authority.

I am aware that our distinguished Prime Minister is apt to go a step further than even his party and to equate himself with the State. In the recent debate on the Constitution (Amendment) Bill he had some nasty things to say about those who are disloyal to *him*—an attitude unpleasantly reminiscent of *L'etat, c'est moi.* He has been feeling like that for some time past and I, for one, was not at all astonished at his ill-mannered outburst. *It was because he felt he was the State that he accepted the infamous June 3 Plan of Lord Mountbatten "on his sole responsibility,"* as he afterwards confessed (cheerfully) before an emergency meeting of the A.-I.C.C. in New Delhi—convened for the express purpose of "ratifying" his unilateral decision on that momentous question. *It was, again, because he felt he was the State that, without consulting anyone, he took the Kashmir issue to the U.N. It was, once more, because he felt he was the State that he linked the fortunes of the country with those of the British Commonwealth. Lastly, it was because he felt he was the State that he took it upon himself to sponsor the Constitution (Amendment) Bill on the floor of our august Parliament so that it might become dynamic and flexible and approximate to the "curves of life."*

Here we see the gradual progression. *At first the Congress was the country. Now our beloved Panditji is the country.* There is nothing for us but to echo Isabella's celebrated apostrophe in *Measure for Measure* :

> ".....Man, proud man !
> Dress'd in a little brief authority,—
> Most ignorant of what he's most assured,
> His glassy essence, — like an angry ape,
> Plays such fantastic tricks before high heaven
> As make the angels weep."

A Method in the Madness

We all know that Pandit Nehru can fly into a temper like any star of a lesser world, and he was true to form during the Great Debate, trouncing his critics—principally, Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee, who has constituted himself "The One Man Opposition" to the reigning authority —in the now famous words :

> "I say any man or any newspaper who says it" (that is, who says that the Constitution (Amendment) Bill curbs the liberty of the Press) "lies and knows that he lies."

When Dr. Mookerjee protested against such an unparliamentary expression Pandit Nehru repeated it all the more vehemently; nor did the Speaker of the House care a "curb" the Pandit's "liberty" when it was fast degenerating into that "licence" which the Pandit disapproves most and for the "curbing" of which in our newspaper editorials he is so righteously anxious.

From temperamental "Leader" to "Dictator" is a not unnatural progression and the present head of our Government can be congratulated on having "made the grade" so successfully. He is now in the true line of succession to Hitler and Mussolini; nor can we help commending his examplary courage in choosing to succeed them after noting the remarkable sequel to those twin dictatorships. But, of course, there is no accounting for tastes. *De gustibus non est disputandum.* I should, however, like to make one suggestion to Pandit Nehru. It is not uncommon for him to lose his temper before a *Hindu* audience: what would be uncommon is if, at some point or other in the proceedings, he did not so lose it. *I am afraid the madness is not without a method.* I have noticed that he *can* control his temper when he is in the mood to do so. Before a *Muslim* audience he has never been known to fly into his familiar tantrums; and whenever he felt that Hindu feeling was rising rapidly against the Muslims it was he, more than any other, who always tried to moderate it, to pour cold water on it, in the Mahatma's famous phrase. Does that not show, convincingly, that our hero's explosiveness is not *just* explosiveness but is part of a make-believe role? We, Hindus, tolerate his temperamental role: our Muslim friends, who, obviously are made of sterner stuff, do not relish the spectacle of a grown-up individual displaying temparamental spasms and generally making a nuisance of himself.

As a certain scribe has remarked, not inappositely :

> "The country is accustomed to the Prime Minister's petulant outbursts but on Saturday's debate in Parliament Mr. Nehru's temper overstepped the limits not only of private propriety but of public restraint. Impulsiveness is a quality forgivable in youth. Mr. Nehru, alas, is no longer young, and much that might have been forgiven him in the bright noonday of his impetuous youth is anomalous today. The Prime Minister's intemperate utterances do credit neither to himself nor to his high office."

This wanted saying badly, and it has now been said.

Indecent Haste

I shall not dilate further on Pandit Nehru's calculated, or uncalculated, outbursts of temper in public. As I have hinted, my own opinion is that these rather too frequent gusts of passion are more calculated than otherwise. Calculated or uncalculated we, in India, have to learn, if we have not already learnt, to put up with them as part of our Fundamental Misfortunes—in regard to which, however, we cannot rely upon anyone to bring any Amendments to "curb" their intensity in the near, or even the distant, future. These Fundamental Misfortunes have been *written into* our constitution and we cannot tinker with them as the Pandit has very successfully tinkered with the corresponding Part III (that, namely, dealing with our Fundamental Rights) of that other constitution over which there had been a great "to-do" in parliament recently. The tactics of the party in power to seek to amend the constitution *so soon (that is, fifteen months) after its creation* are gravely open to doubt; and if the party in power was able so easily to over-ride the Opposition's protestation about the questionability of those tactics

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it was solely because the party could command a "brute majority" and thus could easily wriggle itself out of an otherwise insurmountable difficulty. Fundamental rights, like freedom of speech and of expression, are too precious to be tinkered with in that light-hearted fashion. As Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee was careful to point out in his brilliant speech opposing the Bill :

> "When the Constituent Assembly *deliberately* decided to have a *written* constitution and to incorporate in it a chapter on Fundamental Rights it *deliberately* curbed the power of Parliament. *That was the purpose of Fundamental Rights.*."

FUNDAMENTAL RIGHTS

The Lion of Bengal, than whom it is safe to say, there is no abler Parliamentarian in our country at the moment, went on to quote with devastating effect a Chief Justice of the United States Supreme Court in support of his thesis. The Chief Justice said :

> "The very purpose of Fundamental Rights is to withdraw certain subjects from the arena of political controversy beyond the reach of majorities and officials and to establish them as legal principles to be applied by the Courts. One's right to life, liberty, and property, to free speech and free press, to freedom of worship and assembly, and other Fundamental Rights may not be submitted to vote. They depend upon the outcome of no elections. There is a limit to your (legislature's) power: thus far and no further."

Dr. Mookherjee wound up by saying: "Today you are changing those Fundamental Rights." Yes: they have changed them: and four years' of "freedom" have converted us into mere hewers of wood and drawers of water.

Defenders of the Amending Bill were at pains to point out that in the United States also amendments to the constitution had been moved shortly after its formulation. But they did not pause to point out that there is a fundamental difference between the two amendments. The purpose of the amendments in the U.S. was *to broaden the base of democracy; to give positive affirmation to Fundamental Rights which found no place in the original draft.* Unlike the Indian constitution the American constitution of 1787 merely set out "to establish three great departments of Government, the legislative, the executive, and the judicial departments."

FREEDOM OF THE PRESS

As for the freedom of the press the American constitution specifically guarantees it. In France the French National Assembly, at its meeting of August 24, 1789, enshrined it in these famous words :

> "The free communication of thoughts and opinions is one of the most precious rights of mankind. Therefore, every citizen may express his views by words, writings, and printed matter, but he will be held responsible for any misuse of this liberty in the cases fixed by the law."

The freedom of the press is the keystone of the arch of political freedom, and if that is taken away the whole edifice collapses. But probably it is idle to expect modern Congressmen to respect freedom of speech and of writing: they have been brought up as mere automatons, the Mahatma having done the thinking for them in the past and the Pandit doing the same service for them now. What do they know of these precious freedoms? If they knew what they are, would they have voted for the Pandit's Bill *en masse* and, obviously, with so much gusto? It was reported that tremendous cheers broke out from them when the Bill was passed. It was only the valiant Mr. Kamath who had the courage to rebuke them for that tragically misplaced merriment. *It was a much greater shame for the journalist M.P.s, like Shri-s Deshbandhu Gupta and Shiva Rao, to have remained neutral at the time of voting.* The former had protested against it on the floor of the very Parliament a little earlier, and had protested against it in no lukewarm terms, but when it came to recording his vote he developed cold feet and abstained. Not that their recording their votes would have swung the voting in the opposite direction. But there is such a thing as (there not ?) as standing up to one's convictions without fear of the consequences: probably these journalist M.P.s have not heard about it.

RAJAJI'S HAND IN IT

It is a significant pointer to which way the political wind is blowing that this Amending Bill was sought to be introduced during the regime of Shri C. Rajagopalachari as Home Member. It is not, I think, an extravagant surmise that he is the real author of it, although the Prime Minister did most of the talking: the voice was Jacob's voice, it is true, but the hands, clearly, were the hands of Esau. I am prepared to stake my last bush-shirt on this theory of mine that the hands are of Esau (I mean of Rajaji) from the fact that one of the intimidating provisions of the Bill—now an Act—has to do with what has been called "our relations with foreign countries." Our liberty in criticising these foreign countries is sought to be curtailed ruthlessly. One has no need to be as brilliant as Rajaji has a reputation of being to guess what exactly he means by that "omnibus" term. *He means, gentle reader, only Pakistan,* of which he will go down to posterity as *the sole* architect—the father, the mother, and the wet nurse, too.

It was owing to him that the late Quaid-e-Azam was enabled to get his second wind, so to speak, when he was all but down and out. He (the Quaid) had received such a trouncing at the hands of his co-religionist, the Hon. Malik Khizar Hyat Khan Tiwana, the then Premier of the Punjab, that he immediately packed a carpet bag and removed himself to the Dal Lake in Kashmir to lick his wounds in private. Many, even of his tabernacle, had begun to lose faith in his ability to stage a come-back. I am not denying that he returned to Lahore soon after and started indulging in his old swagger, in his old swashbuckling; *but that had been rendered possible only through Rajaji's connivance.* Rajaji had emerged into the limelight again at Panchgani and suddenly propped up that recumbent figure with the notorious formula he devised in conjunction with the Mahatma. It was Rajaji who was instrumental in the resurrection of the Muslim League from the catastrophic tomb of the Punjab debacle.

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and the not less calamitous sepulchre of the Bengal muddle.

THE PRO-HINDU PRESS WILL BEAR THE BRUNT OF IT

When the history of our times comes to be written it will, I dare to suggest, be Rajaji, and not the Quaid-e-Azam, who will be unanimously acclaimed as the architect of Pakistan. It will be remarked that the Muslims were, comparatively, blameless in the matter, because even when, like Brer Rabbit, they were "lyin' low and sayin' nuffin'," Rajaji came bouncing and bounding to Panchgani and forced the hands of the Mahatma to present Pakistan to them on a silver platter.

It is this same Rajaji who has incorporated this provision about not offending the tender susceptibilities of foreign countries—*meaning, of course, as I have suggested, by "foreign countries" Pakistan and Pakistan only.* The corollary naturally follows that the pro-Hindu Press will come in for the roughest possible handling from the Government—the pro-Hindu Press as well as the Hindu Mahasabha and the R.S.S. *The Muslims, not the Hindus, are still the Congress's friends.* It is up to those Hindus that are not content to be merely "non-Muslims" and that are reluctant to see their identity swamped and submerged by an unprecedented wave of "secularism" to present a united front to this new menace to our very existence: for as Madison wrote to Jefferson :

> "Wherever there is an interest and power to do wrong, wrong will generally be done—and not less readily by a powerful and interested *party* than by a powerful and interested Prince."

———:O:———

NORWAY

A Cross-Sectional Glimpse of the Country

BY ADINATH SEN, M.A., B.SC. (Glas.), M.I.E. (India)

"We have a beautiful country. We covet no other people's land. We have no army, no navy. We live in peace." Thus declared a Norwegean merchant, a fellow passenger in the train from Oslo to Bergen a few years ago, when we were passing between the snow-covered mountains of Hardangerjokeln and Hallingskorpet on either side of Finse, the highest station on the line, which is considered as one of the world's wonder works of engineering, laid in the midst of the most dramatic and beautiful scenery in Europe.



Oslo

We started from the East station of Oslo on the Oslo-Stockholm line. It made a wide curve round the city, following the crests of the heights, east and north of the city. The line north from Oslo to Trondheim through Lillehammer, on the lake Mjosa, the biggest in Norway, or through Elverum, which once gave shelter to the harassed king of Norway, started further east, from the Oslo-Stockholm line. Except the southern coast line from Oslo, and a few branch lines, these comprise all the railway in Norway.

Sea-wards, the whole panorama of the Oslo Fjord, sometimes scene of fierce fighting, was spread, dotted with the dark shapes of pine-clad islands and the white sails of yachts. Inland, the valley lands came into view right up to the station of Honefross with big waterfalls on lake Tyrifjord. The route then ran along the side of the great lake Kroderen through the station Gulsvik, the



Trondheim

gateway to the valleys beyond. On the far shore of the lake, were seen old farmsteads, set against dense forests, below high mountains. We pass Nesbyen station as the railway winds for nearly 70 miles, winds through the historic Hallingdal Valley of famed fiddlers, of stirring melodies which have some strange wild fairy spirit in them, and of the famous national dance, the Halling.

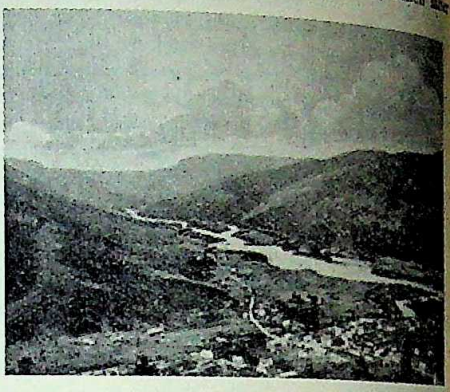
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The farms now became rare and the forests spread. From Gol, the well-known local centre of peasant culture, the country. Gradually the fir forests dropped below the line and the hardy birch trees appeared, which have



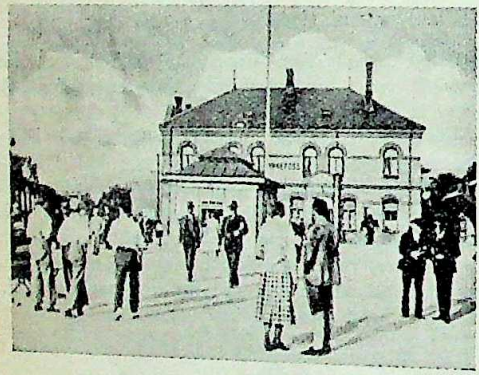
Oslo Fjord



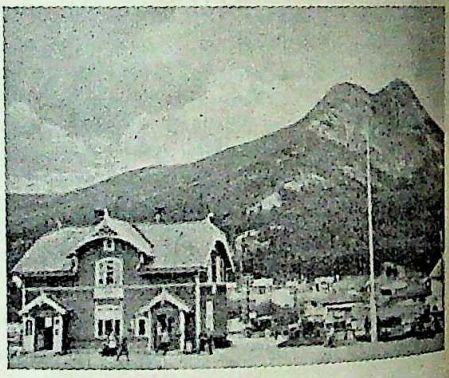
Nesbyen

between the Hallingdal and Valdress valleys at a height of about 700 feet above sea-level, the climb began over

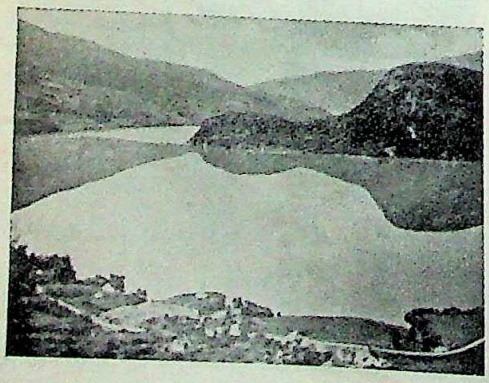
were stunted in growth from fierce winds of winter, as we passed the stations of Torpe, Al and Hol. At the dis-



Honefross



Gol



Lake Kroderen



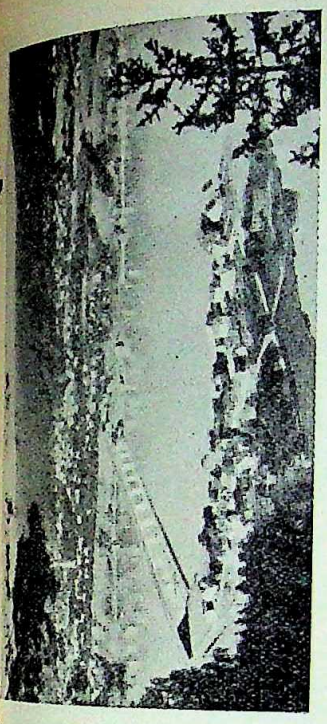
Torpe

the gigantic granite wall that separated the east and west of Norway and formed as it were the backbone of

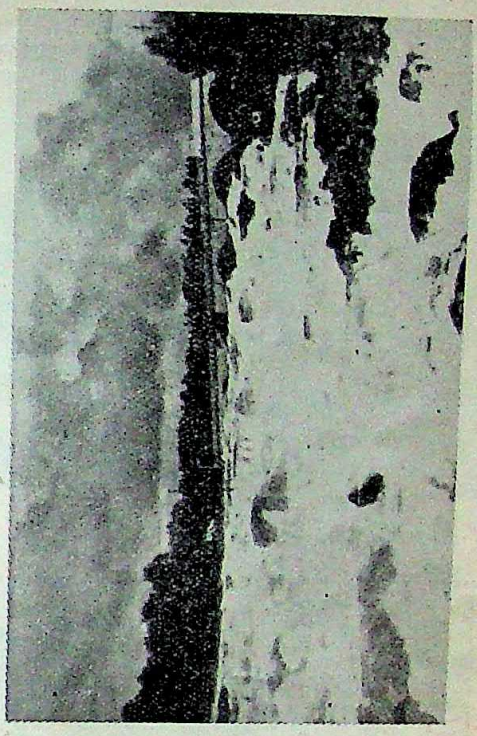
tance could be seen the grey and snow-flecked mountain tops.

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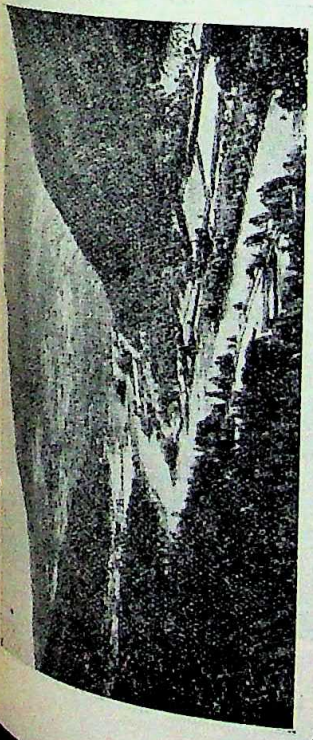
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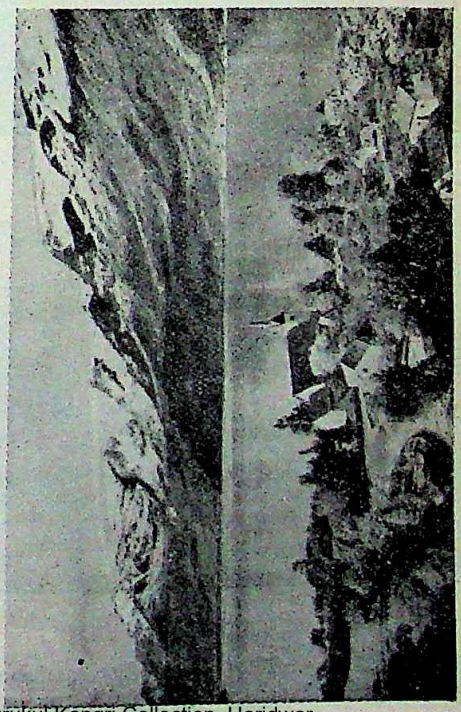
Lillehammer



Honefross, Waterfalls



Hallingdal Valley

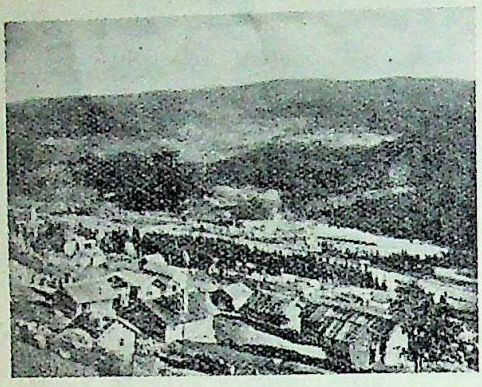


Hardanger District

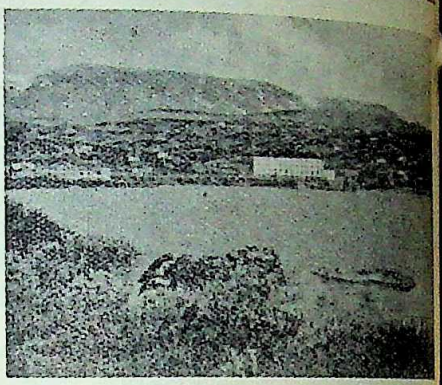
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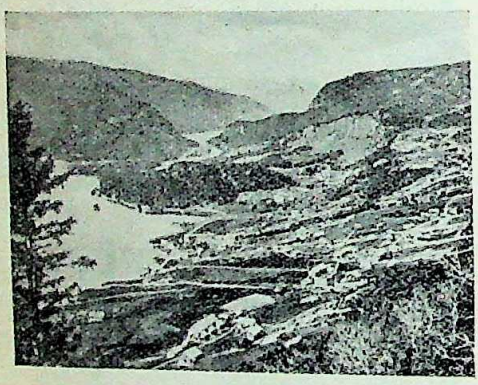
Geilo, at 2,600 feet altitude, is a ski-ing resort in winter and a popular summer centre, midway between Oslo and Bergen. From here starts the most remarkable stretch of the journey. We pass Ustaoset Ski-ing centre and Maugastal next. From a cleft between the mountains, through which the train passed, the snow of Hardangerjokeln gleaned on the south like a fantastic citadel with great boulders of ice on the Ustavatn lake, and the glaciers of Hallingskarvet in the north flickered like jewels in the clear mountain sun-shine. Tunnels and long screens in echelon, of wood, kept back the encroaching snow-drifts from blocking the line. Loneliness and



Al



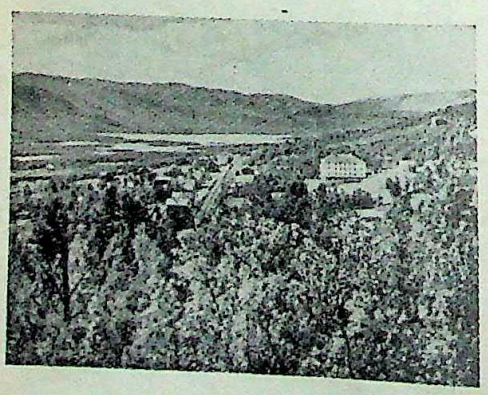
Ustaoset



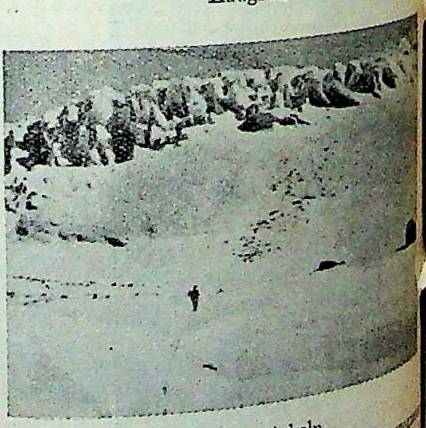
Hol



Haugstal



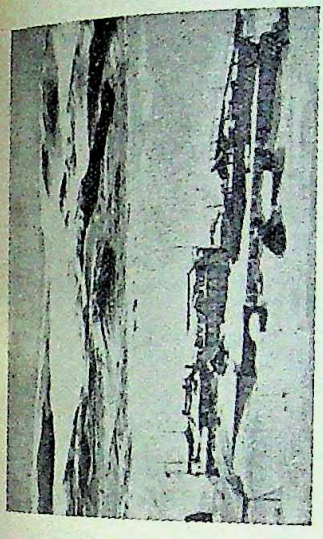
Geilo



Hardangerjokeln

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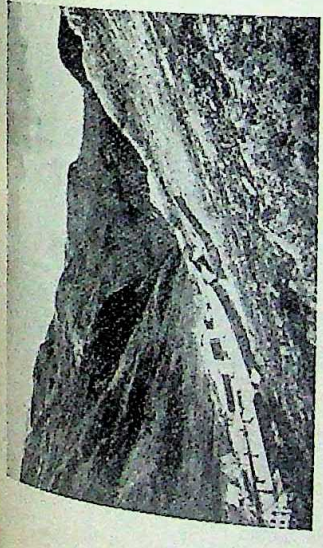
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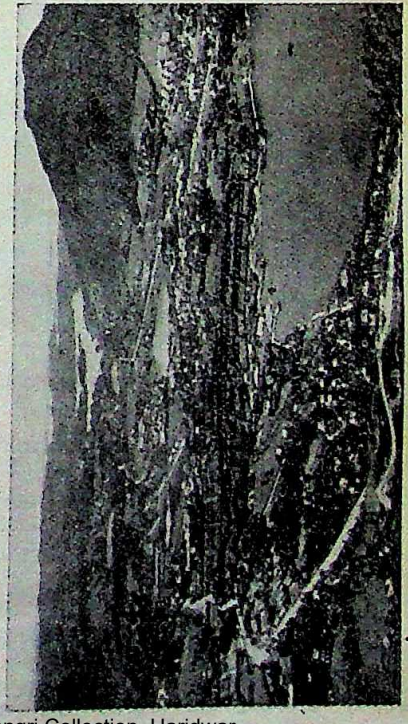
Finse Station



Aurlands Fjord



Myrdal

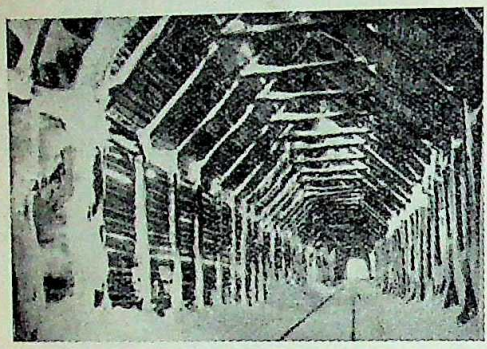


Bergen

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bleakness were almost overpowering in intensity, but there was a strange beauty in the scenery, all the same, while Finse 1000 feet over sea-level was being reached. This is a townlet with hotels and ski-ing cabins. There



Tunnels to keep out snow. Oslo-Bergen Railway

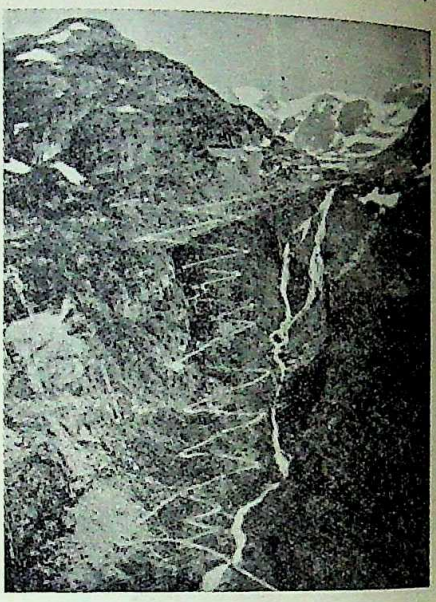
are also engineering plants equipped with rotary snow ploughs, reserve locomotives and other requisites for maintaining a difficult train service. There were no trees for 60 miles, the only vegetation being reindeer moss and tough grass round swampy expanses, here and there. For 30 miles the country was absolutely bare of plants of any kind. Horizons are enormous. One is so close beneath the sky. Cloud and snowy mountains meet, so



Snow-ploughs. Oslo-Bergen Railway

that one cannot sometimes quite say where the earth ends and the heavens begin.

Beyond the highest point, 4263 feet, mountain torrents run from the watershed towards east and west. Myrdal station was reached in the descent, where a magnificent view was obtained of the Flam Valley, the Flam winding like a canyon. Waterfalls crashed down the ragged mountain sides, and the road in the valley, winding like a thread in 21 spirals, led to the shores of Aurlands Fjord at the head of the Sogne Fjord, the biggest in the country, penetrating a long distance from the North Sea inland. On another head of the Sogne, lies Ardal, where a more zigzag road to Tyin astonishes the eye. We came next to the Voss station from which there is access by motor service to the Sogne Fjord, largely used by the



Flamstad Valley Waterfalls



Sor Fjord

tourists from the Voss station, further along, only about 200 feet from the sea-level. This place occupies a famous position in Norwegean peasant culture, as the junction point between the Sogne Fjord districts in the north and the Hardanger country in the south on the shores of the Fjord below the mountains, all of the same name. An Electric Railway runs to the south from Voss. Through Vaksdal station on Sor Fjord, Bergen was reached in 2 hours time, after running along the beautiful banks of the Fjords, the total journey of 306 miles taking just about 11 hours.

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COCONUT—THE KALPABRIKSHA

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By MURARI PROSAD GUHA, M.A.

(Illustrations by the author)

News flashes across the country when a coconut is broken to launch a ship or to inaugurate something in an auspicious moment. In ceremonies a green coconut is placed on a full pitcher as an auspicious sign. But why is coconut given this honour? Beginning from the dawn of civilization to the middle ages, religion got the upperhand over politics and the seers of truth found it very convenient to impregnate what we should do through religious rites. So, we find

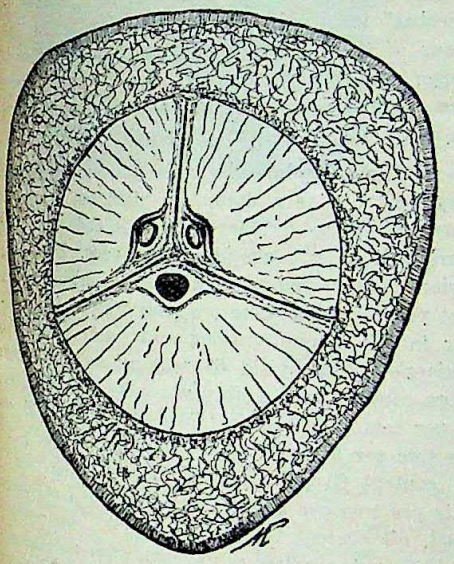


Fig. I. A dissected fruit from which the upper half of the fibrous mesocarp has been removed to expose the endocarp (nut). The shortest side of the triangular fruit is always on the reverse of the widest angle in the nut formed at the centre by the three carpels with the three eyes. And this widest segment contains the 'soft' or germinating eye hiding the only embryo (towards the base of the illustration)

that the coconut, one of the most important economic plants, has established its rightful place in every home in India from pre-historic times, our *Puranas* stating it on every occasion. Today coconut has got its own certifications, but lest we forget, we are still importers even from the little island of Ceylon of dry copra, and like many other crops are lagging behind other countries in production per acre.

Origin and Geographical Distribution

It is believed that the original home of the coconut was either the Indian archipelago or some of the Pacific islands in the southern Indian ocean. From this original home it spread to the tropical and sub-tropical regions either by the primitive seafarers or by the tide of the ocean currents from one shore to the other. The fibrous mesocarp of the fruit which helps floating, is water-proof and also protects the life of the plant for very long durations and as such explains the theory. The coastline habitat of the plant and its love of saline soil conditions with the dropping of the mature nuts to the sea even today is an addi-

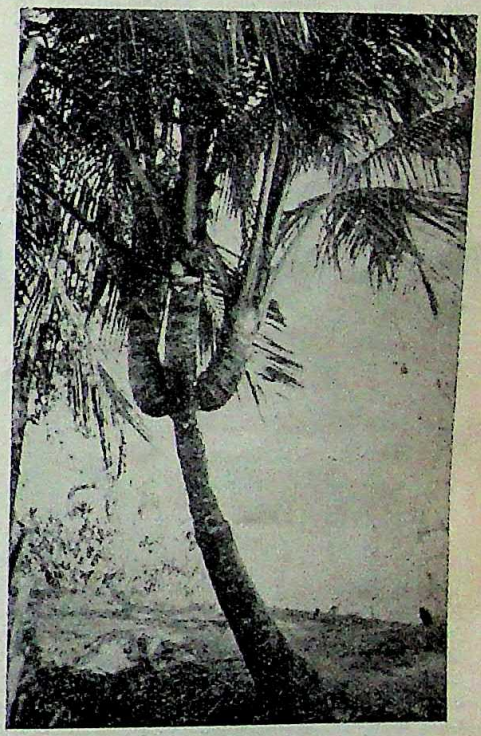


Fig. I-A. Photograph of a branched palm taken by the author at Sagar island. At an early stage due to attack of pinceros beetle growth was taken by secondary bud and the apical bud also revived giving it a *trshul*-like appearance

tional proof. It might have spread from India to Malaya, East Indies and the Philippines, earlier than the spread of Indian culture to these areas as well as to the coast of America and its tropical islands.

In India it distributed itself throughout the coastline and probably the Malabar coast is the original home with its maximum development of coconut cultivation in that land and the coconut is intimately associated with the daily life problem of the bulk of the population there. In West Bengal, it has spread maximum into the interior even in the extreme

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North-West Bengal, more than 300 miles away from the coast.

Botanical and Common Names and Important Varieties

Cocos nucifera Linn. is the 'Indian nut' belonging to the family Palmaceae. The name cocos might have been derived from the Spanish *coco*, applied to a monkey's face,[4] a beautiful allusion which the three scars (one hiding the embryo) on the stony endocarp suggest. [Fig. I.]

The Hindusthani name 'Narial' is derived from the ancient Sanskrit name *narikela* mentioned in the *Puranas*. There are many other names original to the locality which helps to prove the primitiveness of the fruit tree here.

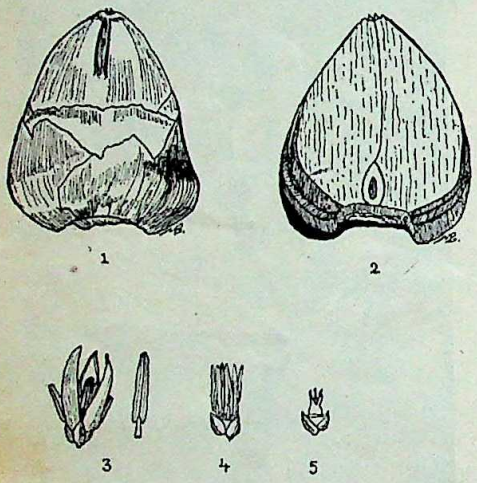


Fig. II. The flowers of coconut. (1) The mature female flower with 2 whorls of (3 each) perianth enclosing the united carpel with the beak shaped stigmas at the apex. (2) The female flower dissected through the ovary. (3) The male flower with two whorls of perianth leaves, one small, the other long enclosing the six stamens. A single stamen a little enlarged. (4) The inner whorl of perianth removed to show the position of the stamens. (5) Perianth and stamens of the male flower removed to show the undeveloped carnel

As with other crops a study of varieties of coconut has also been neglected in our country. In India we have mainly two varieties, one is the "Tall" variety found over-topping the buildings of the coastal or semi-coastal cities and towns and the other a "Dwarf" form, an early maturing variety which when starts fruiting still remains within the reach from the ground.

The tall variety also known as the "West Coast-variety" is most widely cultivated through the coconut-growing areas of India from very ancient times and may be indigenous to our country. It is one of the most economic multipurpose varieties from the point of view of its yield of nuts, copra, oil and one of good quality as well as the tapped juice (toddy) convertible to jaggery or sugar if not used as country wine. According to growers, sub-varieties exist from the point of view of size, shape, colour of fruit and thickness of the kernel. Under favourable conditions this variety may start fruiting in six to eight years which, however, may be deferred to ten to fifteen years when conditions are not favourable. The average yield of copra per nut is about 5 oz. and the oil content in the copra is about 72 per cent.[5]

The dwarf form also known as the "Andaman" or "Nicobar" variety is quite different from others. The colour of the nuts may range from green, yellow to orange and starts bearing within three to four years, even when the tree has not quite developed and one can pluck the nuts from the ground.

The dwarf palms give quite good yield and looks very beautiful as a decorative plant but due to its susceptibility to diseases and pests and to irregular bearing it is not considered economic. Usually the varieties are named after the place of origin and from that point of view there are some other varieties familiar in the coconut-growing areas, such as, (1) *'New Guinea'*—average yield 65 nuts per tree per annum; copra content 8oz.—quality not quite good, oil content 66 per cent, (2) *'Cochin China'*—average yield 86 nuts per tree per annum; copra content 8 oz.—quality fair, oil content 66 per cent, (3) *'Java'*—average yield 85 nuts per tree per annum; copra content 7 oz.—quality good, oil content 66 per cent, (4) *'Siam'*—average yield 50 nuts per tree per annum, copra content 8 oz.—quality good, oil content 74 per cent, (5) *'Laccadive Ordinary'*—average yield 124 nuts per annum; copra content 5 oz., oil content 72 per cent, (6) *'Laccadive Small'*—alternate bearing, average yield 150 nuts per tree per annum; copra content is only 2 oz., oil content 75 per cent.[6]

Description of the Plant and Flower

The tree with its uniform cylindrical trunk and the umbrella-like tuft of pinnate leaves gives one of the most beautiful and graceful appearances amongst the palms with the patent leaning habit, in case of some varieties. The stem marked by the scar of the fallen leaves sometimes takes peculiar shapes due to the truction of light by adjacent trees or buildings. Usually they attain a height of about 60 feet, some times more, the longest recorded being 117 feet in Ceylon,[14] and live a century. Sometimes, due to the destruction of the apical bud by beetle, secondary buds take up the growth and the result is an apparently branched palm (Fig. IA). Though the tree is [illegible] the root system is characteristically shallow and diverse [illegible] bulb-shaped bottom of about 4 feet

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depth, which however, can spread latterally up to 20 feet. The roots are of uniform diameter, but the rootlets are thin and fibrous. The leaf scar adjacent to the root system can also develop roots if covered



Fig. III. The ideal medium-sized round-shaped seed nut of the Tall variety developing ideally. Germination started when the nut was attached with the palm

with earth and watered and this property comes to the aid when mature trees are transplanted or dug down deeper. A tree may have at a time 25-30 leaves with a length of 18-22 feet each.[1] The leaves slightly grooved and swollen at the base, are protected by strong net-like bracts and form an angle with the stem to give the appearance of an umbrella. The groove in the leaves helps the rain water to run down to the crown preventing its drying and also to the bulk of roots helping in its development. The inflorescence is a much branched monoecious spadix enclosed by a woody spathe, in the axil of each of the leaves, the exceptions being rare. The trimerous flowers borne in the branches are unisexual, the female flower being at the base and male at the apex of each branch.

Leyange[6] has observed that the tall variety palms, which remain productive for over 70 years, are protandrous and are generally cross-pollinated. But in the dwarf palms, the male and female phases overlap and self-pollination is the general rule. A saturated atmosphere seems to be injurious to the viability of the pollen grains but this viability can be prolonged artificially by creating an atmosphere with 50 per cent relative humidity.

The whorls of perianth leaves of the somewhat globose-shaped female flowers are persistent and develop along with the development of the fertilized ovaries. (Fig II).

Soil and Climate

The ideal soil for coconut is a rich alluvium or a deep friable loam with adequate soil moisture derived either from well-distributed rainfall, percolation water or proper irrigation with drainage facilities. Land with faulty drainage should be avoided. The sandy soil is also ideal in this respect but it must provide subsoil anchorage to the tall palm, which, as will be observed, is available almost throughout the coastline. But with drifting sandy soil it is a failure.

The coconut is a true tropical palm extending its domain within the actual tropics. It loves a climate with heavy but evenly distributed rainfall, high humidity and fairly even temperature (85 deg. to 95 deg. F mean temperature)[13] all the year round. Thus it will be found that coconut fares better in Ceylon and Malaya than in India. In Ceylon there is practically no month when the rainfall is below 0 foot 75 inches and in Malaya, the rainfall always exceeds 1 foot 25 inches in every month[12] whereas in India we have only 2 mon-



Fig. IV. The ideal seednut raised by the author in sand in an earthen pot, developing ideally (age 2 months)

soons. It is, therefore, natural that the average yield for gardens in India is below the average yield in Ceylon and Malaya. It has been found that the coconut thrives best in saline soil conditions close to the seacoast but this is not essential as will be found in Mysore and Bengal. In Bengal it flourishes even in Northern Bengal hundreds of miles away from the

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coast. The love of seacoast areas by this palm is directly related with climatological factors, because the coastline always have a high humidity and the temperature is never subject to great changes. Again although it grows best in the plains of the coast or the interiors, it grows equally the same 3,000 feet above sea-level in the Mysore Plateau.

Propagation

Propagation is always from seedlings raised from mature seednuts. The longevity of the coconut palm reminds us of the care taken by foresters in the laying

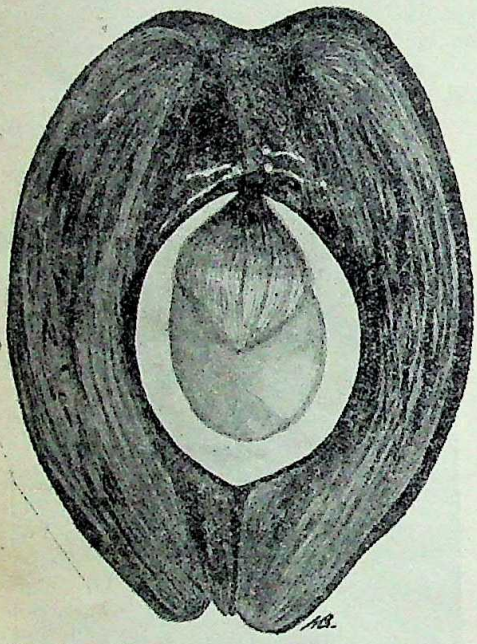


Fig. V. A dissected nut that dropped from the tree (X½). This nut after full maturity started germinating with the development of the spongy cotyledon (*jopra*) corroding the kernel a little from the top, while still attached with the tree. The roots developing through the fibrous mesocarp above the endocarp (stony) as also the first leaf just touching the point of attachment of the fruit

out of a forest with the best plantlings, that will give the choicest timber in years to come. Coconut plantations laid out for its fruit should similarly be of plantlings of the highest yielding, best quality and vigorous mother palms in its prime. As coconuts are usually cross-pollinated, to get the right type mother palms as above should be selected out of an entire plantation of the same variety. The mature seednuts, one year old, should be collected during winter and must be roped down from the top of the tree to avoid any injury. The medium-sized round-shaped nuts should be preferred and a few nuts at the base and apex of each bunch should be discarded. After harvest the seednuts should be stored indoors in a cool dry place on a 3-inch bed of sand for a month. (Fig. IV) In the meantime nursery beds should be prepared preferably in a sandy soil and where that is not available the local soil should be replaced by sand to a depth of 1½ feet as this will prevent the attack of white-ants and facilitate proper drainage. Where this is also a problem, seednuts may be planted in pots of 1 foot height and 1 foot diameter or wooden boxes of 1 foot cube may be filled with sand and utilized for this purpose. These methods are customary in industrial areas like Calcutta and suburbs.

The beds should be of convenient length, say 20 feet or 50 feet, but the breadth should be preferably 4½ feet to 5 feet as in the absence of rains the seedlings should have to be watered daily or on alternate days from the sides without disturbing any of them. And according to Dorasami,[3] the nuts should be placed in the bed of sands with their stalk ends up and six inch of the tip protruding above the surface, with a spacing of 1-1½ feet from nut to nut and row to row. To avoid the cost of watering, planting is preferred at the beginning of rains. Nuts without water should be discarded before planting. (Fig. IV) In three to four months most of the seeds germinate and they are allowed to grow for an year, and the seed-beds should never be manured as this masks the initial defect in vigour. At the end of one year when the main characters are visible, only the healthy and good looking seedlings should be selected as planting material.

Seedlings that germinate early and split their leaf soon should be preferred as they bear early. Just before planting, seedlings should be removed from beds without tearing the roots and should be packed well neatly for forwarding to distant places. Sometimes seedlings older than one year are planted but they are always removed from the seed-beds of the first year and planted wider till final planting. But this is costly and moreover the one-year seedlings establish themselves more quickly. The small-scale planters should always get their seedlings from reputed plantations.

Preparation and Planting

Lands already under cultivation need no special preparation. Otherwise two or three ploughing before the rains followed by planting of some legume to be ploughed in is ideal. The land should be free from all weeds and properly levelled and in case of slopes should be properly terraced with bunds to check erosion of soil with run-off of rain water. Arrangements for irrigation during the dry months should be made by laying out drains and intermediate reservoirs. Along with this arrangement for a boundary fence

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wicket gate is to be made to protect the saplings from grazing animals.

One year after this pits of three feet cube are dug in regular rows with specified intervening space of 30 ft. or as desired. Dried leaves are burned in the pits, which, it is believed, prevents white-ants. Also all nests of white-ants are to be dug out of the plantation at this time. Just before the rains one-year-old selected seedlings are to be planted in the pits.

The bottom of the pit is sometimes filled with loose earth or sand up to a foot to facilitate root growth of the root forming bole of the plant and to check white-ants. Sometimes *Neem* (Margosa) cake is also added to prevent white-ants. A handful or two of common salt and/or bonemeal is also added by some planters, in the soil of the pit surrounding the plantlings. The seedlings should be planted in right position firmly and the soil pressed like a cone. In case of high winds triangular supports are to be given to plants and a shade when the sun is very hot.

Maintenance of Soil Fertility

In our country there is a traditional neglect in the culture of permanent trees or rather long-living trees. Not only that we do not plant them in a planned way but we start our neglect as soon as the plant is established in the soil and is not eaten away by the Rhinoceros beetle. We never take care to know that the life of a plant is almost similar to the life of a human being growing to maturity. The coconut palm after gaining maturity in a few years after planting starts flowering which never stops till death. An inflorescence comes out every 4-6 weeks and one can find all the developing stages from the flower to the mature nut in the same plant. After flowering the fertilized nut comes to full maturity in 12 months. So, it is easy to guess that there is a continuous development and utilization of the available food from the soil which must be replaced to maintain the *status quo* of the soil. And this draws our attention to the scheme of manuring.

Sampson[13] observes that an individual palm growing on poor sandy-loam soil and producing 128 nuts per annum (not an unusual yield on the Malabar coast) removes from the soil 1.93 lbs. of nitrogen, 0.28 lbs. of phosphoric acid and 1.37 lbs. of potash. Pillai[12] has calculated that a crop of 2,000 nuts per acre removes from the soil of medium fertility about 18 lbs. of nitrogen, 5 lbs. of phosphoric acid and 38 lbs. of potash. Leaving aside others' findings, we find great disparity in the above figures.

Based on the observations of Sampson and taking 80 nuts as an average yield and 50 trees per acre as the usual method, the requirement for an acre will be 46.23 lbs. of nitrogen, 6.56 lbs. of phosphoric acid and 32.10 lbs. of potash. It should always be remembered, however, that if the well-being of the palm is also taken into consideration, a large proportion of N, P and K is to be added with the above in time of application to the field and the quantity of potash will have to be naturally increased giving due consideration to the huge fronds and the floral bunches. Also that 60 nuts is the average figure and this will be exceeded almost always with application of balanced manure. Again, the dosage of manures and fertilizers are obtained by personal experience and is varied in every locality as in our vast country we are subject to different soil and climatological factors and there can not be any hard and fast rule delimiting the

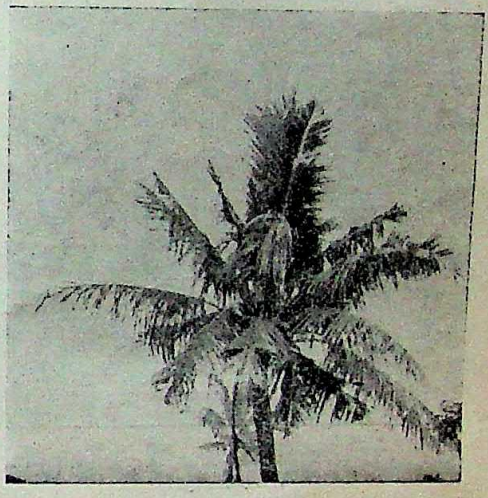


Fig. VI. A coconut palm affected with leaf disease. Bearing has almost stopped

application and the figures of intake are only a guide to this.

Manures are to be applied round the palm with a 4 feet to 5 feet radius after digging the earth a little and the costly ones to be applied close to the bole of roots. The following manure mixture adapted from John[6] is recommended :

		Per tree per annum. lbs.
	1. Cattle manure or compost or Groundnut or other oil cake ..	100
½ of these up to 5 years	or Ammonium Sulphate	15-20 3-4
	2. Muriate of Potash or potassium sulphate ..	2
½ of these up to bearing age	or Wood ash ..	30-40
	3. Superphosphate & Bonemeal or Bonemeal ..	1+1 2

Selection from this should be made according to the economics of the manure available at the locality

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as well as the physical aspect of the soil. But green manuring should be the fundamental principle of all manuring schemes and it has been found that sunn-hemp and cowpea, which comes to its age in 2 months, being sown in April-May is ideal as it can be ploughed in before the end of the rains in July so that it can help the good rotting of the green manure in the field. There are other green manure crops, such as (1) Cowgram, (2) Dhaincha and (3) Wild sunn-hemp that are also recommendable.



Fig. VII (a). An old coconut plantation in West Bengal

It has been found that cultivation increases the number of leaves per palm even when they are not manured, but manuring is necessary to replenish the loss due to heavy bearing, as in palms with many leaves the bearing is heavy always.

Food Value of the Kernel and Milk

The sweet water inside the green nut, known as 'milk' is a delicious and refreshing drink. During the summer months millions of nuts are sold in our Calcutta city alone leaving aside the suburban towns and all the wayside Railway stations within 50 miles radius from Calcutta where a thirsty passenger calls for a green coconut and gets it always with less than a lemonade's price (Fig. IX). The list of liquid diets prescribed by a doctor always contains green-nut-milk specially for patients having nasuea with fever and bowels troubles, as it has diuretic and laxative properties. It is a general practice in West Bengal to wash the pox-marked face just after recovery from pox with the milk as it is believed to make the marks less prominent.

The soft kernel inside the green nut is also delicious but does not keep and is eaten at once. The mature kernel or the 'meat' along with the 'milk' is the endosperm of the seed, the embryo being embedded in the hard endosperm, which is used either as copra for manufacture of oil or used for good preparations or delicacies and also taken along with other foods.

The total weight per cent of the husk, shell, kernel and milk are 57.28, 11.59, 18.54 and 12.59 respectively.[11]

The food value of the kernel taken from the *Health Bulletin* No. 23 is given below:

Moisture (per cent)	36.3
Protein (per cent)	4.5
Fat (ether extracted) (per cent)	41.6
Mineral matter (per cent)	1.0
Fibre (per cent)	3.6
Carbohydrate (per cent)	13.0
Calcium (Ca) (per cent)	00.01
Phosphorus (P) (per cent)	0.29
Iron (Fe) Mgs. (per cent)	1.7
Calorific value per 100 gms.	444
Carotene (International Vitamin A units per 100 gms.)	Trace
Vitamin B_1 (International units per 100 gms.)	15
Vitamin C (Mgs. per 100 gms.)	1
Calories per oz.	126

Carey[2] has isolated sucrose, fructose, and glucose from the milk and raffinose, sucrose, fructose, galactose and glucose from the copra meal.

The high amount of heat energy available per ounce of coconut kernel speaks of itself as a valuable food. And it has its rightful place in the dietery of every citizen of India.

Fruiting Time and Yield Per Acre

I have already told you that the dwarf variety starts flowering in 3-4 years and the tall one in 7 years. But usually the yield is poor at the beginning and becomes normal in half a decade. Usually an individual plant yields 60-70 nuts per annum while limit, however, is always exceeded with good management and cultivation. Usually about 50 plants per acre is planted with 30 ft. intervening space between the palms. And as such 3000-3500 nuts can easily be obtained from an acre. But in most cases this figure is far exceeded with better cultural practices and more close spacing. As every leaf bears an inflorescence in its axil, all the stages of fruit development will be found in the palm always, but a fertile female flower takes about a year to come to maturity. Periodicity in bearing is quite common in coconut. The best copra (and maximum oil) as well as coir is obtained when the nuts are harvested before they are dead ripe and the husk is still green, because at this stage (when 9-10 months old) (Fig. V) germination does not start and as such copra content

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highest and likewise the fibre not being over-mature is of the best texture and colour. Harvesting is done usually twice in a year in Bengal but in the main coconut-growing areas 4-6 times throughout the year and June-July is the best harvesting time throughout India.

Patel[13] observed that with general manure an average yield of 33.9 lbs. of copra and 18.6 lbs. of oil can be obtained from 100 nuts, which however can be raised to 40 lbs. of copra and 22.6 lbs. of oil per 100 nuts with the application of N, P, K fertilizers, almost similar results being obtained by green manuring and application of lime.

In judging the yield per acre the total yield of copra per acre is really taken into consideration, in case of large plantations, instead of the number of nuts, as the thickness of the kernel of the nut is variable, and a thick nut may contain kernel double of the thin nut. Aiyer[1] observes that this variation may result in 1,000 nuts yielding copra from 9-13 mds., even 14 mds.

CONTROL OF DISEASES AND PESTS

A healthy plantation is a sign of the owner's care. As soon as any disease or pest is observed it should be stopped at once to prevent further spread. Because with the spread of disease and decay the whole economic equilibrium of the plantation is lost with the loss of production and of the bearing trees which cannot be replaced in a year or two.

The most important disease of coconut is 'Bud and Fruit Rot,' caused by *Phytophthora palmivora*. The disease starts with the withering of the young innermost visible leaves, which gradually become bright brown to light brown and finally bend and break down at the base. The infection spreads inwards resulting bad smell sometimes and ultimately kill the apical bud which stops all further growth and the plant dies. And when they attack the nuts, they either fall off immature or the kernel is rotten. Effective results have been obtained by spraying the crown with 1 per cent Bordeaux and it is better to use Bordeaux-soda mixture, as resin helps to stick on the smooth surface of the coconut leaf. Similar doses of 'Perenox' may be used which is more handy. As the disease usually spreads during monsoon like most of the fungus diseases, two sprays may be given one before the outbreak and another before the close of the monsoon.

The other important disease is 'Leaf Rot' caused by more than one fungi (Fig. VI) *Helminthosporium halodes, Collectrotrichum pauciseturn* and *Gliocladium roseum,* the first one being most virulent. This disease does not kill the palm but much of the leaf surface is lost due to death of the leaflets by gradual blackening and shrivelling of them and ultimate loss in yield. The same treatment as above is recommended.

Stem bleeding caused by *Ceratostomella paradoxa* shows brown fluids oozing out of longitudinal cracks of the stem. The tissue inside is rotted and the plant is weakened with loss in production. The diseased portion should be chiselled out and Bordeaux paste applied on it. Some people use coal tar.

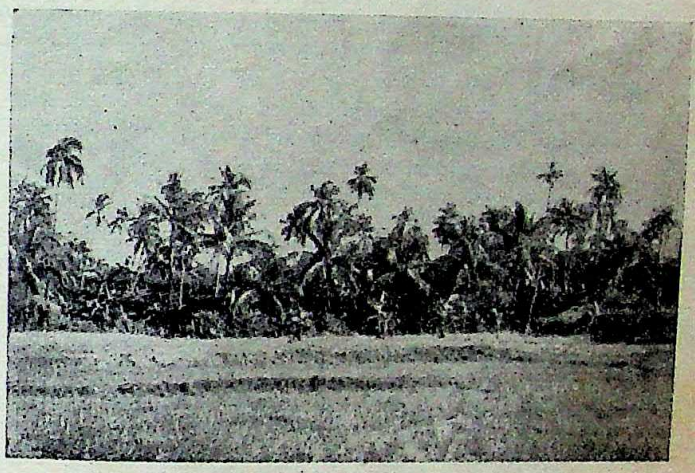


Fig. VII (a). The coconut grove

There are other diseases of minor importance like leaf spot caused by *Pestalozzia palmarum*. Root rot caused by the bracket fungi *Ganoderma lucidum* and root disease caused by *Bortryodiplodia theobromae, Rhizoctonia bataticola* and *Rhizoctonia solani*.

Last but not of least importance is the highly destructive 'unknown disease' in the West, which brought in bold relief the activities of the plant pathologists there in the present decade.

The disease starts with nut fall, soon followed by the death of the heart and the whole crown and becomes epidemic over considerable areas where coconuts are grown closely. In a young non-bearing palm the disease starts with the drying of the still folded heart leaf or young inflorescence within a closed spadix due to the death of the young tissue at the base of it near the growing point and subsequent rottage by secondary saprophytic organisms. The disease was first reported by Leach[7] from Jamaica in 1946 which was confused by Martyn[9] with the mechanical injury caused to coconuts in the form of girdles round the nut due to

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variable supply of water. Innes[5] trying to connect it with deficiency of Manganese proved that it has no relation with the disease. Martyn's[10] recent observations lead us to the belief of a virus as the causal organism which is unlikely carried by air-borne vector, but by soil-borne organisms as will be evidenced in the rapid transmission of the disease in close-packed plantations of certain soil types. It may be noted that the symptoms are similar at the start to 'Bud Rot,' etc. Is it that in India also the virus is prevalent and the 'Bud Rot' is only the secondary stage of infection by saprophytic organisms?

Of all the pests of coconut, Rhinoceros beetle (Oryctes rhinoceros) is the most destructive and is known to every coconut-grower throughout the coconut world. It is a strongly built powerful beetle with a strong blunt recurved horn on its head like a rhinoceros, which gives it the name. Chewed fibrous materials either at the bore holes or at the base of the palms are the first signs of its attack. It attacks the crown and tender parts of the palm either destroying the apical bud and thus killing the palm or tunnel through making the inflorescence missing and twisting and disfiguring the crown. The beetle breeds freely in dung heap or decaying organic matter throughout the year.

As soon as the attack is detected the beetles should be destroyed by means of a very sharp pointed spike like the big ones used by the elephant tamers. The beetle will be pinned to death by the point and brought out by the curved iron. Close watch should be maintained to destroy the attacks and strict sanitary conditions maintained to prevent breeding.

The largest weevil known as the 'Red Palm weevil' (*Rhynchophorus ferrugineus*) is the other important pest of coconut and most of the damage is caused by the larva which feeds on the soft tissues.

The attack of the weevil and the beetle goes hand in hand, the beetle bores into the palm and the weevil lays its eggs inside the bores and the larva starts eating away the soft parts and kills the palm. And even if you kill the beetle, the destruction goes on. So, along with the measures suggested for beetle one should always seal the bores made by the beetle with sand. The crown of the palm should also be kept clean always from bird's nests, dead spathe, etc., and any damage to the palm should always be avoided through which the weevils can get access.

The black-headed caterpillar (*Nephantis serinopa*) eats away the green matter of the leaf and builds its nests under the leaf, thus destroying the leaf. It causes considerable loss to production due to large loss of leaf area. Predators help in the control of this pest.

White-ant with its large domain of destruction has taken also coconut as one of its subjects. Local application of D.D.T. or Gammexane and destruction of their nests wherever found keeps it in check.

Rodents, squirrels and bats destroy young nuts which can be prevented through watchful eyes and by keeping the crowns clean and also by girdling the palm with an arm's length of tin sheet above human height.

Plea for Plantations—Importance as a Fruit

From the usage point of view it is an ideal plant for cultivation and where suitable land permits for starting up a plantation. Right from the roots to the leaves nothing is wasted and the kernel and the sweet milk received from the same fruit is an ideal food and drink which man can expect from nature. The use of every bit of the coconut plant even when it does reminds us of its importance and we should grow it with care instead of haphazard planting of one nut here and another nut there. More so, because we are still in the stages of under-production and with our 1.5 million acres, out of the estimated world acreage of 8 million acres, India ranks third with a production of 3,000 million nuts annually. Philippines with 2 million acres produces 3,200 million nuts and Netherland East Indies with 1.5 million produces 3,200 million nuts annually. Ceylon with 1.1 million acres produces 1,800 million nuts annually and from this little island and other countries we are annually importing on an average 38,288 tons of copra worth Rs. 1,20,00,000 to make up our deficit.[6] And this fact alone can whip us back to our senses for planting coconut in a planned way in the form of plantations. We cannot ignore the other more important facts. During the last devastating war thousands of coconut plants have been either cut down or have died an unnatural death due to construction of bases for land and air war and bursting of bomb shells, the operation of war theatre being in the main coconut-growing areas of the East Indies and Philippines. We shall have to make good this loss in production and though we cannot produce nuts with a magician's wand in a year but still we must plant the trees first and then wait for the fruit. In India the bulk of the acreage lies in the south-eastern coastline. Travancore and Cochin Union has an area of 6,35,015 acres followed by Madras 6,05,874 and Mysore 1,69,191 acres; Orissa 21,694 acres and West Bengal 16,448 acres with much less acreage in other coastal districts.[6] (Figs. VII & VIII).

The Layout of a Plantation

There is a tendency amongst small growers for a mixed plantation, but they are always detrimental to the coconuts, that live on their spreading green leaves which become covered by the other competing trees with loss in production. The plantation should

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be absolutely pure, only so long as the palms do not sufficiently cover the entire surface of the soil, secondary crops may be raised, preferably some legume. But along with intercropping the soil should always be additionally fertilized for the secondary crop. It has been found that the square method of cultivation is better workable than the triangular method, though the latter can afford more plants within the same area. But planting of too many plants never bring any good, not only that seedlings should be planted in such a way that when old the leaves of adjacent plants should never overlap each other. The intervening space should never be less than 24 ft. and preferably be 30 ft., when it is meant for copra or nut. But when it is meant for the milk of the green nuts, as is the case in most of the industrial areas and places round about Calcutta, they can be planted more close and is usually planted round the homestead. In most cases they harvest the green nuts leaving only a few nuts for ripening and thus making a double profit. Even the smallest planter may dig a ditch round the plantation, which will act as a reservoir of irrigation water as well as protective barrier. Let us draw up a present-day schedule for an acre of plantation with 50 trees:

(1) Price of 50 seedlings at -|8|- each ..	Rs. 25|-
(2) Cost of 5 labour for making 50 pits and planting 50 seedlings at Rs. 2|- each ..	„ 10|-
(3) Cost of manure mixture for 50 seedlings (calculated on the quantity of individual requirement of the manures and their price) at -|8|- for each ..	„ 25|-
(4) Cost of watering 50 plants during summer months at Rs. 15 per month for 5 months ..	„ 75|-
Total	Rs. 135|-

The cost of ploughing, etc., will go with the cost of cultivation of the secondary crop which will fetch some money till the palms come to the bearing age. And during this time with the profit from the secondary crop, irrigation drains, fencing, etc., should be done. It should be borne in mind that a long-range plantation is always a losing concern before it comes to age.

Marketing

I have already mentioned to what extent we are deficient in copra and are to import it mainly from Ceylon and other foreign countries. Similarly we are importers of large amounts of oil with a little export. But the balance of trade is maintained by the export of coir, a bye-product of the copra industry. It was started a century back and it is estimated that in 1946-47, 516,215 cwt. of mats and matting and about 288,000 cwt. of coir yarn were exported. This export mostly to the hard currency areas brings about 1.75 crores annually. The most important feature in the marketing of coconut is that the fruit is not easily perishable like others and can be preserved for a long time only through simple natural curing methods. The estimated import and export figures to and from West-Bengal during 1949-50 is detailed below:

Item	Source of Import and Quantity	Value	Export destination and quantity	Value
Copra	Andamans .. 25,000 mds.	Rs. 10,00,000.		
	South India —Cochin, Malabar .. 5,000 tons	Rs. 30,00,000 at Rs. 600 per ton.	Eastern Pakistan and small quantity in Assam — 1,500 tons.	Rs. 9,00,000 at Rs. 600 per ton.
Coir-Strings	S. India—Cochin Malabar, Alleppay .. 60,000 tons	Rs. 4,80,00,000 at Rs. 800 per ton.	Assam, Burma, East Pakistan, & Upper India— 45,000 tons.	Rs. 3,60,00,000 at Rs. 800 per ton.
Matings				
Bakka Nut	South India .. 1,000 tons	Rs. 4,00,000 at Rs. 400 per ton.	—	—
Coconut (dry)	South India .. 50,00,000 pieces	Rs. 5,00,000 at Rs. 10 per 100 pieces.	U.P., East Pakistan— 12,00,000 pieces.	Rs. 1,20,000 at Rs. 10 per 100 pieces.
	Port Blair .. 5,00,000 pieces	Rs. 9,90,000 at Rs. 18 per 100.	C. P. and other parts of India— 25,00,000 pieces.	Rs. 4,50,000 at Rs. 18 per 100 pieces.
	East Pakistan .. 50,00,000 pieces			
	55,00,000 pieces			
Desiccated coconut	Ceylon .. 20,000 mds.	Rs. 1,00,00,000 at Rs. 50 per md.	—	—
Coconut Oil	Sea-borne (St. Settlement, C. W. Australia)	40,59,140 galls. Rs. 2,37,85,055		
	Coastal routes (Madras, Travancore)		1,739 gallons.	Rs. 15,850|-
	Rail and river.	8,74,723 gallons Rs. 67,42,704	69,664 gallons.	Not known.
		2,02,664 gallons. Not known.		
			71,403 gallons.	
		51,36,527 gallons.		

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Economic Aspect

Coconut is the only fruit tree which is cultivated for food, for the oil and for the fibre and it can easily compete with any other crop on these three individual merits.

The mature nuts are either used for food preparations or are dried and made into copra. For copra making the fully matured nuts either stored for a month or two are at first husked by hand with the help of a sharp fixed horizontal iron rod. One man alone can husk about 1000 nuts daily and expert hands can do even 2000 nuts in a day. The shell is broken and kept upside down for some time to let the water drop completely, then they are kept upturned for some days when the copra shrinks away from the shell and levered out, if necessary with a thin wooden piece. Then the copras are again dried for a few days more to remove further moisture and in a good sunny week the copra is ready. Artificial drying in kilns is good for the monsoon, when sun-drying should never be undertaken, but care should be taken to see that the copra does not become sooty and give smell of smoke.

The copra thus made ready should be properly stored if not sold to oil millers. The oil is extracted either by country method or by modern milling machineries. But expellers give the maximum extraction of oil. The oil cake or *poonac* is used for feeding livestock but is also taken as food by the poorer people with jaggery. For bakeries or others dessi-

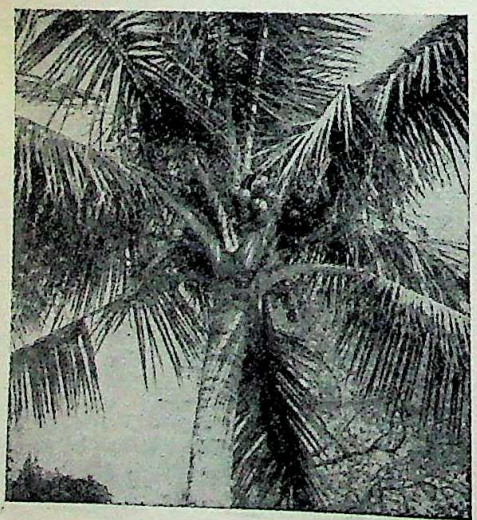


Fig. VIII. Close-up of a full-bearing palm

cated coconut is prepared from good quality nuts or copra, which gives the extracted milk, a nourishing juice as bye-product. The oil is used for cooking, as hair oil and for the manufacture of pomade, candles, 'marine soap' and glycerine. Today the mass production of vegetable fats or margarine is based on this oil.

The spongy cotyledon of the germinating coconut known as apple (*Fopra*) and the apical bud of the growing tree are delicious.

The only prominent fibre obtained from any fruit is the fibre of the coconut husk called 'coir,' mainly used as cordage for all kinds of marine and riverine

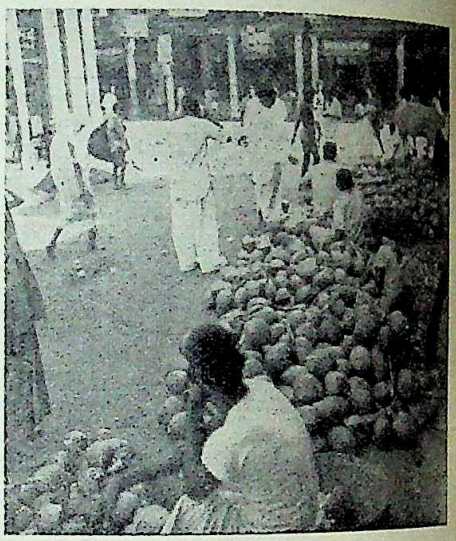


Fig. IX. Are you thirsty? Sale of green coconut at College Street Market in Calcutta

crafts, as it does not decay even in saline water, compared with jute, etc. The coir yarn is used for the manufacture of ropes, mats, door-mats, matresses and for upholstery work in railway carriage, etc. The husk retted in brakish water for about 8-12 months with suitable enclosures are of best quality, although it can be done in fresh water also.

After retting they are beaten with heavy wooden mallets and the fibres are separated from the husk. Best quality fibres are obtained from mature but not over-ripe nuts. The disintegrated pith is usually wasted although it forms the bulk of the husk. In these days of air conditioning with shortage of raw materials the value of the pith compressed as insulation boards may be explored by refrigeration engineers.

The unopened inflorescence is tapped for the juice which can be either 'Nira' or the fermented 'toddy'. It has been observed that in case of poor bearing trees effects of tapping appears to improve the yield, which lasts up to four years. From the juice vinegar and alcohol or jaggery and sugar may be made. The fronds and fruit stalks as well as the husk may be used as fuel and the ash contains a high percentage of potash and can be used as manure. The fronds after

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trimming and beating can be used as white washing brush. The tender shoots can be made into pickle. The spathe is used as a shelf by the poor. But the midrib of the leaflet helps the cleaning of indoors and outdoors as brooms and its use is universally known. The leaflets are used for making fans, mats as well as thatching of poor men's homes.

The ploughman's hubble-bubble is always made with the coconut shell and today with modern ideas it is used in various other ways as ash-tray, cup and saucer, button, buckles, lamp-shade and box. It can be used as a laddle. The shell charcoal is a good absorbent and is used in making gas masks. The roots are of value as medicine and dye-stuff.

Even in death the palm is of value to us. The trunk is excellent as pillars or beams and rafters.

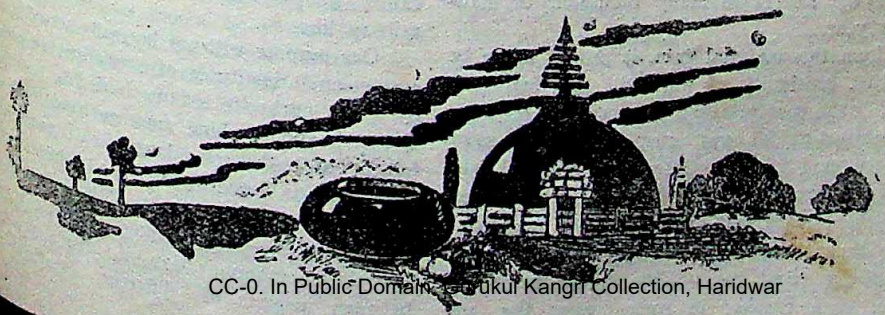
The long list of usefulness of coconut reminds us of the belief that the great sage Biswamitra in trying to create his new world with new things, first created coconut which is a unique production with its universal use of all its parts. And probably this is the *Kalpa-briksha* of the *Puranas*, the tree that fulfills all human wishes.

Conclusion

All along I have tried to impress my readers that this palm with its varied use and long life is economically inter-related with our every-day life. Such a plant should obtain special care from us in the multiplication of their progeny and in this matter the place of the Indian Central Coconut Committee is unique. We know that nothing good can be obtained when the seed is bad and for this every State established and is establishing seed multiplication farms for production of quality seeds of cereals and other crops. Unfortunately coconut did not obtain the attention it deserved. Today we find only a few centres opened by States for this. Private enterprise in these matters ends in failure as it entails heavy expenditure and may be a losing concern though with ultimate gain to the country. With this idea of eliminating bad palms by replacing them with good and extension of the cultivation of coconut in the coconut-growing tracts of India, we must establish coconut multiplication farms or rather nurseries throughout the coconut-growing regions of the country with at least one unit in each producing State. Mother palms are to be selected from within the State after extensive observation tours and the selected nuts from them will be the nucleus of the nursery. The nursery may be opened with a promise to supply at least 1000 seedlings and more than this should have to be planted for rejection of the inferior ones. And this start with a thousand nuts will take us to days when we can supply thousands of good quality seedlings to our countrymen in every State for extension of its production.

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AN OLD MAN'S LAST HOPE

By Dr. JADUNATH SARKAR, Hony. D.Litt.

The supreme problem of Free India is how to be intellectually independent of Europe. On the right solution of this question depends her prosperity, and even her very existence as a nation. Europe is advancing every month, nay every day, in arts and arms, in industry and technique, in range of thought and the conquest of nature. India, as even the blind can see, has been standing still, glorying in the "wisdom of our ancestors," or at best borrowing thoughts and material products from Europe at second hand. Hence, even when we seem to be making progress at all, we are only panting far behind Europe like the coolies carrying the baggage of a civilised army and straggling in the rear.

Continual progression is the rule of Europe. Her civilisation is never stationary, she is constantly moving from more to more, from new to newer things. This is the result of the labour of an army of her best intellects, carrying on to higher and higher stages the gains of their predecessors, by working without cessation, without a break. In Europe, "the tail of one generation is where the head of its predecessor had been." This is the root principle of every living civilisation.

Hence, there must be created and vigorously worked a fountain-head of original research on the Indian soil, if Free India is to justify her name. This brings us to the next step. India today is so backward, so poor, that she cannot afford to waste any portion of her existing brain power or material resources; she must get the utmost out of every rupee she spends and every man she employs. And that can be done only by creating centres for this high type of work in those spots where the climatic conditions favour the highest brain work throughout the year without any seasonal stoppage or slackening, and the air and water exclude those periodical diseases which elsewhere cause the loss of so many thousands of man-hours every year.

Apart from this material gain, it should never be forgotten that continuity of work till the final fruit is produced is the root principle of success in research. If the investigation is once suspended for some months by summer heat or winter's cold, it will take many weeks before the returned research-worker can pick up all the threads that he had dropped and make an advance from the point reached by him before his enforced holiday. And the quality of the work also suffers from such breaks; in some cases the completed result arrived at before the break has to be scrapped altogether, and that particular piece of investigation has to be started from the beginning once more. Such losses must be avoided by wise planning beforehand.

This brings us to the third point: where in a tropical country can we find spots with such a temperate climate as to allow vigorous and continuous brain work throughout the year? Our noted capitals have their multitude of modern civilised conveniences and scientific apparatus besides expert specialists otherwise employed who are available for consultation, but the enervating heat of Calcutta, Madras and Bombay, the sunstroke atmosphere of Delhi, Lucknow and Allahabad on the one hand, and the freezing cold of Darjeeling, Simla and Naini Tal (in winter) on the other hand, make *continuous* work there in twelve months in the year impossible; they can serve us for eight months at the utmost. These *high* hill stations are also barred out by another very relevant consideration; they cost in dress, shoes and food twice or thrice as much as the same style of living in the plains, and their greater distance from the centres of food production naturally enhances the cost of living there.

We are thus left with moderate heights of two thousand feet or more above sea-level and subject to strong cooling winds, such as Shillong and Dehra Dun in the north, Bangalore in Mysore, and the Bombay hills from Lonavla to Talegaon—these last two being only 36 and 20 miles from Poona, on the same G.I.P. line, and the former already provided with good educational facilities of the medium grade and the latter (Talegaon) with an admirable hospital and convalescent home. A research-and-teaching college established here will not have to bear at the start the crippling expenses of what may be metaphorically called jungle-clearing and construction of a new railway line.

Our purpose will not be really served if we must create small institutes of specialised research manned by a few anchorite savants buried in their laboratories. Research and teaching must go hand in hand for the benefit of both; they languish if mutually estranged. And there is, besides, the sound educational principle aptly expressed by the term "the inter-fertilisation of the faculties"—(*i.e.*, different subjects or branches). The daily communication—it may even be close—between masters of different branches not only

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sharpens and stimulates the brain of each but also creates an atmosphere most fruitful of the advancement of learning. The hermit in his cell is denied this advantage. Therefore a degree college (with not more than 400 students) should be opened there at the same time and under the same administration. This is the most successful device for bringing to the surface and enlisting for the work in the next generation the most promising pupils.

As for the teaching staff, let not the word research frighten the Finance Minister. The highest professors employed by the Calcutta University, such as Drs. Radhakrishnan, C. V. Raman, and D. R. Bhandarkar, cost about 2,000 rupees each per month (taking into account the pay, the housing concession, employer's contribution to the provident fund, and provision for furlough on full pay and half pay). It is not proposed to take the top-men of the old well-endowed Universities and dump them on my projected hill college. But I feel that a salary of Rs. 600 a month (with residence provided) will attract very able men. Many I am sure will prefer this chance of uninterrupted research work and the full enjoyment of health on Rs. 600 to a cosy chair in Calcutta or Madras on Rs. 1,000. Besides, these hill-college teachers will be kept up to the mark by the periodical society of "visiting professors" and retired educationists, who will demand no pay but only board and lodging and the opportunity of making themselves useful to the next generation, so as to keep India's torch of light burning. Provision for such visiting professors is an integral part of my scheme. (Later on Government inspectors and technical advisers will come for short periods). For them a guest-house should be made ready at the outset. And also a clean hotel supplying decent but cheap and standardised meals. I still remember how exhilarated in spirit, how elevated in mind I felt as a young freshman when attending the lectures of some known authority on a subject, a professor whose opinion is quoted in standard works as decisive, one who has himself advanced the bounds of human knowledge in a particular field. Contact with such first-rate men vivifies the young disciple, like an electric current making the dead frog dance in the physics laboratory. But it does not mean that such pre-eminent scholars should be present at our proposed college, lecturing there throughout the year. The purpose will be well served if they pay short periodical visits and electrify the students. They will also do a still more necessary work by vivifying the permanent *teachers* of the place themselevs. After all first-rate men are, in their very nature, not numerous enough.

Before embarking on the scheme, its financial implications must be understood. I am (with all the diffidence of a book-worm) giving below a rough estimate based on the present prices; (the index number today being 446 against 100 in August, 1939). The scheme will be worked in parts, as it grows, from year to year and not in full strength at the very start. But two things must be attended to at the very beginning: (1) land acquisition to prevent private building which may be a bar to future extension, and (2) collection of the indispensable core of a learned library, because ever since the Blitz of London destroyed 20 million copies of printed works (in England alone), many learned books of primary importance have become as rare as the phoenix. But I am optimistic enough to hope for gifts of books from the enlightened rich as soon as our work begins to justify our existence.

All the staff and preferably all the students (maximum 400) should be residential. Hence the heavy building construction necessary at the outset. But why should we not economise in other directions? Why ape Oxford or Cambridge by insisting on a vast meeting hall for *all* the students? I have heard British Oxonians in India sadly complaining that the Presidency College of Calcutta has no Hall for bringing together *all* its thousand students. India has been favoured by nature like ancient Greece; we can hold our College gatherings in the open air (except during two months in the year). Let us sternly cut out ornaments till after *all* the essentials have been provided.

And the first essentials are hostels where the students will not be packed like sardines in a tin, residences for the staff close at hand, and a really good library (with laboratory added in the case of science). For the convenience of younger teachers, there will be one or two chummeries or "bachelors' barracks"—but not in the style of our *dharmsalas*; each one must have a room of his own however small.

Other requisites are a common mess and playgrounds or gardens (so designed as to provide for future extensions). The future is to be assured and the work once started saved from curtailment or debasement by future financial stringency. This can be done only by accepting and steadily pursuing the policy of building up an Endowment Fund of fifty lakhs at its maximum. If the State makes over two lakhs a year for ten years to the Trust managing the Institute, and all public donations are credited to the Corpus of the endowment, the above is not an impossible figure. Judging from some of the noblest non-official institutions whose inner working I have seen, the work of such a hill college, if honestly done, will be its best advertisement and attract large donations. As Swami Vivekananda said to a pessimistic friend at the initial stage of his India-wide philanthropic

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organisation, "Money will be no hindrance. In India, money lies scattered on the ground. You have only to know how to gather it." It is men that matters, not money.

MONTHLY EXPENDITURE

2 Administrative officers	(total)	Rs.	1,000
6 Professors	,,	,,	3,600
12 Lecturers and assistants	,,	,,	3,600
8 Clerks, caretakers, etc.	,,	,,	800
Library staff	,,	,,	250
Contribution to Hotel and Hostel	,,	,,	250
25 Menials	,,	,,	1,200
			10,700
Annually		Rs.	1,28,000
Add leave, provident fund, etc.		,,	22,000
Total		,,	1,50,000

or an *endowment* of forty lakhs.

Fee income from 400 students (less ten per cent free), at Rs. 12 per month—Rs. 51,840 per annum, or *half a lakh*. Physical instructor, doctor, etc., to be included.

Capital expenditure at the start (in two years)

Land acquisition, levelling, etc.	1 lakh
Buildings	6 lakhs
Furniture and equipment	1 lakh
Water (and/or? electricity)	1 ,,
Library books (and/or laboratory)	1 ,,
Total	10 lakhs

P.S.—Will the title of my prayer be at last changed from *Hope* to *Dream*?

———:O:———

REMINISCENCES OF PROF. CARLO FORMICHI

BY MAHAMAHOPADHYAYA VIDHUSHEKHARA BHATTACHARYA

IT was with great pleasure that I read the short notice on the late Prof. Carlo Formichi published in the April issue of *The Modern Review*. It recalled vividly to my mind many incidents associated with him that happened during the time he was a Visiting Professor in the Visva-bharati and I was in charge of Vidyabhavana. The last letter I had from him would be of special interest to the present generation in view of the strong anti-Fascist sentiments he expressed therein in spite of his being an Italian who held high official rank in the academic world of his country. His letter runs thus:

'Rivoli, 25.IX, 1926.

My dear Friend,

Your kind letter has reached me here, where I shall stay a couple of days more before I go back to Rome.

Thank you very much for the sincere sympathy you show me and which I appreciate highly.

I am just like a man that has seen before his eyes a whole city crumble to dust on account of an earthquake. I am seeing many beautiful things pitifully destroyed and I cannot help crying over the ruins.

I do not know yet if the work of reconstruction will be possible. I shall do my best to help it, but on a quite new basis.

I can no longer trust persons in whom I had placed the whole of my love and confidence. I shall ever love you and some other friends in Santiniketan but they are not those who have done the mischief and who have become unworthy of my trust.

Tell Tucci,* please, that I am not writing to him this week for lack of news.

If not in this life I certainly shall meet you in some future existence and you will find a friend in me at once. Be sure of it.

Yours for ever affectionately
Carlo Formichi"

I may also in this connection narrate a few details I obtained from reliable sources regarding the trend of affairs during the Fascist regime. When Gurudev went to Italy, the Italian Government took special care to prevent any person from having access to him, who might give Gurudev a glimpse of Italian affairs different from Governmental propaganda. But somehow Gurudev did come in contact with other views which so displeased him that he publicly denounced the Fascist.

The Italian wife of an American Professor then living in Santiniketan, told me at that time that oppression as we were under British rule, we were yet much better off regarding freedom of opinion, thought, etc., than the people under the Duce's dictatorship.

A leading Indian Scholar who visited Rome at this time told me after his return, in reply to his query, the taxi-driver while passing Mussolini's Office uttered the Dictator's name in a very low and cautious whisper and explained later that he did so in order not to rouse suspicion in the mind of any passerby that he had any sinister motive in showing the Duce's office to a foreigner.

One incident may be added here, when for the first time Prof. Formichi met the class he had to teach, it fell to me to introduce him to his audience. After the introduction he dealt with his subject for a few minutes and then told me, "I hope you will now believe that I can teach." The remark was received with loud laughter from all present there.

* i.e., Prof. Giuseppe Tucci, the noted Italian Sanskritist who was also in Santiniketan as a Visiting Professor.—V.B.

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INDIA'S NATIONAL INCOME

By Dr. R. M. AGARWAL, M.A., Ph.D.

The calculation of per capita national income is not an end in itself but simply a means to an end. And its importance in planning future economic policies cannot be over-emphasized. Every sort of economic planning, agricultural or industrial, commercial or scientific, capitalistic or socialistic, must necessarily aim at increasing the per capita national income because other things remaining the same, particularly prices, it indicates rising standards of living of the people, material well-being and economic progress. It also serves as a measuring rod for comparing the general economic condition of the people in different countries or in the same country at different times. And changes in the various components of national income reflect upon the changing patterns of economic set-up.

But despite its playing such a vital role in the day-to-day economic life of the people and the country, no systematic or scientific attempt, official or non-official, was ever made to take stock of India's national income and compile the per capita earning. Some individual efforts were no doubt made, at their own initiative, by Dr. Dadabhai Naoroji, Messrs. Baring and Babour, Digby, Atkinson, Sir B. N. Sharma, Findlay Shirras, Shah and Khambata, Lord Curzon, the Simon Commission, V. K. R. V. Rao and B. Natarajan at various times from 1871 onwards and in the absence of any other useful data their findings did throw some light over this important issue, but they could by no means be taken as reliable and dependable because their difficulties were innumerable. This negligence on the part of our Government was more so deplorable in view of the fact that of all the countries of the world, ours was the only one which made the largest number of plans and programmes, what if they did not cross the paper stage, during the post-war years. Fortunately it recently realized the necessity of organizing such investigations and appointed for the first time on the 4th August, 1949, a National Income Committee with Prof. P. C. Mahalanobis as Chairman and Prof. D. R. Gadgil and Dr. V. K. R. V. Rao as members to prepare the report on the national income and related estimates, to suggest measures for improving the quality of available data and for the collection of further essential statistics and to recommend ways and means of promoting research in the field of national income. The Committee was also to guide the national income unit of the Government of India in compilation of authoritative estimates of the national income. The Government of India also made available to the Committee the advice of three destinguished foreign experts on national income, namely, Prof. Simon Kuzuets, Mr. J. R. N. Stone and Dr. J. B. D. Derksen who visited India during the cold weather of 1950-51. The committee submitted its first report only recently which was placed before the Parliament by our Finance Minister, Sri C. D. Desmukh on the 5th May, 1951. The Committee proposes to follow up its first report with a final one which is expected to be submitted towards the end of 1951 or early in 1952. The final report would cover both 1948-49 and 1949-50.

According to the first report of the Committee, the sum of the net output of all sectors of economy gives the net domestic product at "factor cost"—Rs. 8,730 crores (Government enterprises Rs. 300 crores, Government administration Rs. 460 crores, and private sector Rs. 7,970 crores). The net national product at market prices, factor cost plus indirect taxes, is estimated at Rs. 9,170 crores. Adjusting these figures with the estimated net earned income from abroad the figure for the net national income during 1948-49 has been arrived at Rs. 8,710 crores or Rs. 255 per head on the basis of an estimated Indian population of 341.04 millions during that year. But while discussing the above estimate at a Press Conference recently, Dr. V. K. R. V. Rao, one of the three members of the National Income Committee told that India was not richer in 1948-49 than in 1931-32 in real terms. His estimate of per capita income in 1931-32 was Rs. 65 which, he added, would come to about Rs. 260 when adjusted to the increased prices and the inflated values of other contributory factors in 1948-49. This indicated that the person was poorer by nearly Rs. 5 in 1948-49 than in 1931-32. Dr. Rao added, "I would certainly state that the per capita real income has not gone up." This is also shown partly by the fact that nearly 53 per cent of the material income was being spent over food alone.

The Committee has however estimated the national over-all average of the net output per engaged person at Rs. 660. Breaking the figure occupation-wise, the net output per engaged person was highest in mining and factory establishment, that is Rs. 1,700, followed by commerce, transport and com-

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munications Rs. 1,600, Government services Rs. 1,300, small enterprises Rs. 600, professions Rs. 600, agriculture and animal husbandry Rs. 500 and domestic services Rs. 400. Thus the comparatively more paying and productive character of mining and manufacturing enterprises as against either agriculture or services is too obvious even though agriculture, animal husbandry and auxiliary activities contributed 48 per cent and commerce, transport and communications 19.5 per cent of the national income. Again contribution by small enterprises, which is 83.6 per cent is about five times as great as that of large enterprises (16.4 per cent). It is also seen that small enterprises account for more than 61 per cent of the net domestic product.

Moreover, the total working force of the country has been placed at 132.74 millions of which 90.50 millions or 68.2 per cent were engaged in exploitation of animal and vegetation, 18.02 millions or 13.6 per cent in industry, 8.30 millions or 6.2 per cent in trade, 5.04 millions or 3.8 per cent in professions or liberal arts, 4.19 millions or 3.2 per cent in domestic services, 2.45 millions or 1.8 per cent in transport, 1.91 millions or 1.4 per cent in public force, 1.70 millions or 1.3 per cent in public administration and 0.63 millions or 0.5 per cent in exploitation of minerals. Hence, the unbalanced nature of our national economy which is predominantly agricultural offers very little scope for future developments, if left undisturbed and allowed to take its own course.

Also 97 per cent of the Government revenue that is, Rs. 690 crores out of a total revenue of Rs. 710 crores was spent over administration. Out of Rs. 710 crores, direct taxes accounted for Rs. 198 crores (Corporation tax Rs. 65 crores and other Income taxes Rs. 133 crores), indirect taxes Rs. 416 crores (Customs Rs. 139 crores, Excise Rs. 107 crores, Stamps Rs. 20 crores, Land Revenue Rs. 42 crores, and other indirect taxes and duties Rs. 108 crores) and fees and miscellaneous receipts Rs. 70 crores (Civil Administration Rs. 38 crores and Miscellaneous Rs. 30 crores) thus making a total tax revenue of Rs. 684 crores. Another Rs. 50 crores was obtained by transfer of operating surplus from current account of commercial enterprises (Railways Rs. 25 crores and others Rs. 25 crores) and income from property accounted for Rs. 22 crores (Interest Rs. 10 crores and others Rs. 12 crores). The expenditure of Rs. 690 crores, on the other hand, comprised Civil Administration Rs. 326 crores. Defence Rs. 279 crores, Miscellaneous Rs. 25 crores, Subsidies Rs. 34 crores, Transfer payment to individuals Rs. 26 crores. Of the expenditure on Civil Administration the cost of collection of taxes alone accounted for Rs. 26 crores while General Administration including expenditure on Police, Public Health, Education, etc., accounted for Rs. 242 crores. Out of Rs. 279 crores spent on Defence, the pay and allowances of the armed forces alone has been estimated at Rs. 117 crores. The surplus of Rs. 20 crores on current account does not represent the budgetary position of the public authorities, but only the excess of income drafted by them and not spent during the year.

The capital account of the public authorities for the same year reveals a sum of Rs. 49 crores and an expenditure of Rs. 208 crores (Capital Expenditure on commercial enterprises Rs. 120 crores, Maintenance and capital outlay of Administrative departments Rs. 81 crores, and Net purchase of assets Rs. 7 crores). The deficit was met by a net borrowing of Rs. 159 crores.

Taking the current and capital accounts and also the current account of the public commercial enterprises together, a sum of Rs. 1,214 crores was paid out of the public sector during the year. Of this, Rs. 630 crores represented wages and salaries, Rs. 28 crores interest, Rs. 360 crores purchase of commodities and services, Rs. 29 crores maintenance, Rs. 60 crores transfer payments and Rs. 7 crores purchase of assets.

Thus, it is obvious that the above details of India's national income and expenditure demarcate the following four characteristics of our national economy:

1. Deteriorating economic condition of the people in spite of rise in their money incomes on account of general inflationary condition in the country and rising cost of living;
2. unbalanced character of our national economy which is predominantly agricultural and which is no more paying on account of too many people working over it;
3. predominance of small-scale over large-scale enterprises; and
4. very little expenditure of public revenue over development programmes as compared with those over administration.

This is anything but in the interest of the country and our administrators must necessarily devise policies to change this natural course of our national economy. If we want to be as powerful and rich as the other countries of the West, we cannot lay too much emphasis over our agriculture and must essentially devote greater and greater attention towards large-scale industrial developments. But this cannot take place without an active and all-out help from the Government. But for this, no country in the world would have been able to increase its per capita national income, not even U.S.A., Canada, U.K., Germany or Japan.

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INACCURACIES IN OFFICIAL STATISTICS IN WEST BENGAL

By JATINDRA MOHAN DATTA, M.SC., B.L., F.S.S. (Lond.)

A fresh ration cut has been imposed from the 2nd July, 1951. The Food Minister, Sri Prafulla Chandra Sen, in a recent broadcast tried to justify the policy he is following by quoting certain official statistics. We pity him; he is more a victim of the inaccuracy of official statistics than a sinner for inaugurating a bad policy. We do by no means exonerate him or the Central Government for their policy. But we realise how badly they are being served with official statistics.

In 1934, we pointed out in the pages of the *Sankhya*, the journal of the Indian Statistical Institute, how inaccurate the official statistics sometimes are. In one single year, there were *ten* Chairmen for the Panihati Municipality!

Since then we hoped there would be an improvement in the official statistics; if not in their collection at least in its presentation. We based our hope on the formation of the Provincial Statistical Bureau in West Bengal. But our hopes have been belied.

The Provincial Statistical Bureau publishes a Statistical Abstract for West Bengal. It published one for 1947 sometime ago. It has recently published another for 1948. But there are serious errors in it, both of compilation and presentation. We hope the authorities responsible for the publication of the *Statistical Abstract* would take greater care in future. We would request them to go through the pages of such books, as the *Canadian Year-Books, Australian Year-Books*, etc., to see for themselves how the official statistics are coudensed and presented in the British Dominions; and also to go through such books as *Pocket Compendium of Australian Statistics* (pp. 208), price 1 sh.

The attention of the authorities has been drawn to the inaccuracies and insufficiency of the official statistics ever since 1934. (See *Sankhya*, Vol. I, pp. 435-39 and Vol. 6, pp. 231-35). Some serious mistakes in the Bengal Census Report of 1931 (*Sankhya*, Vol. 3, pp. 163-170 and Vol. 6, pp. 327-328), were pointed out by the present writer.

Statistical Abstract, West Bengal, 1948 has been published. This is the second issue of the series. But there are certain errors persisting in it still.

(1) At page 6, in table 1.1 it is stated that the number of sub-divisions in the District of 24-Parganas is 6. But at page 22, table 1.9, five sub-divisions have been shown. The Bongong sub-division has been omitted; the area under it has been amalgamated with the Barasat sub-division.

(2) The population of West Bengal has been given as 21,196,453 in tables 1.2; 1.3; 1.4; 1.5; 1.6. The population of West Bengal (after partition) has been given as 21,211,427 in the Statistical Handbook No. 1 presented to the members of the Constituent Assembly. It is a saleable publication. The figures 21,211,427 have been repeated at pages 3 and 4 of the *Statistical Handbook*.

The error in the figure given by the Provincial Statistical Bureau has arisen in this way. In table 1.9 the figures for each thana has been given; but no figure has been given for that portion of the Daulatpur Police Station which has been allotted to West Bengal under the Radcliffe Award. This exclusion has led to the above error.

(3) At page 274, table 26.3 is headed thus:

> "Particulars relating to New Life Insurance Business of Indian Insurers effected during 1947 and total Life Insurance Business in force at the end of the year in West Bengal."

The heading is misleading. All that has been shown in the table is the business of certain companies registered in Calcutta. The Oriental Life Insurance Company's business here in West Bengal is not included; while the entire business of Hindusthan Life Insurance Company is included, much of which is outside West Bengal.

(4) In table 41.4 at page 383, the number of cinema houses and the monthly average number of spectators are given.

District	*Number of cinema houses (in Dec., 1948)*	*No. of spectators (monthly average)**
Burdwan	11	109,841
Birbhum	5	37,332
Bankura	4	65,756
Midnapore	13	201,344
Howrah	15	221,079
Hooghly	20	232,951
24-Parganas	16	194,405
Calcutta	72	Not available
Nadia	4	46,777
Murshidabad	2	21,389
West Dinajpur	3	18,152
Malda	2	36,851
Jalpaiguri	1	10,325
Darjeeling	4	52,615
Total West Bengal	172	(a) 96,832

(a) Excluding Calcutta.

Figures for Calcutta have been omitted. No explanation has been given why the number of

* Average of twelve months (Jan. to Dec. 1948).

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spectators at Calcutta cannot be given. No attempt has been made to form an estimate of the number of spectators at Calcutta from the amusement tax collected though of the total Rs. 4,21,000 amusement tax collected in 1948, Rs. 3,41,000 came from Calcutta alone. Further in calculating the provincial average of spectators a simple average of the district averages instead of a pooled average for the province has been used. In some copies there is a corrigenda, giving the correct figure, in some other copies there is no corrigenda.

(5) In table 41.2 at page 382, the particulars about street accidents in Calcutta are given.

The figures for 1945, 1946 and 1947 are given; while the figures for 1948 are given month by month, but no totals for 1948 have been given. For ready reference and easy comparison such total should have been given.

But there seems to be error in the figures themselves. For example, the number of persons killed in 1946 and 1947 are given as 324 and 184. But in the *Monthly Statistical Digest, West Bengal,* published by the same Provincial Statistical Bureau for September, 1950, we find at page 101, that the monthly average of persons killed in Calcutta in 1946 and 1947 are 19 and 15 only while they are 27 and 15 respectively if the previous annual figures are reduced to monthly figures.

324 divided by 12 for 1946, comes to 27 and not 19.

184 divided by 12 for 1947, comes to 15.

Let us assume that this is a printing mistake. The total number of vehicles involved in such street accidents in 1946 and 1947 are given as:

	Number of vehicles involved			
	Civilian	Military (British)	Military (U.S.A.)	Total
1946	5,696	2,061	1,112	8,869
1947	9,105	601	28	9,734

The monthly average of vehicles involved in accidents would work out to 739 for 1946 and 811 for 1947. But in the *Monthly Abstract* referred to above the figures given are 1,131 and 1,276.

(6) At page 372, table 37.1 capacity of jails in West Bengal has been given. But no mention has been made of the Hazaribagh Reformatory, where West Bengal has a right to send convicts, perhaps because it is in Bihar. As it is a statistical abstract such information should be given. When about two years ago the Judicial Minister of West Bengal, visited the Hazaribagh Reformatory, he found that 87 convicts out of a total of 200 has been sent by West Bengal. (cf. the *Prabasi,* Baisakh, 1357 B.S.)

(7). At page 177, table 14.12 gives the number of newspapers, periodicals and books published in Bengal.

In column 3, the number of newspapers, periodicals published has been given. The *Statesman,* the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* and the *Hindusthan Standard* are counted as one each, the twelve issues of *The Modern Review* are taken as twelve. This is not reasonable.

(8) The area of Calcutta has been shown differently at different places.

At page 22, table 1.2 the area has been given as:

Calcutta excluding Fort William, canals and port	18,121 acres
Calcutta	26,714 "

At page 29, table 1.11 the area has been given as:

Municipal area	31.70 sq. miles
Fort William and Maidan	2.00 "
Total Calcutta	33.70 sq. miles

But the areas of the 32 different wards of Calcutta as given in table 1.2 total up 18,121 sq. miles or 28.3 sq.miles.

(9) Coming now to table 34.1 at page 352 showing the number and constitution of Municipalities, District Boards and Union Boards in West Bengal we have several comments to make.

(*a*) While the figures for Municipalities and District Boards are for the year 1946-47, those for Union Boards are corrected up to July 1948. The report is signed in January 1949. Why the figures for the Municipalities and District Boards cannot be brought up to the end of 1947-48 at least we fail to see.

(*b*) The figures for Nadia District Board are said to be not available. In pre-partition Nadia, the figures were certainly available.

As a result of the partition of Bengal, the districts of Nadia, West Dinajpur, Malda and Jalpaiguri were also partitioned. To provide for this West Bengal District Boards Ordinance XI of 1947 was promulgated, and the West Bengal District Boards Act III of 1947 was passed on the 30th December, 1947. The figures for the reconstituted District Boards could have been and should have been given.

(*c*) If the figures are for the year 1946-47, how then the constitution of the District Board of West Dinajpur, which was not formed till August 1947, could be given. Surely it relates to post-partition position.

(*d*) The number of municipalities is wrong. There were 10 municipalities in Hooghly, and not 11.

(*e*) A note should have been added as to the number and constitution of Cantonment Boards in West Bengal.

(10) At page 344, in table 32.9 classified List of Assessees assessed to Agricultural Income Tax in Bengal, 1945-46 has been given. In the *Statistical Abstract* for 1947 no such table was shown. We fail to understand why the later figures for United Bengal the year 1946-47 could not be given. After the partition of Bengal, the agricultural income-

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structure of West Bengal has undergone a radical change; and these later figures should have been given. The following abstract of statistics for the several years show that the statistics for 1945-46 standing by themselves are misleading as to the distribution of incomes.

	No. of cases dealt with	Total gross income	Amount of tax collected
		Rs.	Rs.
United Bengal—			
1945-46	4,331	8,18,31,920	90,91,232
1946-47	3,202	4,27,55,090	39,75,954
West Bengal—			
1947-48	2,302	4,34,96,312	38,12,579
1948-49	3,154	4,24,63,815	43,51,416
1949-50	4,249	6,59,75,512	65,11,400

If the detailed figures are available to non-officials, why the same cannot be collected and published in the *Statistical Abstract* we fail to understand.

(11) At page 345, in Table 32.10, Commercial tax collected in Bengal, 1941-42 to 1947-48 has been given.

The Sales-tax, for example, has increased from Rs. 15,61,592 in 1941-42 to Rs. 3,60,45,539 in 1946-47. To what this phenomenal increase is due? It would require sometime to get the Department concerned in assessing and collecting the tax in full working order. Therefore, there is some time-lag. Any normal increase would be due to commercial activity. But there have been several changes in the rate of tax since it was first imposed.

The Bengal Finance (Sales Tax) Act, 1941 came into force on the 1st of July, 1941. The official financial year begins on the 1st of April every year. So the first year's collection represent only 9 months working of the Act, apart from the time-lag to get the working of the Department in full swing.

At first the rate of tax was one quarter-anna in the rupee. By Bengal Act I of 1944 the rate was increased to one half of anna in the rupee. By Bengal Act VIII of 1945, the rate was increased to three-quarters of an anna. It was then reduced to one-half of an anna in 1946; and again increased to three-quarters of an anna by West Bengal Act X of 1948. Further there have been changes in the Schedule of tax-free goods from time to time. A note drawing attention to these several facts should have been added to make the Table more useful to the reader.

Our observations cover the other taxes also.

(12) In the section headed Medical, beginning at page 160 and ending at page 163, we find in Table 14.4 the distribution of Registered Doctors according to qualification and sex in Bengal for the years 1946 and 1947; and in Table 13.5, the number of registered Nurses, Midwives and Health Visitors in Bengal from 1939-1948.

We have several comments to make on this section.

(*a*) To make the above two tables comparable the figures for the earlier years as well as for 1948 should have been given in Table 13.4.

(*b*) Nowhere we find the number of Dentists registered under the Bengal Dentists Act, 1939. Neither one finds mention of the number of Ayurvedic practitioners, registered under the State Faculty of Ayurveda, nor of the Homeopath doctors similarly registered. This is in our opinion a serious lacunae.

(13) At page 35, in Table 1.15, area and population of Provinces of Indian Union with density per square mile are given.

The area and population of Assam, West Bengal and East Punjab have been shown thus:

	Area	Population
Assam	50,321	73,92,618
West Bengal	28,215	211,96,453
East Punjab	31,028	126,91,430

It is said that these figures are estimated figures, estimated presumably by the Provincial Statistical Bureau.

In the Statistical Handbook No. 1 prepared for the use of the Members of the Constituent Assembly, the respective areas and populations have been shown thus :

	Area	Population
Assam	50,296	74,47,531
West Bengal	27,748	212,11,427
East Punjab	37,058	126,17,175

The second edition of this Handbook was published as early as 1947. Why no use has been made of this authoritative publication, and a fresh estimate, apparently erroneous, has been made, we do not know.

The discrepancies between the two sets of figures are given in the table below. Taking those given in the Handbook No. 1 as the bases, we find the differences to be:

	Area	Population
Assam	+ 25	— 78,913
West Bengal	+ 467	— 14,974
East Punjab	—6,030	+ 74,255

(*b*) Why the population and area of the Native States acceding to India, at least its totals, have not been given to make the Table really useful, we do not know. We complain of its absence.

(14) At page 234, in Table 19.5, a list of towns and villages in West Bengal served with electricity in 1946 is given.

The list is positively misleading. How misleading we shall show by a few examples. The Panihati Municipality consists of seven Wards, of which Agar-

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para, Panihati, Bhowanipore, and Sukhchar are on the river Hooghly (Bhagirathi). They are served with electricity. While Agarpara and Panihati have been mentioned as items No. 1 and 47, no mention has been made of either Bhowanipore or Sukhchar.

Similarly the Kamarhati Municipality consists of four Wards, *viz.*, Kamarhati, Areadaha, Dakshineswar, all on the river Hooghly and of Belghurria. Mention has been made of Areadaha (item No. 2), Belghurria (item No. 12) and of Kamarhati (item No.33); but Dakshineswar has been omitted.

Calcutta and Fort William have been shown as two different places (items No. 17 and No. 21).

Radhanagar (item No. 48) in the district of Burdwan is supplied with electricity from Dishergarh; but no mention has been made of Dishergarh itself as a place supplied with electricity, although it is within West Bengal.

A better plan would have been to give the names of Towns or Municipalities or of the main villages; as also the area of supply and if possible the population, enumerated or estimated, of such area where the supply is available.

We are making these observations to show how haphazardly the statistics have been compiled and presented.

(15) At page 228, in Table 18.1 the production and the number of workers and the Coal Industry have been given. It has been stated that the number of workers for 1946 and 1947 are "not available." The book has been published in 1950, and bears the signature of the Director in 1949. In the *Indian Labour Year-Book, 1947-48*, page 8, the total number of workers in the Mines of West Bengal for the years 1946 and 1947 are given as:

1946—80,373 and 1947—89,682.

The source or sources from which the authors of the *Indian Labour Year-Book*, a Central Government publication, have got the figures are presumably available to the officers of the Government of West Bengal. It appears they have not exerted themselves in the matter.

———:O:———

THE GOSPEL OF KRISHNA

By SUDHIR CHANDRA MAJUMDAR

I

1. The book of Krishna, the son of Basudev, the son of Jadu.

2. Jadu begat Madhu and Madhu begat Sattwata and Sattwata begat Vrishni and his brethren.

3. And in the generation of Vrishni was born Basudev, the husband of Devaki of whom was born Krishna who is called Basudev.

4. Now the birth of Krishna was on this wise: Devaki the king Kangsa's sister was espoused to Basudev.

5. Now it came to pass that as one day Kangsa went out to the street on his chariot, behold, there came a voice from heaven, the eighth child of Devaki, thy sister would kill thee.

6. When Kangsa heard these things, he was very wroth and threw his sister and his sister's husband into the prison and slew one after another, their seven children.

7. Now when Krishna was born in the prison, behold, the spirit of the Lord appeareth before Basudev at night saying, Arise and take the young child to Brindabon, for Kangsa will seek the young child to destroy him.

8. When he arose, he took the young child by night and departed into Brindabon and kept him at the house of Nanda, the king of cowherds.

II

1. Now Krishna grew up to be a fine lad and brought gladness into the hearts of Nanda and his wife.

2. He went forth to the fields to tend cattle by the Jamuna with other cowherd boys and piped and danced merrily in the shade of the Kadamba tree.

3. And the maidens of Braja knew that this was the God which is come to teach love and piety. So they met him in the wilderness and worshipped him.

4. And they said unto him, Draw us, we will run after thee, for thy love is sweeter than wine, so the upright love thee.

5. And he said unto them, Ye daughters of Braja why do ye leave your husbands and brothers and run after me, behold, I am black and a mere cowherd boy.

6. And they answered and said, Thou art black but comely, yea, fairer than the primrose.

7. Behold we have left our husbands and our kindreds and followed thee, for whither thou goest we will go.

8. When Krishna heard these things, he saw that love was real and pure and so he favoured them.

III

1. Now when Kangsa heard that Krishna was living he was very wroth and he sent demons to kill him.

2. Then Krishna's wrath was kindled and he went forth to Mathura and smote him and lo he was dead.

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3. Then Krishna gave the people good laws and ruled them wisely.

4. Now king Jarasandha of Magadh, the brother of Kansa's wives, came with a large army to conquer Mathura.

5. And his men were numerous even as the sands of the sea and his wealth was great, yea greater than Kuvera's.

6. Then Krishna said, Behold ye sons of Jadu, we are few and poor, so shall we leave the city to Jarasandha and move westward.

7. So they went forth to the west even up to the sea and built the city of Dwaraka and dwelt there.

8. There the children of Jadu—the Bhojites, the Andhakites and the Kukurites lived peacefully under him.

IV

1. Now it came to pass that a mighty battle was fought between Pandavas and their uncle's sons, Kauravas.

2. This was done that it might be fulfilled which was said of old, Brother shall rise against brother and bloody battles shall be fought.

3. And all the kings of Ind assembled in the wilderness of Kurukshetra, yea from the Himalayas to Comorin.

4. Now when Krishna came to help Pandavas, he saw Arjun, very much cast down. And he said unto him, Why art thou cast down? Fight and have thy right.

5. If ye fight not, your enemies will think you like the publicans that are weak in heart. Are ye not much better than they?

6. Verily I say unto you, the soul dieth not, but passeth into another body, even as a man weareth a new cloak.

7. Ye have heard that it was said by the sages of old that Thou shalt perform sacrifices and go to heaven; verily I say they have their reward.

8. But desire not the reward and do not sound a trumpet before thee as the hypocrites do.

V

1. Ye have heard that Thou shalt renounce all works, but I say unto you whosoever renounceth the worldly tasks but lusteth after them is a hypocrite.

2. So be thou ever working for it has been said that even Thou shalt not eat except by the sweat of thy brow. But whatever thou eatest or whatever thou doest do to the glory of God.

3. Whosoever offereth any gift to me—water, flowers, fruits or leaves with a sincere heart, that gift shall I take; for hath he not humbled himself for which the kingdom of heaven is?

4. I am the Light of the world, the Supreme Soul, yea, the holder of the universe, but people know me as Basudeva Krishna.

5. Despise all good and bad and seek my shelter and thou shalt not sin before God. *Selah.*

6. Then Arjun arose for battle and long was the fight and terrible was the bloodshed, yea, the land was red with blood.

7. Rivers of blood flowed and mountains of corpses were heaped and the land of Ind was desolate.

8. And the Lord smote the Kauravas by the scores of hundreds and thousands and they were all dead for they sinned against God.

VI

1. When Krishna saw his work was done, the empire of righteousness founded, he departed into Dwaraka.

2. Now it came to pass that the sons of Jadu sinned in the eye of the Lord and God cursed the city and it was doomed.

3. They quarrelled with one another and fought with one another and they were destroyed for their wickedness.

4. Then Krishna seated himself on the branch of a tree when a fowler shot an arrow at him and he yielded up the ghost.

5. Then a thick darkness covered the earth, the earth quaked, the hills rent and behold the land of Dwaraka was under the sea.

6. And all the devas and the departed saints appeared and sang welcome to hail their Lord to heaven.

7. Now when the unbelievers saw these things, they feared greatly saying, Truly this was the Incarnation of God.

8. And the spirit of Krishna said unto all, Lo, I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world. *Amen.*

———:O:———

VINOBAJI IN TELANGANA

By SURESH RAMABHAI

The history of the human race may be described as the story of a long and continuous struggle between the 'haves' and the 'have-nots,' the former trying to have more at the cost of the latter, and the latter trying to rise to the status of the former. The political, economic, religious, social and even cultural revolutions may be regarded as the manifold shades of this great struggle in which greater stress was laid at a time on one particular aspect of it against the other. It is the task of the reformer or revolutionary to bridge the vast gulf separating the haves from the have-nots, or, in other words, to break down the oppressive variety of walls acting as a barrier between one man and another, one class and an other, one community or country and another.

To a greater or smaller extent our country also as much suffers from this malady as any other. And inside the country the most conspicuous victim of this havoc is the State of Hyderabad whose capital city with its dazzling wealth and luxurious display offers a gruesome contrast to the squalor and poverty of the inhabitations

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stretching on from about five miles off from the city. Again, nowhere in Hyderabad has this gulf between the haves and the have-nots assumed so devastating proportions as in Telangana. It is the name given to the area comprising the districts of Mahbubnagar, Nizamabad, Karimnagar, Nalgonda and Warangal, in the south-east, east and north-east of the State, where Telugu is the language of the masses. The centuries-old feudal administration of the State has only countenanced to the growing of this gulf still wider. The general people in Telangana are perhaps poorer and far more afflicted than their brethren in any other part of the country. But, until a few years ago, no attempts were made to alleviate their misery or meet their genuine grievances. Unfortunately, however, the youths, abiding by Communism, who rallied together in this mission of service believed in the maxim of 'All is fair in love and war.' They began to develop Telangana into an impregnable base from which they thought they could succeed in establishing other pockets and thus conquering the whole country in no distant future.

During the British regime neither the condition in Telangana was very serious nor did the then Government of India take any interest in the matter. But with the British withdrawal from India the situation took a grave turn. And when both the State Government and the Republican Government at New Delhi were badly preoccupied in the 'Police Action,' the Communists took hold of this sleeping-hour opportunity to propagate their mission and set in such horrors in most of Telangana as to make the 'haves' flee away with their lives and even the official administration seemed to come to a stand-still. By the time both the State and Central governments felt ready to tackle the area the problem had already taken the form of a big menace pervading all round and the Communist-infected Telangana was famous the world over. But all governments have a strange sense of prestige and a stranger sense of recovering it, if lost. So curiously impelled, both the Governments, amassing all possible stuff in the form of man or material sprang upon Telangana with a leonine violence and asked, at the point of pistol, its people to give correct clues of the communists or hand them over to them (the Police). Frightened by this monstrosity, the poor inhabitants, in some measure, began to give the whereabouts of some of them whom they knew. This enraged the communists bitterly. And they came at night to inflict every pain and torture on those who, according to their true or false information, had submitted to the wishes of the Government. Thus ravaged by the Police forces in the day and by the communists in the night, the hundreds and thousands of men and women and children in Telangana are groaning under a terror which has no parallel in the country. Naturally many innocent people who had nothing to do with either the Police or the communists also came under fire. It is like the grinding down of the proverbial ant together with the grain between the two stones. And truth it is that the innocent ones far outnumber those who are really hands in glove with the Police or the communists. Virtually, therefore, a reign of terror stalks the entire Telangana and the woe-stricken millions know no end of their miserable plight which beggars description.

Towards these people, it was on the auspicious day of Ramnavami, the 15th of April 1951, that Acharya Vinobaji Bhave, or Vinobaji as he is lovingly called, set his face when he started from Hyderabad on a walking tour of Telangana. To quote his own words :

> "I wanted to tour the Telangana as a soldier of Shanti Sena in order to propagate the message of peace. For many days, I could not put into practice this wish of mine for many reasons. But, however, after obtaining the blessings of the Lord Rama, I have undertaken this tour", as he said in the course of a speech (May 10th) delivered to the Communist detenus whom he met in the District Jail of Nalgonda (Vide unofficial Note No. 364, issued by the Director of Information and Public Relations, Hyderabad).

What is the problem of Telangana? As Vinobaji said in his speech in the village of Mirialguda (May 15th) :

> "Some people here possess thousands of acres of land while some cannot call even one acre as their own." (No. 353)

The seriousness of the situation can be gauged by what he said at Balapalle (May 31st) :

> "The population of this village is 3,000 and its cultivable area is 3,000 acres. But only 90 families own the entire lands, while 600 families are landless. Nor is there any cottage industry in the village. The weavers of the village get yarn sufficient to keep them engaged for eight or ten days only in a month. Equitable distribution of lands should be co-ordinated with the development of cottage industries. Villagers should not grow cash crops. They should grow food crops and enough cotton to enable them to make their village self-sufficient in the matter of clothing. *The trouble in Telangana is due to indiscriminate growing of cash crops, like groundnut and tobacco.*" (Vide No. 330)

By the way, it shows that thoughtless encouragement given by the authorities in India to the random growth of cash crops like cane, groundnut and tobacco, is responsible for much of our food shortage, as Vinobaji also mentioned in very clear terms in his note on the letter from Sri R. K. Patil, member of the National Planning Commission. (Vide *Harijan*, dated 23rd December, 1950 and 3rd March, 1951). How deeply Vinobaji feels about this can be gathered from his speech at Medepalli (May 26th) :

> "Forty years ago, as a student I used to read and think about the conditions of my country and feel sorry for my slave country and its miserable conditions. To-day, after forty years, there is no change in those conditions; on the contrary, they have worsened." (No. 374)

In keeping with the time-old tradition of India, Vinobaji wants to meet this baffling situation by performing a *Yagna* :

> "In olden days, when disturbed conditions prevailed in the country, our ancestors used to perform *yagnas*. I also wanted to perform a *yagna*, so I have started experimenting this *Bhudana Yagna*. I have asked many persons to donate lands. Everyone should

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take part in this *yagna* which is in the interest of the upliftment of the people. Just as we give our share to the *yagnas*, so also we should donate lands. People were doubtful whether anyone would donate lands to the landless poor in the Kaliyug but when there is a person to ask, people are giving and up till now (speech at Tanikella on May 30th) I have got 3,500 acres of land." (No. 386)

From the foregoing it is manifest that the mal-distribution of wealth and property has brought about all the trouble in Telangana. Nothing else has so much contributed to the communist menace as this. As Vinobaji said at Suryapet on May 23rd :

> "The rich people are responsible for the creation of the communists. The rich in fact are the fathers of the communists." (No. 373)

Receiving donations of land from every one and distributing the same among the poor is the only way to root out this trouble. No amount of Police and military forces will do the job. As Vinobaji made it clear in a speech :

> "In summer you will not find grass but no sooner the rainy season starts, grass begins to grow as there are seeds of grass in the earth. So also the Police can curb the Communist menace for a while, but it cannot root it out permanently. So we must root out this menace by adopting the right path." (No. 386). Or again, "The police will not be very helpful in fighting the Communist menace. The only way to root it out is to remove the unequal distribution of land by peaceful way." (No. 379)

Vinobaji wants that effective legislations must be passed so that this anomaly may become a thing of the past. Speaking at Naikengudam (May 23rd) he said :

> "The task begun by me should be continued. Sri U. Kesava Rao, the President, Nalgonda District Congress Committee, will continue this task. According to my estimate, about fourteen to fifteen lakhs of people live in the District of Nalgonda and if fourteen to fifteen thousands acres of land are donated, then fourteen to fifteen thousand individuals will get their livelihood. This act of distribution of lands will remove the state of restlessness and establish peace. Government should give Taccavi loans and other facilities to individuals who will be acquiring these donated lands. Besides this, the Government should pass an Act limiting the extent of land and the number of acreage that a man should possess and then it should make a provision by the same Act to ballot the rest of the land to the poor. If these things come into existence the communist menace will disappear." (No. 373).

Further, the 'haves' must donate this land regarding it as their duty. Vinobaji made it clear in a speech (May 26th) at Kodmur :

> "The donations that are now being given are not obligations. According to Shastras, the act of donation means the act of sharing with others whatever we have. This clearly means that no individual obliges the other individual by giving donations." (No. 379).

It may be argued whether donation of money will not serve the same purpose. No, certainly not. Vinobaji is very firm on this point. He unequivocally declared at Kodmur (*ibid*) :

> "I do not accept money by way of donation. As a matter of fact money has destroyed India. The values of commodities do not fluctuate; on the contrary, the price of money fluctuates. The value of foodgrains is stationary. I want to redeem the people from the clutches of money which is merely medium and which generates a feeling of pride in the man who donates it. But in the donation of lands the right of the poor is inherent and, therefore, I accept donation of lands. . . . If everyone embraces the poor with love I am sure that the Communist menace will vanish."

In passing it may be remarked that Vinobaji accepts only Shrama-Dan (donation in the form of labour done). He has been working on this principle for more than a year past and with a band of devoted workers has achieved remarkable results in the direction of self-sufficiency by self-labour, in his Paramdham Ashram at Paunar, about five miles away from the famous town of Wardha.

As regards the Communist menace in Telangana, its genesis has been given above in Vinobaji's own words. He bears no malice or ill-will towards the believers in the Communist doctrine. Speaking (May 23rd) at Chandupatta, he said :

> "I have heard that a sort of awakening does exist in this village, as the communists have put in some work here. I consider the communists as my brothers. I have got some friends among the communists and it is not a crime to be a Communist. To be a Communist is to serve the poor." (No. 373)

But Vinobaji has no doubt about it that the ways of Communists are not suited to the country. In the course of the same speech he observed :

> "But, however, the Communists have indulged in violence and murderous acts. This is absolutely wrong and, therefore, all their services go over-board. Sri D. Venkateshwara Rao, a prominent Communist, who belongs to this village is a good man. If he could see me, I would have been able to convince him that he had adopted a wrong path. I have met some Communists in the jails of Hyderabad and Nalgonda and I held talks with them. It is my earnest wish to convince the people by making them understand that the way of peace is the real way to serve the masses." At another place he stated, "I want to make it clear to the Communists that it is not necessary for them to murder the rich, for the era of Democracy has ushered in. As a matter of fact the rich can be killed without pistol; for every adult has now acquired the right to vote. The future Raj will be the Raj of the common man. I request the Communists to come out openly and work. If they do that I will give my co-operation. If the Communists abandon their path of violence, all good and moral people will co-operate with them. Mahatma Gandhi also used to say: 'I am a Communist but I will not accept the suicidal path of violence'." (No. 374)

Nay, Vinobaji goes even further. In appeal to the Communists, he said at Wyra :

> "I request them to abandon violence and if they do so, I will accompany them to every nook and corner of India in order to propagate Communism."

What else could a believer in Communism aspire for ?

Vinobaji's method is that of love. As he observed (May 26th) at Kodmur :

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"The change that you villagers are perceiving in the entire environment is due to the blessings of God. If everyone believes in God it is definite that He will show the way. God is present in everyone's heart. If we appeal to Him, much work can be done. I will accept lands which are donated willingly. I have not come here with sten gun or with any power which is vested in me by Government. The Communists are doing their work and the Government is also doing its work in its own way. I am also doing some work here in my own way which is essentially based on love."

One need not be sceptical about the efficacy of this method which Mahatma Gandhi taught us by his life as also by his death. Hatred and violence do not help us at all in the long run. Attacks by the Police in the day and counter-attacks by the Communists at night will lead either of them nowhere and, of course, the people will continue to suffer in the extreme. To quote from Vinobaji's speech (June 5th) at Gavicharla :

"Violent manifestations of Communist activities may disappear in Telangana for some time, due to police vigilance and the split among the Communist workers, but Communism as such may continue as a problem with us until we solve the problem of poverty through redistribution of lands and the abolition of the drink habit."

He believes in the innate goodness of man and the conversion of his heart by persuasion. When he met the Communists in the Warangal Jail they asked him whether he could solve the problem by reinstalling the rich in their villages. To this Vinobaji replied :

"I believe that hearts do change. The act of donation will lead to a duel between the good and the evil inherent in man and improve their outlook. The fusion of Indian metaphysics and Western sciences will necessarily be sweet. Non-violence alone is the remedy of all evils." (*Ibid*)

But to work this method is a very hard task indeed. A solid work of this nature could be undertaken only by the Sarvodaya Samaj. To quote again from his Gavicharla speech :

"The Congress cannot serve the people because the principle of service has become a joke for the Congress. The Socialists are a better lot but they are after power. In these circumstances, the Sarvodaya Samaj alone can deliver the goods."

During this tour Vinobaji did not lay stress only upon the distribution of land. He made a plea for self-help and village industries also. As he said in a speech (May 10th) at Nalgonda :

"There is a limit to the extent of the availability of land. Besides, the population is also growing day by day. We must, therefore, increase the number of wells by digging new ones."

(It may be added that Vinobaji has actually dug a well at Paunar, no labour from outside the Ashram being availed of). He went on to say :

"We must construct canals also. The digging of new wells and constructing of new canals will usher in a new era wherein a man will be contented with twenty acres of wet land, whereas now he is not contented even with a hundred acres of land."

He continued :

"Without cottage industries, mere possession of land by a *kisan* will not solve his problem. If the *kisans* take to producing finished goods from the raw material obtaining in the villages, then only they will save themselves." (No. 364)

He also asked the rich to open Nai Talim schools in the villages so that no children need be sent to the cities.

Vinobaji concluded his tour on June 6th when he reached Mancherial, a little town on the bank of the Godavari. During this historic tour of 51 days Vinobaji encamped at 51 villages. It may be added that it was in the early hours of the morning on the 8th of March, 1951, that Vinobaji left his Ashram on foot for Shivarampalli, five miles from the city of Hyderabad, where he reached after covering some 300 miles on 7th April and for four consecutive days from April 8th to 11th, the Sarvodaya Samaj met there for its annual session. In his Telangana tour Vinobaji passed through some 200 villages and received about 9,000 acres of land for distribution among the landless, for which purpose he has formed a committee of three persons. Vinobaji settled about 500 village disputes, almost ten every day, during this pilgrimage of peace, and addressed some two lakhs of people.

A word about his daily routine. Vinobaji got up early in the morning before four o'clock and after the nature calls and the morning prayer he started on his tour by five. Walking for ten or twelve miles until nine he would come to a village, have his bath, frugal meal (consisting of some milk, curd, bananas, and gur) and rest. For two hours from two in the afternoon he went through his correspondence. Interviews began at four and the evening prayer at five, which closed with a speech by Vinobaji. Again, he gave time to the visitors after the prayer and by nine o'clock he went to bed.

The tour has now come to a close. Vinobaji is completing the return journey on foot which will take another fortnight. All the while in Telangana his endeavours have been to "bring about," as he said in a mass meeting at Warangal on June 5th, "a silent ideological revolution in our social outlook by asking the rich to donate lands to the poor."

This is a very heartening, refreshing news the like of which the country has not heard ever since Gandhiji passed away. At this critical hour the people all over the country look forward to Vinobaji to help show them the path lit by the Sarvodaya light and save them from the impending ruin.

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Book Reviews

Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

EDITOR, *The Modern Review*.

ENGLISH

CONVERSATIONS OF GANDHIJI: *By Chandrashanker Shukla. Vora and Co., Publishers Ltd., Bombay. 1949. Pp. viii + 134. Price Rs. 3.*

Shri Shukla, who was the Assistant Editor of the *Harijan* for several years, acted as Gandhiji's Secretary during 1933-34. This was the period when the Civil Disobedience Movement was restricted to Gandhiji alone, and when Gandhiji toured over India in order to combat the vile custom of untouchability.

There were numerous interviews in those days of which reports were duly prepared and subsequently corrected by Gandhiji himself. Shri Shukla has now presented them in the small book under review. He has put students of Congress history under a deep debt of gratitude by throwing an unexpected light on how Gandhiji used to work out his programmes through the national organization.

A DAY BOOK OF THOUGHTS FROM MAHATMA GANDHI: *Edited by K. T. Narasimha Char. Macmillan and Co., Limited. 1951. Pp. xxiv + 200 and eight plates. Price paper cover Rs. 2-4, cloth boards Rs. 4-8.*

The editor has brought together excerpts from Gandhiji's writings and arranged them in groups date by date. They are meant to be read, perhaps one group on each day of the year. He has therefore tried to present only such thoughts as has seemed to him to be of abiding interest.

At the end of each quotation we find the name of the book or journal from which it was taken, but no exact references are given. These look unnecessary. It would have been much better if the references had all been given in one place in the appendix. The plates which have been presented also seem to be unnecessary. One portrait of Gandhiji is all right; but why bring in others like the President of the Indian Republic or members of the Cabinet of the Indian political chess-board seem incongruous besides a recital of Gandhiji's thoughts which have a permanent value for all times. The printing and get-up of the book do great credit to the publishers.

NIRMAL KUMAR BOSE

THE CULTURAL HISTORY OF THE HINDUS: *By Chandra Chakraberty. Published by Vijaya Krishna Brothers, Calcutta. Pp. 376. Price not mentioned.*

The author's aim is "to assess and evaluate our ancient civilisation and culture ranging from 2700 B.C. (Mohenjo Daro period) to 648 A.D. (Harshavardhana's time)," and in particular "to show dispassionately how India's culture is indebted to others and how her natural genius has expressed itself." We can form an idea of the range and variety of topics dealt with by the author from his sectional headings, *viz.*, Arts, Philosophy, Morals, Law, Domestic Rites, Medicine, Astronomy, Religious Festivals, the Epics and the Puranas, the Economic Life, Indo-Iranian Contacts, Indo-Chinese Relations, Sex Life, and the Cultivated Plants. No one who reads these pages will grudge the author high praise for his enormous industry in tackling a vast mass of material bearing on his work. But his comparisons of ancient Indian and related civilisations have often to be accepted with a good deal of caution. His etymological derivations especially are not unoften fanciful, if not fantastic. With this qualifications, the book may be safely recommended as a useful reference work on the various aspects of ancient Indian culture and civilisation.

U. N. GHOSHAL

MAHABHARATA (Santiparvan): *Fascicules 18 and 19. Edited by Prof. S. K. Belvalkar. Published by the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, 1946-47. Pp. vii + 683.*

In these two fascicules the General Editor completes his textual analysis of the famous *Raja-dharma* section which he began printing on the 15th August, 1948, the first anniversary of Indian Independence. We are glad to hope with him, that with the building up of their printing press in the Institute's own premises in Poona, the whole work of publishing the critical edition of the Mahabharata will be completed 'long before the Institute celebrates the completion, in 1968, of 50 years of its unflagging work in the cause of oriental research.'

The *Apaddharma* and the *Mokshodharma* sections will be issued in two separate volumes with special Editorial notes on each of them and the entire Santiparvan (in 4 vols.) will be published with critical notes and general Introduction summing up the results. (As it was done by Dr. Sukthankar in the case of the *Adiparvan*). The Editor confesses that 'old and independent MSS. are very rare'; and so it is difficult to preserve uniformity of textual tradition in regard to the different versions of the Santiparvan which was nicknamed the "Pseudo-epic," of which several versions were textually altered or conflated! So we are doubly grateful to Prof. Belvalkar for having given us a rational order of text reconstruction, even when we know that the Upa-parvans have 'often suffered much wayward handling in the course of transmission.' The bulk of the Mahabharata text came to be fixed in the Gupta period (C. 500 A.D.) after say a thousand years of transmission from the age of Panini (C. 500 B.C.). Then the diverse MSS. traditions developed for another one thousand years. No wonder then that the Great

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Epic shows today a bewildering variation of readings—both in the composition of the Parvans and of the Upa-parvans.

In the MSS. of the *Rajadharma* presented by Prof. Belvalkar we notice that they mostly come from the 17-18 centuries. But a very rare Maithili version of the entire Santiparvan—dated 1516 A.D.—has been traced in the Nepal Durbar Library (No. 738) which has previously furnished unexpectedly new materials to the Bhandarkar Institute. The Editor has used, among others, a rare Bengali MS. (dated 1687) now in the National Library, Paris, which contains the Rajadharma, the Apaddharma and the Mokshadharma sections. These sub-parvans are self-contained units appealing to distinct classes of readers; and therefore critical notes will be published separately for each separate section. Purely exegetical notes apart, the learned editor has given references to the *Sutra, Smriti* and *Puranic* literature throwing new light on the Rajadharma text which can and should be studied with special reference to the Arthasastra, Manu and allied group of Sanskrit literature on the political, economic and administrative sciences of ancient India. This is a much neglected branch of Hindu sciences partly illumined by the *Arthasastra* of Kautilya; and now Prof. Belvalkar has furnished the first critically edited text of the *Raja-dharma* for which future researchers will be ever grateful to him. The Bhandarkar Institute is doing its arduous task for the whole nation and Free India should come forward to help the Editor and his learned colleagues to complete their "Mahabharata-yajna," if possible, by 1958 marking the centenary of India's first fight for Independence.

KALIDAS NAG

POONA RESIDENCY CORRESPONDENCE SERIES. (Government Book Depot, Bombay):

Vol. X: *The Treaty of Bassein and the Anglo-Maratha War in the Deccan, 1802-1804. Edited by Raghuvir Sinh. Price Rs. 15.*

Vol. XII: *Poona Affairs, Elphinstone's Embassy, 1811-1815. Edited by G. S. Sardesai. Price Rs. 15.*

Vol. XIV: *Daulat Rao Sindhia and North Indian Affairs, 1810-1818. Edited by Jadunath Sarkar. Price Rs. 15.*

These volumes bring to conclusion the famous series of English Records of Maratha History, undertaken by the Bombay Government, with the help of the most eminent historians available in India.

These contemporary reports, most of them unpublished till now, are the basic materials on which the true history of the Deccan and also of North India west of Oudh, during the first eighteen years of the 19th century will have to be constructed by the future historian. Their value can never be overestimated. The arrangement, summary of contents, and indexing of the volumes of this series are very helpful to the student. The records light up a rather obscure period of Indian history. Going through these papers, one realises that we had so long been content with the husk only; here is the kernel.

Vol. X gives the full and correct text of five important treaties not easily available elsewhere, and fully details the Duke of Wellington's diplomatic palavers with Vittal Mahadev whom he declared to be "a cleverer man than Talleyrand"! Vol. XII shows how Fate drove the last Peshwa Baji Rao II relentlessly on to the murder of Gangadhar Shastri and ensured his downfall. Vol. XIV has been called by its editor as "The Agony of Rajputana and Malwa". It gives the fullest information in print about the Pindharis, Amir Khan, Jaswant Rao Holkar, and the Rajput States in their worst plight. Tod's reports on the Pindharis, though very long, have been here printed in full. This volume is invaluable.

BRAJENDRA NATH BANERJEE

THE AGRARIAN PROBLEMS OF MADRAS PROVINCE: *By V. V. Sayana, M.A., Ph.D. Published by the Business Week Press, 173 Lloyd Road, Madras 14.*

The prosperity of agriculture is not only essential to the success and prosperity of all economic activities in other sources of life as industry, trade and commerce, but to an agricultural country like India it is also to a large extent the economic basis of social progress and political stability. Agrarian problems and policies have attracted special attention of the Governments and the peoples since the Great Depression. But since after the second World War, agrarian problems have assumed much greater importance than ever before and in India, it has occupied the first place from the point of urgency. But unfortunately for us, a continuous and well-planned research activity to carry on systematic and scientific studies of the factual situation in our provinces which is so very essential for the preparation of a rational plan of reconstruction, is extremely lacking. In this book, Dr. Sayana has given us a very rich study on the agrarian situation of Madras which meets the standard of the Research Worker as well as the needs of the enlightened public. The work is the result of a study of published material and accessible records, official and non-official, available on the subject supported by direct field investigations of villages selected on a multipurpose random sampling basis. The book is a very valuable addition to our present meagre stock of knowledge of the agricultural situation in India. We wish there were more Research workers to undertake similar studies in other provinces.

D. BURMAN

THE PERMANENT SETTLEMENT IN BENGAL AND ITS RESULTS: *By S. Gopal. Allen and Unwin Ltd., London. Pp. 52. Price 4s. 6d.*

Many books have been written on the Permanent Settlement of the Land Revenue in Bengal and its good and bad effects on the people of the Province. Mr. Gopal hails from the Madras Province and is comparatively 'an outsider.' He gives a scholarly account of the establishment of permanent settlement in Bengal, and the way in which it has worked. The writer's being an outsider, while it has added value to the study generally, has sometimes landed him in errors. The book, which secured the Curzon Memorial Prize at Oxford, is of particular value now when the State is contemplating abolition of zamindaries.

HOW TO FIND OUT ABOUT THE UNITED NATIONS. *Pp. 48.*

UNESCO PUBLICATIONS: *Pp. 84.*

The United Nations Organisation with all its faults is still the only World Organisation where the world problems are discussed from the international angle of vision. Its various activities are little reported in the daily press; and the intelligent querist finds it difficult to pursue its various activities and to know authoritatively about it. These two pamphlets will be of great use to students of international politics and intelligent readers.

J. M. DATTA

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THE QUEST OF LEADERSHIP: *By Donald Portway. Thacker & Co. Ltd., Bombay. 1945. Price Rs. 4-14.*

The author is a man of varied experience. He is an Engineer, President and Senior Tutor of St. Catharine's College, Cambridge, served in the Army for a long time and had been a member of the Army Selection Directorates of Britain and India. He stayed in India for a year and came into close contact with Armymen. Having keen interest in men and their affairs he made his own observations about many aspects of Indian life and has expressed his views in clear and unambiguous language.

Leaders are necessary in every field of human activity. War, politics, business, industry and peace too depend a good deal on the leader and leading man that each has in its own sphere. Leaders in different fields need not have the same psychological qualities. Leadership depends as much on the personal traits of the leaders as on the environmental circumstances. Modern psychology has been paying very great attention to this question of leadership traits and has already contributed materials of considerable significance. The author has presented in this little volume much of this material in plain non-technical language. Laymen as also students of psychology will certainly be benefited by going through this book.

Training and sound education are necessary for all would-be leaders, even for those who are 'born' leaders. This is a point which has been rightly emphasised by the author who has in this connexion drawn pointed attention to the faultly educational system that prevails in India. Real civilian leadership cannot be expected in a country where passing the University examination by fair means or foul is accepted as the ideal of education. The author has made some very pertinent though unsavoury remarks about our methods and ideals of education.

"It is regrettably true that it is impossible to imagine the emergence of dynamic leaders from India's high schools and India's Universities in their present sitting" (p. 101), writes the author and he feels that it is in her military training centre that India is training her future leaders because there "moral and physical well-being is practised instead of mere book-learning."

After all criticisms are not new and have been repeated many times by our own countrymen. So it is not difficult to agree with him. India has travelled a long distance since 1945 when the book was published. Let us hope that she will ere long be able herself to find out the types of leaders that she needs and to devise adequate methods for their training and education.

S. C. MITRA

ROBERT KNOX IN THE KANDYAN KINGDOM (Illustrated): *Selected and edited by Prof. E. F. C. Ludowyk of the University of Ceylon. Published by the Oxford University Press, London. Price Rs. 6.*

The book under review is an abridgment of *An Historical Relation of Ceylon* by Robert Knox, a work which "delighted and edified his (the author's) age."

Son of an English ship-captain, Robert Knox along with his father and several others was detained in 1660 under orders of the king of Ceylon. The elder Knox died shortly afterwards. The younger however survived and managed to give the slip to his captors in 1680.

The present volume describes Knox's life and experience during his captivity and gives an account at the same time of the people, their manners and customs, their laws and language and also the climate, the flora and fauna and the administration of contemporary Ceylon. Editorial notes at places add to the value of the book. The reading public in general and students of history in particular will find the book useful, informative and interesting.

The printing and get-up of the book are excellent. But with a reading matter of 175 pages of text and 45 pages of introduction it should have been more moderately priced.

SUDHANSU BIMAL MOOKERJEE

REPORT OF THE BOTANICAL SURVEY OF INDIA (for 1944-45, and 1945-46): *Calcutta. 1948.*

Due to war emergency floristic study in the field was kept in abeyance but later on 3,000,000 herbarium sheets were rearranged in the herbarium. Re-identification of all the herbarium sheets of *Grewia* in the light of Burrett's recent and excellent monograph of the family *Tiliaceae*, published in a German journal and not being easily available during the war, was done. This has resulted in adding three new species and several new combinations. Sir David Prain's *Bengal Plants*, Vols. I and II, are out of print. Students as well as plant-lovers suffer very much for their want as they are not always available for consultation. Persons interested in Botany and the Botanical Society of Bengal incessantly demanded at least their reprint pending the long-sought-for publication, *New Flora of Bengal* by the Botanical Survey of India. But the regrettable fact is that neither the Survey has yet published the said book nor does it deem necessary for reprinting Prain's *Bengal Plants*. When will the new book, *New Flora of Bengal*, be completed and published? Would it not be possible for the Government of India to reprint the *Bengal Plants* for the sake of convenience and research as a stop-gap arrangement? Surely this method of procrastination in researches is very much undesirable and the learned public should make their protests more thorough and stronger. It is also regrettable that only 89 new specimens were incorporated in the Royal Botanic Gardens' Herbarium in 1944-45. We should record our deep sorrow at the sad death of Lt.-Col. A. T. Gage who contributed much to Indian Botany by his researches and was also concerned with the opening up of the cinchona plantations in Burma and the scheme for the import of the Java Quinine bark. Randhawa discovered a new variety of an alga *Botrydium granulatum* (1) Grev. (var. *polyrhiza* nov. var.) and S. N. Banerjee established a new species of fungus (*Mitrula Agharkarii Banerjee*) but both of them violated international rules of botanical nomenclature in not including Latin diagnoses and thus losing their new status. A new fossil Gymnosperm (*Dadoxylon resinosum* Shukla) from Chhindwara district (C.P.) was described by Shukla. Prof. Sahni and Surange published a note on *Cyclanthodendron*, a new silicified member of the *Cyclanthaceae* from the tertiary of the Deccan. The discovery of this fossil provides an interesting link between the early tertiary flora of Deccan and the modern flora of South America. A new genus of *Rubaceae* and other new specimens were also discovered. Thanks to Prof. E. D. Merrill, Director, Arnold Arboretum, Harvard University, U. S. A., a cinematographic and botanical expedition to the snowy wilds of Northern Sikkim was undertaken. A huge collection of living specimens for cultivation in the Lloyd Botanic Gardens, Darjeeling and seeds of thousands of dry Himalayan plants for the herbarium was made later on.

In the Industrial Section, Indian Museum, the work also suffered but the department supplied some

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sary information relating to Pharmacopoeial drugs, insecticides, rubber-yielding plants, plants used in perfumery trade, etc., to the Government departments, the commercial public, the students, etc. Besides, the Department has discovered *Lobelia nicotianaefolia* Heyne, an Indian plant, which contains the alkaloid 3 times richer in active principles than the European species. In case of *Ipecac*, this section found that the crop should be harvested at the end of the 3rd year to get the maximum alkaloid. It is also recorded from several Indian species of *Aconitum* that the different species contain different proportions of alkaloid content. The most valuable report of Prof. A.V.Hill, F.R.S. on the "Scientific Research in India" has been published. He rightly says with regard to this survey thus: "The great natural resources of India are still inadequately known. Consequently the Geological Survey must be expanded, the Botanical survey restored and the Zoological survey extended." Will the National Government of India kindly look into this report carefully and try to tap the floristic wealth of the country by extending researches in all important branches of Botany? Surely the money spent will not be wasted.

R. M. DATTA

BENGALI

KAUTILIYA ARTHASASTRA (Part II): *Bengali translation by Dr. Radhagovinda Basak. Published by General Printers and Publishers Ltd., Calcutta 1950. Pp. 588.*

The present work happily brings to a conclusion an outstanding work of recent Bengali literature. This is the first complete Bengali translation of that masterpiece of the Ancient Indian Art of Government, the *Arthasastra* of Kautilya. In his short Preface, the author modestly craves the indulgence of his readers for probable deficiencies in his translation, but a perusal of his work has convinced us that it worthily maintains the high standard of the preceding part. It is, as we observed in the course of our review of the first part (*The Modern Review*, January 1951), a marvel of lucidity combined with scholarly accuracy of a high order. We are glad to find that in accordance with a suggestion made by us last time, the author has added in an Appendix a list of rare words (with their explanations) in the whole work. One could have wished that the list had been fuller by the inclusion of such items as *bali*, *udakabhaga*, and *vaidharana*, and more exact in rendering the meanings of words like *sita*, *samgha* and *hiranya*. But these are minor blemishes in a fine work on the completion of which the author deserves our warmest congratulations. We have no doubt that it will receive a most cordial welcome from all lovers of our ancient culture.

U. N. GHOSAL

HINDI

MARATHI SAHITYA KA ITIHASA: *By Narayan Vaidev Godbole, M.A. Publishers: Gayaprasad and Sons, Agra, U.P. Price Rs. 3.*

India is a land of many languages which have developed rich and interesting literatures during the last one thousand years or so. These literatures in their early stages drew their inspiration principally from Sanskrit and latterly from English since this country came into contact with England about two hundred years back. Hence generally they followed similar lines of development, though of course there were occasional and none the less interesting variations. Besides containing much valuable information for the student of literature and history they attract the attention of the general reader to the amazing unity of culture underlying the apparent diversities in different parts of this vast land. Their contents therefore require to be popularised throughout the length and breadth of the country. It is, however, a matter of regret that even accounts of these literatures are little-known outside the places of their origin. Under these circumstances Messrs. Gayaprasad and Sons deserve to be congratulated for making accessible to the Hindi-reading public short popular accounts of two important literatures of India, *viz.*, Urdu and Marathi. We hope the enterprising publishers will not stop with what they have done but will complete the series with accounts of all the important literatures. We wish them every success and god-speed in their undertaking.

The work under review has a special value in that it has been compiled by a scholar who is himself a Marathi possessing intimate knowledge of the subject. We would be eagerly waiting for similar publications in other languages too.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

GUJARATI

KALAKARNI SANSKAR YATRA: *By Ravishankar Raval. Kumar Karyyalay Ltd., Ahmedabad. Pp. 340. Price Rs. 4-12.*

Ravishankar Raval, the distinguished artist of Gujarat, undertook a pilgrimage—an artist's pilgrimage to Japan, North India and Kulu, an account of which forms the content of the volume under notice. The descriptions are colourful, and they are accompanied or set off by sketches and photographs which give a fillip to the reader's imagination. The sections treating of the artist's visit to Japan, North India and Kulu are kept separate, and the atmosphere in each is distinct. Ravalji has enough of the spirit of reverence dwelling in him to make his account of the men and manners that he met something more than a mere human document. Mori San of Kisto and the various organisations of teaching, encouraging and conserving art products received his attention; Nandalal Babu and Sri Abanindranath Tagore had naturally an attraction for him, and he was closely observing what Sri O. C. Ganguli, Jamini Roy and Ramendra Chakravarti were doing in matters of art, while his enthusiasm for the Roerichs and for Prof. and Mrs. Cousins has been very well expressed.

A goodly portion of the second section is devoted to Bolepur and Calcutta, roughly speaking, more than one-fourth of the book.

How the World War II has changed some of the valuations of the artist! It is interesting to find that while Ravalji was full of admiration for Jamini Roy and his bold stand for the living village art, he was doubtful if Jamini Babu would get his due appreciation in his own life-time in spite of his 'immortal' courage and insight and sacrifice. Happily, this wished-for denouement is now an accomplished fact.

The book retains its interest from start to finish; it is not a travel diary, but an understanding appreciation of art in the countries visited—such as may open the eyes of the reader to the realities round about him.

P. R. SEN

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INDIAN PERIODICALS

Naming the Country

V. S. Agrawala observes in *The Aryan Path*:

It is of interest and value to know the history and traditions of the different names of our country. There are two distinct traditions behind these names, one of them foreign and the other indigenous. All the foreign traditions are rooted in the ancient word *Sindhu*, as exemplified in *Sindhu* (Sanskrit), *Hindu* (Persian), *Indus* (Greek), *In-tu* (Chinese).

In the *Rig-veda*, the earliest Indian document, at least 3,500 years old, *Sindhu* is the word for a river, but more specifically for that particular river which encircles the country to a very considerable length on its north-west. Besides being a river-name, Sindhu was also the name given to the region lying to the east of the river and coinciding with the extensive tract of land now known as the Sind-Sagar Doab. The name Sind as applied to the present province is not sanctioned by antiquity when Sind was called Sauvira, from which the Biblical Ophir was derived.

The confusion of names begins from the time of the Arab invasion of Sind. But Sindhu was a famous geographical designation by at least 1000 B.C.; by it North-west India was known to her neighbours.

The modern word "Hindu" dominating the word "Hindustan," "Land of the Hindus", is directly descended from the ancient name Sindhu.

It is a common mistake to think that the derivation has anything to do with the Muslims. There is evidence in the inscriptions of Darius I, the great Achaemenian Emperor of Iran in the last quarter of the 6th century B.C. that the word "Hindu" was known to the Iranians at that time. In the Charter of the Palace Foundation from Susa, there is mention of Indian ivory being imported for the royal palace from Hindu or India. The Greeks, coming here under Alexander in the 4th century B.C., followed the same tradition and, by omitting the aspirate sound called the river "Indus" and the country "India." The Chinese followed the Greeks and named it In-tu.

At the beginning of the 3rd century B.C. the Sassanians were masters of the Persian Empire and their language was Pahlavi, from which modern Persian is derived. In Pahlavi also the country was known as Hindu and from there the word passed into Arabic and into the modern Persian of the time of Firdausi and Alberuni. The Muslims naturally applied, when they came here, the name "Hind" to this country, following an old tradition. The European nations borrowed the name "India" from their classical predecessors.

Now to the indigenous tradition of the country's name, which is threefold. In the Buddhist literature it was called *Jambudvipa*, but this name did not obtain lasting usage. The second name was given by the Puranas; *Kumaridvipa*, which reflects the colonization of the whole country from the Himalayas to Kumari, *i.e.*, Cape Comorin, and also its unification under a single geographical system. But this name also did not find much favour and was perhaps ousted early by the much more poetic, facile and widely accepted designation *Bharata-varsha, i.e.*, Bharata, the land served by a single system of rainfall or monsoon winds (*varsha*).

Bharata as the name of the country is derived from the basic word *Bharata*, the former having a long and the latter a short initial syllable. Now it is one of the most interesting facts of ancient Sanskrit literature, though one little known, that there are three independent etymologies for Bharata as the name of the country. These three derivations are based upon the conception of (1) the state, (2) the people, and (3) their culture.

According to the first etymology the country was called Bharata because it was brought under a unified political system by King Bharata, son of Dushyanta and Sakuntala of classic fame. Bharata is a great name in the list of old *chakravartins* recorded in the Puranas. A *chakravarti* ruler was one who had established his authority over a *chakra, i.e.*, a realm brought under a single sovereignty. Bharata was such a sovereign ruler and the country unified under him derived its name from him. In the *Mahabharata* it is explicity stated that the conquering chariot wheels of Bharata measured the earth up to the encircling oceans, together with its deep forests and high mountains.

By the time Vyasa composed his great epic, the name Bharata had become established as the designation of the whole country.

The second etymology of Bharata is derived from the name of the people. According to Vedic tradition the Bharatas were a very old Aryan tribe or, rather, the leading and most important *Jana* which, after crossing the Beas finally settled in the region of Kurukshetra, including the area around Delhi. This Bharata tribe became very powerful and widely distributed and its descendants found themselves the undisputed masters of Northern India. With the expansion of the Bharata tribe, the name *Bharati Praja, i.e.*, the people descended from that tribe, became a wider appellation and in course of time was applied to all the people settled in this land. There is evidence in the epic that the name had been generally so accepted, at least before the *Mahabharata* took its final form.

The third etymology of the name Bharata goes back to old Vedic literature. The authority of the latter on this particular point is repeated with notable emphasis by Vyasa in the *Mahabharata*. In the *Satapatha Brahmana* Bharata is the name of fire, which was so called because it was the mainstay of the whole community (*sarva-praja*). Culture was symbolized as *Agni Bharata*. Like a fountain it over-flowed into myriad streams, moving along the courses of rivers and valleys. It created on its march new fire-altars, *i.e.*, centres of civilization, until at last the Pilgrims' Progress covered the entire expanse of the country.—*Mahabharata, Vana parva*, 212.20.

This sublime conception of the unity of the country being brought about through the torch of culture aglow throughout the land, is of a beauty and sublimity unique in the whole range of Sanskrit literature. It would be

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hard to find another passage which, besides being as true to its ancient pattern is of greater significance to our modern life. In fact, the cultural unity thus envisaged at the very outset of Indian thought, became the lasting charter of that intellectual and religious synthesis which has distinguished the history of this nation. Gradually the stream of culture began to pour itself into the life-cup of the differing peoples settled on the land, and when the vase was full it over-flowed, saturating the country and welding the many elements into one harmonious whole.

Bharata Agni, as the great symbol of light implanted in the hearts of men, dominated this vast cultural drama and finally gave its own name to the country. This was the basis of the name Bharata, a name applied to the country of all those who accepted that cultural synthesis as the culmination of their own past history. Thus there are three mutually amicable derivations underlying the name Bharata, all rooted in common literary and religious traditions and accepted in one or another version by millions of people for more than 30 centuries. The name Bharat is verily sanctified by antiquity and has been glorified by the ancient seers and poets of this country.

Andre Gide's Place in Our Memories

Jacques Madaule writes in *Careers and Courses*:

When a great writer dies, it seems to us as though, having left the earth on which we all tread, he had gone to fill forever that niche in the Pantheon of Literature where posterity will always be able to find him. I know that for an Andre Gide the prospect of such stillness is rather cruel. And furthermore, his place has not yet been clearly decided. It will take an outline and precision only with the lapse of time and the passing of the generations. Only the greatest remain alive and continue to change their places in the eyes of the succeeding generations. That is in itself the mark of their greatness.

Is Gide, the elusive, easier for us to seize and to define now that his heart is still and he rests in the damp clay of Cuverville? We must, I think, resist the temptation to accept such a belief. He himself has enjoined us, at least in his latest writings, to trace a final view of him, a conception made up of the negation of what his fervour had long made him envisage. But why should we consider the old man worthier of acceptance than the young man or the man in the prime of Life? If we keep only to the constants, we shall, it seems to me, find two: one is a certain perfection of style; the other is the faithful and passionate pursuit of a sort of perfection of life.

But a writer does not survive merely by reason of his style, and there perhaps lies Gide's secret weakness and at the same time the secret of his greatness. That he has contributed something to French prose, no one will in good faith, venture to deny. Of course, the lesson of symbolism was not lost upon him, and to the very end rhythms are to be found in his language that recall the end of the last century. But he never fell into the exaggerations and mannerisms of that period and quite early can be traced in his works, forms that reveal him as a true heir to eternal classicism, that is, a balanced alternation between equilibrium and movement. He reveals in particular a strict economy in his effects, an extreme restraint in his very brilliance to render his essentially inward intensity. It is for this quality, it must be admitted, that Frenchmen will never wish to deny Andre Gide; because of this quality, he will live as long as the French language which he played, as on a piano, to perfection. We find this perfection also in the composition of his "tales" such as *La Immoraliste* or *La Porte etroite* or *Le Retour de l'Enfant Prodigue*. Undoubtedly he was less happy with the novel proper, and if he took more trouble with *Les Fauk-monnayeurs* than with any other of his books, it is nevertheless not the most successful.

But Gide was above all a moralist. This was probably due to his Protestant upbringing from which he found it so difficult to free himself. Yet here too he belongs to a very French line that can be traced, through Port-Royal back to Montaigne. It is of little moment whether Gide sojourned long or not at Port-Royal. He belonged to that race that is at the same time fervent and somewhat austere, that cannot enjoy its pleasures without a certain asceticism. This statement may, at first view, appear extraordinary, since it seems that Gide's purpose was to throw all trammels away to attain the perfect sincerity of naked desire. But he never lost sight of the necessity for the heroic and he knew how to portray it in unforgetable pages, like those, for instasce, that he devoted to Saint-Exupery.

Above all, Gide had a horror of hypocrisy and conformity, the one implying the other, and that made him exalt in all things the virtue of sincerity, even when his own appeared at times to be tinged with affectation and pretentiousness.

It is the flexibility and freedom of this movement that account for Gide's influence over youth. He has been accused of corrupting youth, but it must be recalled that the same accusation had been levelled at Socrates. I do not deny that Gide's example may have been dangerous. The example of the great is always dangerous for the mediocre. But it is rather the mediocre who condemn themselves and not the examples by which they claim to have been inspired. I do not think Gide loved evil for evil's sake, even if at times he affected such a pose. He was too much of a humanitarian to be really wicked. All he had was a horror of smug virtue and if he happened, in a now famous book, to have sung the praises of vice, it was to prove that this particular vice was in actual fact no vice. The demonstration of this can be appreciated in various ways; it nevertheless remains true to say that vice and perversion were not enjoined for their own sakes.

For a long time also Gide revealed a horror of dogmatism; and then we saw him with difficulty give himself up to the narfowest and most rigid of dogmatisms, namely that of reason. He gives up Montaigne's heritage to accept Voltaire's. The reason is that he was not able to face the challenge of remaining absolutely free to the end and collected, like the [illegible] sclerosis of old age, he was

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unable to see that, dogmatism for dogmatism, that of reason is the straitest and narrowest. But, I repeat, there is no need to attach more importance to his latest works than to his earliest, and I do not think that *Feuillets d' automne* will ever supersede *Les Nourritures terrestres.*

Today, we must let those who were his friends weep, and those who were his enemies wrap themselves in peevish silence and reproach Gide for not having fulfilled their hopes, as though a great writer did not first and foremost belong to himself. Man belongs to God and His judgement is kept from us. The author is left to us and we should be singularly ungrateful if, standing on the edge of his newly sealed tomb, we did not acknowledge the great debt we all owe him. In a way, he gave his life up to us, for most of his writings were of an autobiographical character. He knew that he risked the severest criticism and he suffered from it more than can be expressed as is proved, for example, by the sorrow he experienced in the face of the book by his friend Charles Du Bos, who had only spoken of him with utter sincerity.

But over and above all this, there remains the fact that Gide introduced into the French world of letters with a wisdom and restraint that do not preclude audacity, certain foreign values that enriched French letters prodigiously. Even if his book on Dostoievsky has since been superseded, there remains the fact that it was Gide who helped Frenchmen to understand the great Russian novelist, and certain aspects of Nietzsche would not be so familiar to them if, the latter had not provided Gide with some of the themes of *L'Immoraliste*. He even drove self-abnegation so far on several occasions as to force himself to do translations, and some of his most admirable works are actually these translations.

Singularly enough, at the end of a long life, Gide has only just entered the portals of Death and yet he does not seem to me to belong particularly to our times. I can see him continuing the line of Montaigne and Voltaire, enriching a tradition of prose and morals, dating several hundreds of years back. In time he will be classed altogether with his great forbears, one of whom at least lived, as did Gide, through one of the most terrible crises of this country without its ever turning him from the enquiry which he had set himself into Man's nature and his own. It is the asceticism rather than the hedonism of his work that will strike the reader and this work, led, through a thousand by-ways, has yet never changed its course. Perhaps Gide's final lesson is acceptance. It is said that he accepted death as he had accepted life. If you ponder on it, you will see that acceptance implies no less constraint than rejection. But was it necessary in order to accept oneself, to end up by denying God?

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The Resurrection of Somnath

K. Mukherjee writes in *The Indian Review*:

Somnath has always remained and will yet remain one of the most important land-marks in India's history. The resurrection of Somnath is like the resurrection of India—showing that through all the vicissitudes in the field of politics, and despite the degradation of foreign domination continuing through several centuries, the heart of India has remained unconquered and unconquerable,—deeply and fundamentally religious with a spirit of toleration that will ever remain an ideal for all other countries, unruffled and serene like Mt. Everest towering over all the thousands of peaks in the Himalayan range.

SOMNATH THROUGH THE AGES

Somnath city with its seven temples has been like Delhi, the capital of seven kingdoms since the days of the Mahabharat.

Somnath, the Lord of the Moon, takes us even to prehistoric and legendary times. The legend says, that Daksha Prajapati (the creator) married all his twenty-seven daugthers to Som, the Moon God who loved best Rohini, the loveliest. This gave rise to jealousy in the minds of the other sisters who implored their father to take Som to task. The father in a rage punished Som who began to wane. All his penances were of no avail. The gods in a body persuaded Daksha to take pity on him. He agreed on condition that Som from that time loved all his wives equally well, and worshipped Siva after a purifying bath at Prabhasa. Som had to agree and according to his father-in-law's wishes he waxed every day for half the month to wane every day for the next half. It is believed that he bathes in the sea off the coast of Prabhasa every other day of the new moon to gain fresh beauty and lustre. Since then Prabhasa has remained a sacred spot; and Siva there has been known as Somnath or the Lord of the Moon.

Prabhasa, where Lord Krishna also built a temple of silver and cast off his mortal coil only two furlongs away from the temple of Somnath, has thus remained a place of pilgrimage even from before the time of the Buddha. But the first temple of the deity was built probably at the beginning of the Christian era. It sank into comparative oblivion during the days of the Guptas (320-500 A.D.) who were Vaishnavas: though the Gharshada and Vakatok kings of the west were Shaivites. Prabhasa, however, became a very prominent international port and remained so during the prime of Ballabi, the capital of Saurashtra. Its fall came with the fall of the capital which about 755 A.D. was ruined by the Arab hordes of the Governor of Sind.

Somnath rose again like the Phoenix from its ashes, when Nagabhatta II drove back the Arab hordes and visited the shrine. It was when the Third Temple of red stone was built—one of the largest of its kind in all India. Somnath now enjoyed the greatest glory from 880 to 950 A.D. kings and peasants—the rich and the poor —all flocked to pay homage to the deity from all over India; and showered presents which gave the temple its fabulous wealth.

But misfortune came a little later for the tale of its riches reached the ears of that soldier of fortune Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni. In 1024 or 1025 A.D. he directed his last expedition against the temple of Somnath, with a big and well-equipped army for he had heard that it was well-fortified. The King of Guzerat with the neighbouring chiefs came forward to defend the shrine and kept back the invader for eight days. On the last day, in a most bloody battle, 50,000 of the defenders sacrificed their lives in a vain attempt to save the shrine. The Sultan entered the fort and then the temple and when about to get into the 'sanctum sanctorum,' was implored

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by the priests to save the image: but the image-breaker broke it with his own hands and burnt the temple whose burnt-up pillars can be seen to this day. Mahmud left the place within a month as he feared to face the great army with which Raja Param Deb was marching towards Somnath. The treasures which he secured at the place 'were incalculable and are said to have exceeded all his former captures.'

But after the retreat of Mahmud, the Star of Somnath was again in the ascendant. A succession of strong and enlightened Kings raised Guzerat to the front rank among Indian States: and the temple and the town were both rebuilt and entered into an era of great prosperity. The great emperor Kumarapala built a new temple on its ruins—larger than any on record,—with a court room, a reservoir, a pavilion in front of the deity, and a seat in the shape of a leaping frog for the deity itself. This was the fifth temple of Somnath which stood safe for at least one hundred years. With the decline of the fortunes of Guzerat, at the end of the 13th century—the temple was again attacked, this time by Alauddin Khiliji who defeated its gallant Rajput defenders, and broke the idol.

Better days came for Somnath only after Akbar came to the throne: and thence-forward the shrine remained untouched and undefiled for about two hundred years. Then came another iconoclast Aurangzeb who ordered the total annihilation of the temple so that it might for ever afterwards be beyond repair. The sudden and gradual rise of the Mahratta power, however, stood in the way of the fulfilment of his wishes and his Generals could not demolish the temple.

The Nawabs of Junagadh during British rule held sway over Prabhasa Pattan: but they could not put out the spiritual fervour that attracted pilgrims to Somnath. Now again after the end of British rule, the temple of Somnath is being rebuilt—its rebuilding coinciding with the rebuilding of the nation. In September 1947, the shrine was visited by the late Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel who announced before a huge assembly that the Government of India had decided to take up the reconstruction of the temple.

Since the time of Aurangzeb the temple ceased to contain the deity; in 1706 for a while it was used as a mosque even. Maharani Ahalya Bai of Indore tried to bring back the deity to the desecrated temple but her architects held that it was beyond repair: so, she built a new one near the Sixth Temple. The new temple —the Seventh properly speaking—is conjuring itself up again on the very site—and Somnath is about to emerge on a greater and more glorious chapter. The deity—one of the twelve Jyotirlingas—has been placed in the same spot where it was consecrated more than 2000 years ago.

Sri Chaitanya and Somnath

Lord Chaitanya (1485-1532) when he visited the ruin of the temple more than four hundred years ago (c. 1512), cried his heart out: and in paying his homage to the deity, prayed that Lord Somnath might re-arise in all his glory for the good of his devotees. He also said :

"Come, O Lord Somnath, come thou into my heart,
And allow me to see there thy divine image."

His wishes are now being fulfilled, thanks to the endeavours of the late Sardar Patel.

President Rajendra Prasad, while installing the 'Jyotirlingam' in the new shrine on May 11, was greeted by a hundred and one salutes of gun-fire. Addressing the mammoth gathering from all parts of India, he said, "In the days of yore the temple of Somnath was the centre of the faith and wealth of this country. The fame of its unparalleled glory and wealth had spread to distant regions and countries. Unfortunately during several centuries it had to suffer calamity after calamity. Again and again it was desecrated and demolished. But while the external symbols of a national faith may be destroyed, nothing can destroy the very foundations of that faith."

"It was for this reason that inspite of having had to face numerous calamities there always remained in the hearts of the Indian people an undying faith and respect for this temple of Lord Somnath; and it ever was their dream to build this temple again soon after its destruction, and they went on doing so time after time."

Then, as the head of our secular state, he very pertinently observed, "On this sacred and historic occasion it is desirable for all of us to realise the great secret to spiritual faith which is that to have a glimpse of God

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of Truth it is not necessary for all men to follow one and one path alone."

"This great truth had been perceived by our ancient seers and they had proclaimed it to mankind. They had consistently declared that though He is one, yet the wise describe Him in many ways and by many names. Similarly the Mahabharat says that all paths lead to God just as all rivers flow to the ocean. Unfortunately this great truth was not properly grasped by different people and in different ages, and so very destructive and terrible wars were waged between different countries and different peoples."

THE FUTURE OF SOMNATH

The future of the temple of Somnath is very glorious —far more so than its historic past—for near it is being built the splendid Dehotsarga monument to commemorate the holy spot where Lord Krishna gave up his body, and also because, according to the wishes and plans of Sri K. M. Munshi, author of the novel *Jay Somnath*, it is going to have a Sanskrit University attached to it—in the midst of thousands of trees that are being planted there to give it the appearance of Sri Krishna's Nandanvan, because a temple is not worth the name which is not also a seat of learning.

The Ideal of Social Reconstruction

Prabuddha Bharata observes editorially :

Vedanta stands, above all, for universality, synthesis, and harmony. It is a most practical philosophy of infinite hope, strength, and life-affirmation. Vedanta, while recognizing inevitable differences between man and man on the relative plane proclaims the supreme equality and fraternity of all beings on a spiritual and divine (*paramartha*) basis. But this divinity has to be manifested sooner or later. And it is best that social leaders emphasize this great Vedantic ideal of not only spiritual liberty, equality, and fraternity but also inherent divinity and sacredness of human personality. This lesson of universal brotherhood, of loving one's neighbour as oneself, has been inculcated by all religions. The Vedanta lays down the surest path for the social, moral, and spiritual progress of man and enjoins the performance of duties by which he gradually transcends his lower self and lives a higher and purer life and advances onward till his self merges in the universal Self. The duties which Vedanta enjoins have reference to the relation in which man stands to himself, to his kith and kin, to his community, to his country, to the whole of mankind, nay, to the whole universe as part of one infinite existence. True salvation, or to use a more appropriate expression, *moksha* (liberation from ignorance and bondage), consists in the complete realization of this identity, this spiritual world view.

A doubt is often expressed, saying, 'Does not this spiritual (ergo non-material and otherworldly) outlook on life clog secular activity and thwart ambition and progress, thus disturbing practical relations between man and man in the ordinary workaday world?' This is a question which has been discussed and answered times without number since the dawn of life on earth. The Upanishads and the *Gita* have solved this momentous problem. The Tantras and the Puranas also have thrown considerable light on the subject, sufficient to disabuse the doubting mind of all such misconceptions and misgivings regarding the supremacy of the spiritual ideal over all other ideals in life. Vedanta is far from being an abstraction merely meant for philosophical discourses and intellectual interpretation. It is intensely practical and can be most effectively carried out in everyday life, producing lasting harmony and satisfaction and giving the highest benefit to all—to the person who is bold enough to practice it as well as to others around him. Man understands the true significance of spiritual ideals only when he puts them into practical application in individual and collective life. Practical demonstration is the only condition for the establishment of a society on the basis of spiritual ideals.

The most outstanding feature of Indian civilization is its insistence on Dharma as the foundation of the social order. The principles that regulate and guide man's functions in daily life and in his social relations are constituted by what is called Dharma—a word of protean significance. As Dr. S. Radhakrishnan observes:

"The basic principle of Dharma is the realization of the dignity of the human spirit which is the dwelling-place of the Supreme. . . . It is truth's embodiment in life, and the power to refashion our nature. . . . The principle of Dharma rouses us to a recognition of spiritual realities not by abstention from the world but by bringing to its life, its business (*artha*) and its pleasures (*kama*), the controlling power of spiritual faith."—*Religion and Society*.

The ideal of social reconstruction should remind the builders of society, through its various aspects, that the ultimate Truth in man has to express itself in spiritual illumination and in extension of his syspathy across all barriers of caste and colour. And Vedanta can and does provide mankind with such an ideal which while it does not deprive man of the advantages of wholesome economic, social, and cultural institutions, enables him gradually to transcend his material limitations and realize his spiritual unity with the ultimate Reality in and through the brotherhood of man.

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FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Early Travellers in India

"Wanderlust" writes in the *Bulletin of Italian Cultural Information* as follows :

Strange lands have always held a singular fascination for the human mind. Most popular of all channels through which it has sought to reach an understanding of the unfamiliar and unknown is travel. Books come only second best. In many this thirst for travel developed into a "wander-lust" so intense that they braved the privations and perils which all too often, in early times, characterised travel in the remote regions of the earth. Travel has become comparatively safe and easy only in our own time. Rather than act as a deterrent, they added zest to travel and made of it an adventure which a few found irresistible.

Few lands have lured travellers more than India. Throughout history men have been drawn to her from both the East (the Far East) and the West. The records these early travellers have left of their observations contribute many colourful pieces to the mosaic of her history. To the travel-minded they hold an interest which has not staled with the passage of time.

From the West, perhaps, the earliest visitor to India was John of Monte Corvino, a Franciscan friar, who in 1200 travelled in a frail bark to the beautiful coasts of Malabar and Coromandel, of which Sarojini Naidu has sung. South India struck him as a land of great cities and wretched houses, few hills, beautiful rivers, many springs, where cattle were sacred and idolatry rampant. In that region of perennial summer, sowing, reaping and fruit-gathering were seen in all seasons. John speaks particularly of the aromatic spices, of trees which yielded honey, sugar and a liquor like wine and the wonderful "Indian nuts" as big as melons and as green as gourds growing on trees like date-palms. The people were olive-skinned, with well-formed but hairy bodies, scrupulously clean, feeding on milk and rice, eating no meat and drinking no wine.

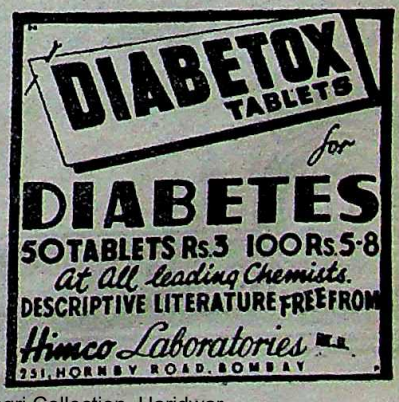
Odoric of Pordenone was another Franciscan missionary who touched the Western coast of India on his way to China in 1316. He describes at length the Fire-worship of the Parsis, the Hindu veneration of the cow, trees and serpents, the 'monstrous' idols by which their gods were represented, of golden roofs and marble pavements of their temples, their burning of widows, their pilgrimages, religious 'starvation' and cruel penances.

Jordanus, a French Dominican monk from Rome, was probably the first to come to India on a proselytising mission. He settled down at Kulam in Travancore in 1328. He has left a remarkable treatise on the fruits, the 'flora' and the 'fauna' of India. He talks of the cocoanut, the jack-fruit, the sugar cane and ginger root; of the one-horned Indian rhinoceros, the docile beast of burden and transport, the elephant; the big bandicoot rats, the white ants which destroy timber, the large 'mason' wasps; the gold kites, the white russet fishing-eagles, the many, the wonderful and the beautiful birds of the Indian islands. Of the people themselves Jordanus contrasts the civilised Hindus and Moslems with the savage forest tribes of the interior and of the mountains, living in [illegible] clothing and 'of brutish aspect'. Though the size of India is great and its population enormous, he observes, the Indian people were but children in the art of war or even seamanship. But the land was fairer than any other, its food more savoury, its people more honest and much more moral than the Christians of Europe.

Jordanus was followed by Bishop Giovanni dei Marignolli of Florence who settled down in Kulam for 16 months. His departure from India in 1350 was followed by a lull for three centuries during which few travellers ventured to come to India, as the country was almost continuously convulsed with fierce Meslem invasion from the north, of intolerant and fanatical Turks, Afghans and Mongols. The only part of the land which was comparatively accessible to Europeans was the Southern region under the sway of the Hindu rajas.

The next record of travel in India is the annals of Nicolo dei Conti, a Venetian merchant, who first touched at Cambay which he describes as a flourishing port from where he subsequently reached the kingdom of Vijaynagar. His description of the Ganges Delta, the charming villas and gardens, and plantations of delicious bananas, is lively and touched with romance by an occasional 'traveller's tale', as when he speaks of reeds or riverside bamboos 'so lofty and of such enormous girth that one section between the nodes or knots of the stem made a serviceable fishing boat'.

An outstanding traveller was Ludovico di Varthema, an Italian, who succumbed to wanderlust in his twenty-fourth year. From Venice his ship touched at Alexandria, next at Cairo and passed on to Syria. From Damascus he travelled to the holy cities of Mecca and Medina, touched Aden and finally reached India in 1505. He voyaged round the Peninsula of Gujerat, halting at Cambay. He describes the Jains of Kathiawar who when in going through their repositories of grain, found weevils or any other kind of beetle, instead of killing them removed them to the domed insect-houses in which places were also kept ants who were fed on meat! Cambay he described as famed for its spices and perfumes, agates, cornelians and onyxes, and even diamonds! His account of the Muhammadan Sultan of the region is realistic and



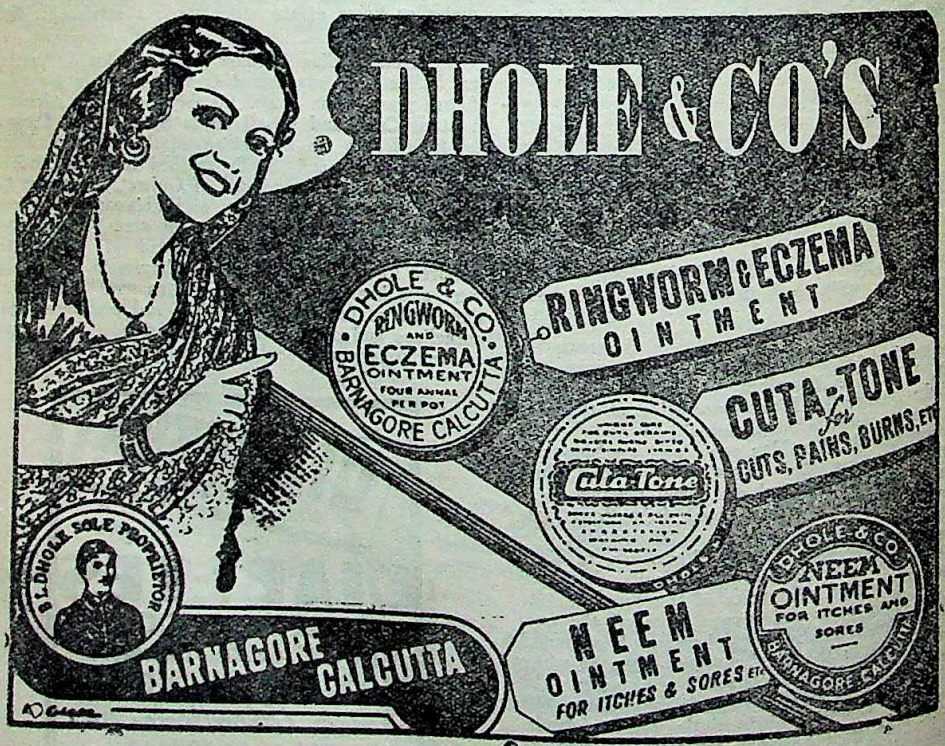
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vivid, but is occasionally touched with incredulity, as when he describes him as 'having been habituated to consume poison or poisonous drugs from childhood in the hope that he might thus never lose his life by treacherous attendants or enemies who might seek to put poison into his food !' Varthema also speaks at great length of the life of a Hindu Chieftain who whenever he travelled, was accompanied 'by his wife and children, four or five riding horses, tame monkeys, parrots, civet cats, chitas and falcons.' Passing through the Colaba District on to Goa and Bijapur, Varthema describes the magnificant palace of Adil Shah at the latter place. At the ports along the Coast of Kanara, Varthema is specially struck by the abundance of domestic buffaloes, oxen, sheep and goats, the absence of horses, mules and asses; the quantities of rice eaten by people; the numbers of peacocks, parrots, wild boars, deer, wolves and even lions, of roses and other flowers and fruits. Kannanore (Cannanore) he describes as a port which kept up a great trade with the Persian Gulf, had lots of Arabs in the city and grew cucumbers and melons, cocoanuts, rice, pepper, ginger, cardamoms, and other spices, besides the mango fruit. As beasts of burden and draught elephants were used.

Varthema's next halt was at Vijaynagar, the capital of the ancient Hindu Kingdom of Karkatak, which 'occupied a most beautiful site on the side of a mountain and had a triple circle of walls.' It contained immense parks for hunting and fowling, and appeared to him a second paradise with the best air, great fertility, wealth of merchandise and abundance of all possible delicacies. Varthema describes the great army of Vijaynagar which had among other things four hundred elephants. Kalicut (Calicut) is described as a very noble city, 'the converging port of Portuguese and European trade fleets.' Calicut was then ruled by the Zamorin family. Varthema gives an extensive and intimate account of the six classes of the city's inhabitants, their customs of dress, diet and vocation; of their harvest festival and devil dances; of the magnificent palace and regal temple, of the ships built out of native wood from the forests, which grew as many as a hundred and twenty different varieties of fine timber. Varthema greatly admired the orderliness of the people and the strict manner in which justice was dispensed. Nearly all the travellers who visited this part of India between the 13th and the 16th centuries, agree on the honesty and sense of justice of non-Muhammadan natives. Varthema's sojourn in India coincided with a period of intense commercial and military activity, from Vasco da Gama's arrival at Calicut in May 1498 to the establishment of Albuquerque as the first Portuguese Viceroy over Portuguese trading stations on the Malabar Coast.

The next remarkable account comes from Barbosa, Magellan's cousin, whose descriptions of the people—the Brahmans and the Banyans (Banias), the potters and the workers of clay, the workmen, the weavers, the agricultural labourers, the mariners and fishermen, the makers of hats and shields, the astrologers, fortune-tellers and weather prophets, the quarrymen, carpenters, blacksmiths and silversmiths, the salt-makers and rice-growers, the hunters, the practisers of low witchcraft and finally the miserable, naked, negroid bush tribes living on roots and wild fruits and such beasts and birds as they could kill in the woods, the merchant communities of Bengal and Eastern India, Calicut, Cambay or Gujerat, the Parsis, the Arabs and the Moplas—are singularly instructive and full of sociological interest.—'Come to India' Special Supplement, *United Asia*, 1950.



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"Fourscore and Seven Years Ago"

America Honors 87th Anniversary of Abraham Lincoln's Gettysburg Address

Fourscore and seven years ago, on November 19, 1863, Abraham Lincoln, the sixteenth President of the United States, began his famous speech at the dedication of the National Cemetery on the battlefield of Gettysburg with the words:

"Fourscore and seven years ago our fathers brought forth on this continent, a new nation, conceived in liberty, and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal."

Today, Lincoln's Gettysburg address represents a mid-point between the founding of the American republic and the present. The young republic, which had emerged from the cocoon of its colonial status with the American war of independence, grew in that first fourscore and seven years into a nation. As Lincoln spoke, his nation was torn and twisted in that most bitter of struggles, a civil war. Then, as in the years of the war of independence, there were those who could not see beyond the perils and strife of the present into the growth, development and prosperity that was to come, unparalleled in degree and extent.

In the second fourscore and seven years, which began with Lincoln's Gettysburg speech and extend up to the present, the American republic has grown in power and prosperity beyond even the wildest anticipations of the brightest prophets of that mid-term year. Yet, as in 1863, the American republic today faces a conflict and a struggle, a struggle in which the principle that "government of the people, by the people, for the people shall not perish from the earth" is again at stake.

For the people of the United States, the life of Abraham Lincoln, storekeeper, soldier, lawyer, orator and President, has symbolized the right and the opportunity of the humblest citizen of a democracy to follow a path from a frontier settlement to the highest position in the land. Born in a log cabin in a cleared patch in the forests of the frontier state of Kentucky, Abraham Lincoln began life as a poor, as unheralded and as devoid of immediate opportunity as any child born today in the humbler villages of India. Yet, within the years of his life, he came to occupy the presidential mansion in his country's capital and, in the years since, to occupy an almost unparalleled position in the hearts of the American people and the pages of American history.

The life of Abraham Lincoln exemplifies the opportunities open to the citizens of a free country, a country in which the right of every citizen to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness is both recognized and championed. That right and that opportunity, however, did not come to Abraham Lincoln as a gift of fortune. They came as a direct result of both the struggle for freedom and the continuing struggle to make freedom real, a struggle which continued through the fourscore and seven years of American history before Lincoln's Gettysburg speech, and has continued through the fourscore and seven years that have passed since that day.

The United States of that mid-term year in its history and the United States of 1950 are as different as the rude character of Lincoln's youth and the urban New York of today. Yet, the continuing necessity of the struggle for the rights of freedom, as presented by Lincoln in his immortal speech in 1863, remains dominant today in the hearts of the American people. Today, as then, this struggle remains. Freedom, if it is not to die, must be reborn again in the hearts of a people who would be free, a truth that led Lincoln, in this same Gettysburg speech, to resolve that his nation "under God, shall have a new birth of freedom." For Lincoln in 1863, as for the American people today, the rights of the individual, and the opportunity that can make those rights effective, are worth defending. The American foreign policy in 1950 no less than the domestic policy of Lincoln's day, is "dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal" and that "government of the people, by the people, for the people shall not perish from the earth."

Within those simple phrases has been caught much of the American philosophy of political existence. By government *of* the people, the American people mean a government that derives its authority, its right to continued existence and its support from within the people themselves, not from any small selected group or by imposition from any individual or self-designated band. By government *by* the people, the American people mean a government in which the people play the roles and fill the seats of the mighty, a government that is "of" not "over" the people, that is a part of, not a lid on, the people. By government *for* the people, the American people mean a government that works for the people, not the reverse; they mean a government that derives its right to continued existence from the will of the people, not a people who derive their right to continued existence from the will of the government.

The American people believe today, as did Abraham Lincoln, that men are created equal, not with the equality of the slave labor camp, but with the equality that can bring a poor child of the frontier to the presidency of a great land. They know that this equality is an ideal. They make no pretense that it is a full reality, for themselves or for any other nation. With all humility, the American people of today can say with Abraham Lincoln, "It is for us, the living, ... to be dedicated to the great task remaining before us."

In this year of alarm and crisis, the people of America

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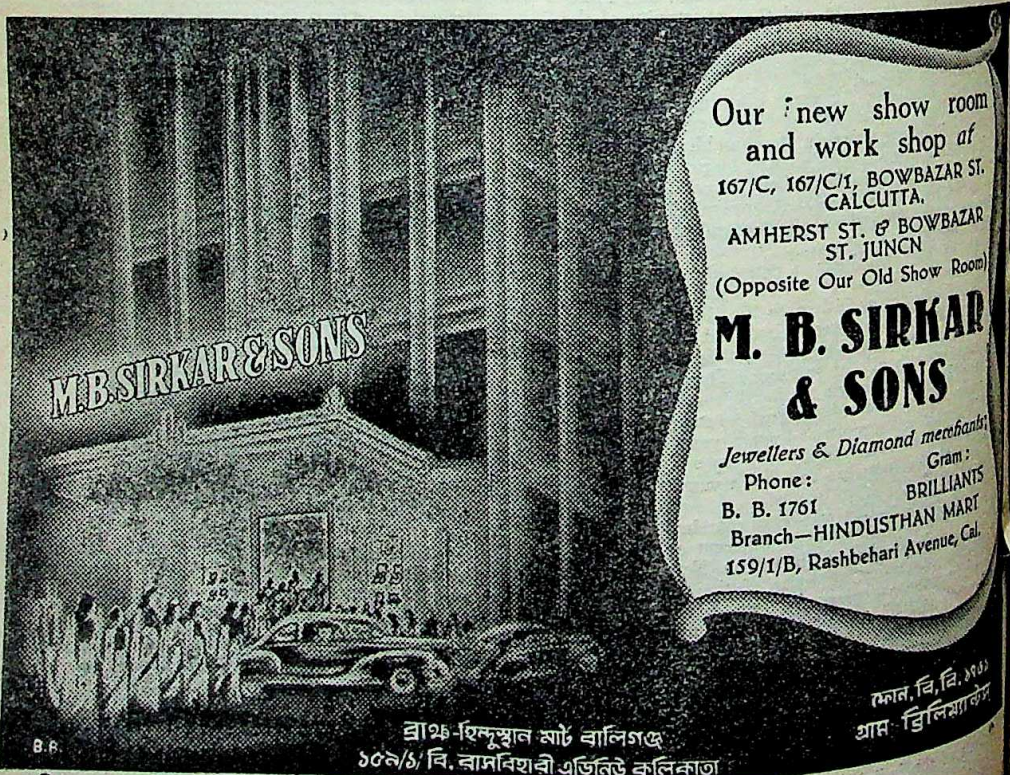
and the other freedom-loving nations of the world can take a measure of strength from a look back through fourscore years and seven to that day in 1863 when a President of the United States, caught in a struggle as bitter and as brutal as any ever fought, seeing son fighting against father and brother against brother, facing a future as cloudy and uncertain as any the world faces today, could, with calm determination and certain equanimity, restate in these words the basic American belief in the rights of man, the eternity of freedom and the certainty of a brighter future:

"Fourscore and seven years ago our fathers brought forth on this continent, a new nation, conceived in liberty and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal.

"Now we are engaged in a great civil war, testing whether that nation, or any nation so conceived and so dedicated, can long endure. We are met on a great battle-field of that war. We have come to dedicate a portion of that field, as a final resting-place for those who here gave their lives that that nation might live. It is altogether fitting and proper that we should do this.

"But, in a larger sense, we cannot dedicate—we cannot consecrate—we cannot hallow—this ground. The brave men, living and dead, who struggled here, have consecrated it, far above our poor power to add or detract. The world will little note, nor long remember, what we say here, but it can never forget what they did here. It is for us the living, rather, to be dedicated here to the unfinished work which they who fought here have thus far so nobly advanced. It is rather for us to be here dedicated to the great task remaining before us—that from these honored dead we take increased devotion to that cause for which they gave the last full measure of devotion—that we here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain—that this nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom—and that government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth."—*U.S.I.S.* November, 18, 1950.





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The Principle of Indeterminacy

Under the heading, "Aspects of Modern Science," writes Ira M. Freeman in *Unesco Courier*:

All naturl science is based on observation. Whether our knowledge of any segment of the external world remains at the level of a mere cataloguing of facts, or soars to the heights of Relativity or of Quantum Theory, observation of Nature as she really is constitutes the foundation of science, and all else is secondary.

There is one aspect of the business of making observations that is usually taken for granted, and that is the faith (for this is all it amounts to) that any observation made here and now may be expected again on any other occasion when the same conditions prevail. This proposition is sometimes called "*The Uniformity of Nature*" or the "*Constancy of the Universe.*" But whether mere faith or something else, it works. It is science's answer to the ancient beliefs in capricious demons and deities.

Despite the bewildering differences between one science and another, all of them advance largely by the same general tactics: observations are made, quantities are measured (where possible), results are correlated, theories are set up and general conclusions are drawn in the form of natural laws. The great scientific conquests of Galileo and Newton, of Darwin and Pasteur, were made according to this kind of campaign plan.

A Miscellaneous Approach

What we call classical physics attained a high state of perfection toward the end of the last century. Evolving largely from ordinary mechanics, it went forward on the assumption that all the events taking place in space and time have the objective character that we associate with common mechanical phenomena such as the falling of a stone or the swinging of a pendulum.

Early in the nineteenth century the great French mathematician and physicist Laplace made the much-quoted statement that an omniscient mind, knowing the momentary location and speed of every atom in the universe, could deduce the entire course of events in the cosmos, both past and future. The universe was thus viewed as a machine, with all the parts rigorously interlocked. Every event was held to be strictly determined by the preceding one; every effect was ascribed to a definite cause.

Later, this mechanistic approach began to be challenged when scientists learned to break up the physical world into its basic constituents. The ubiquitous quantum aspect of nature (*see "What is the Quantum Theory" in the Courier for November, 1950*) began to assert itself once more, and in several places.

In 1927, a brilliant young theoretical physicist, Werner Heisenberg, was able to state a highly significant generalization relative to the observation and measurement of elementary processes. It is called the Principle of Indeterminacy. In one way of phrasing it, the rule asserts that the more closely we determine the location of a particle, the less accurately are we able to specify its motion, and *vice versa*. Heisenberg contends that the underlying cause of this puzzling situation is the fact that every process of measurement or observation actually *interferes* with what is being measured or observed.

The Evasive Electron

For example, if we should wish to "see" directly a single electron, it turns out that it would be necessary to use light of very short wavelength for the purpose. But light of this kind is highly energetic, and if thrown at an electron would knock it completely out of its original position, thus defeating what we are trying to accomplish!

In the same way, there is a fundamental inexactness, an uncontrollable or indefinable element, inherent in *all* measurements relating to elementary processes. Of course,



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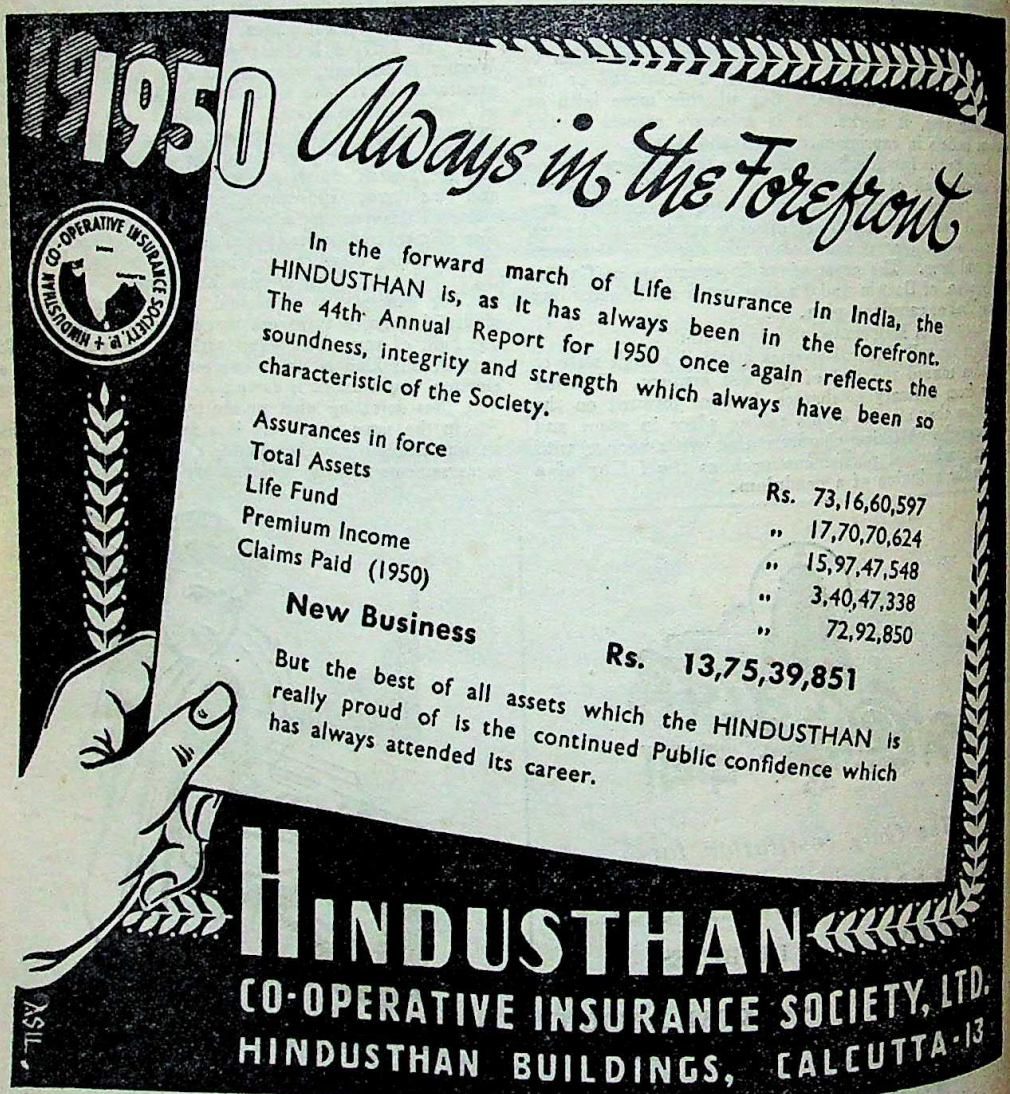
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in dealing with ordinary large-scale objects, the interaction between object and observer becomes vanishingly small, and things seem to behave in their accustomed way, but on the sub-atomic scale, the obvious connection between cause and effect is no longer in evidence.

After all, nature does seem to be governed by order and regularity, and so if strict causality is not valid in the submicroscopic realm, what takes its place? The answer is that what we observe in coarse-grained experience is a statistical orderliness—the average behaviour of a multitude of individual entities—and such an average is accurately predictable. It is predictable in the same way that the death rate in a given population group may be computed in advance by a life-insurance company, although there is no way of forecasting when a given individual is going to die.

Chance rules the activity of the individual sub-atomic particles of physics, but their *"cultural"* or *"crowd"* behaviour, as mirrored by the large-scale world of ordinary experience, turns out to be completely in accord with expectation. The recognition of this fact has been of vast importance to the development of modern science, and has had profound and far-reaching effects on philosophical thinking as well.



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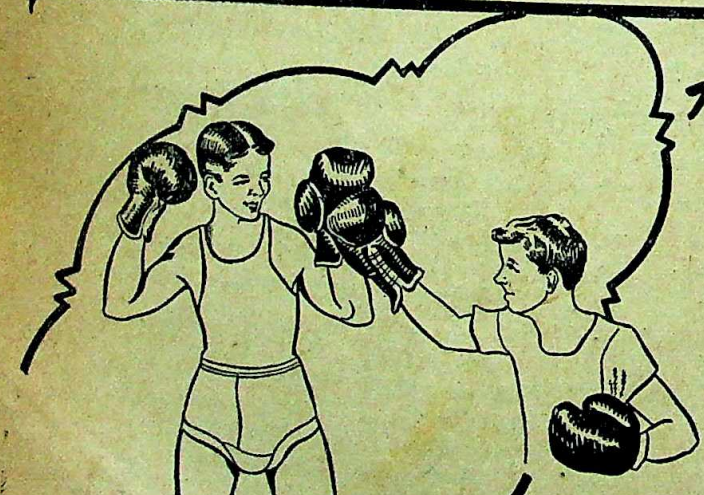
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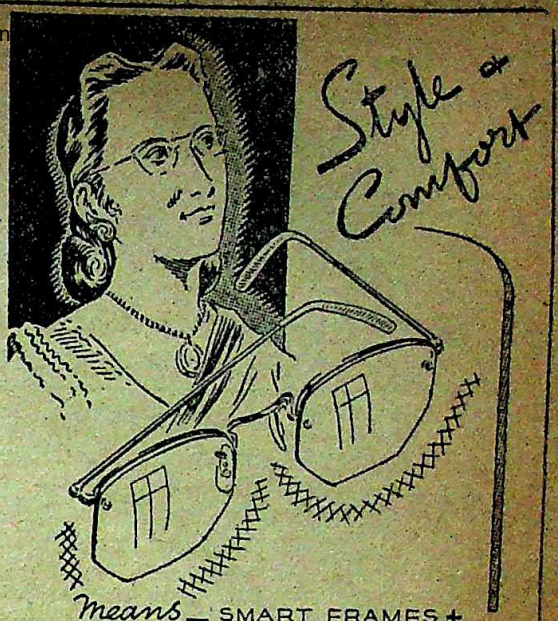
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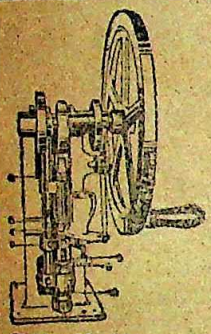
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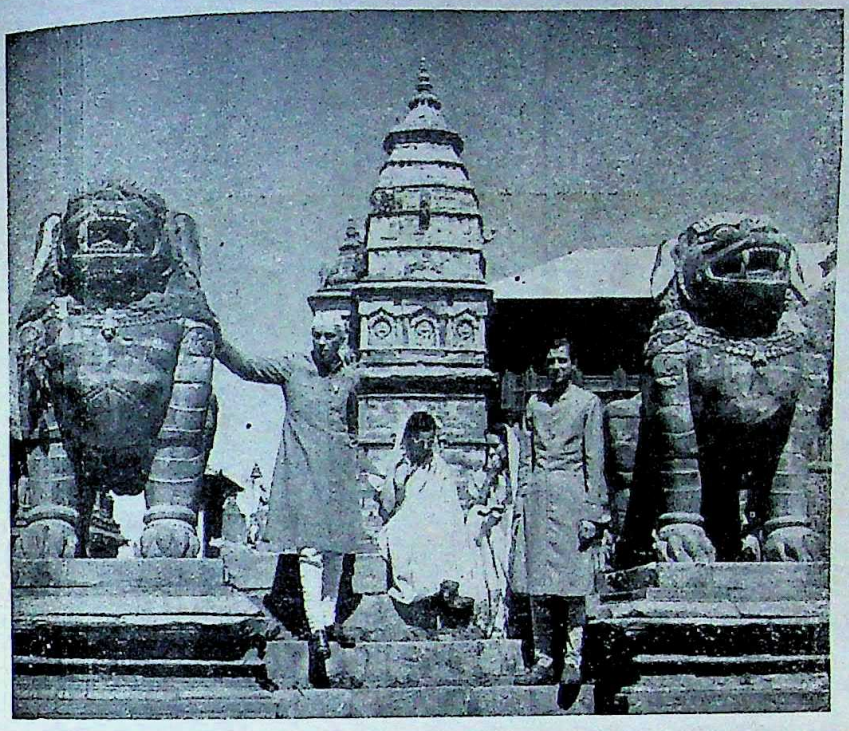
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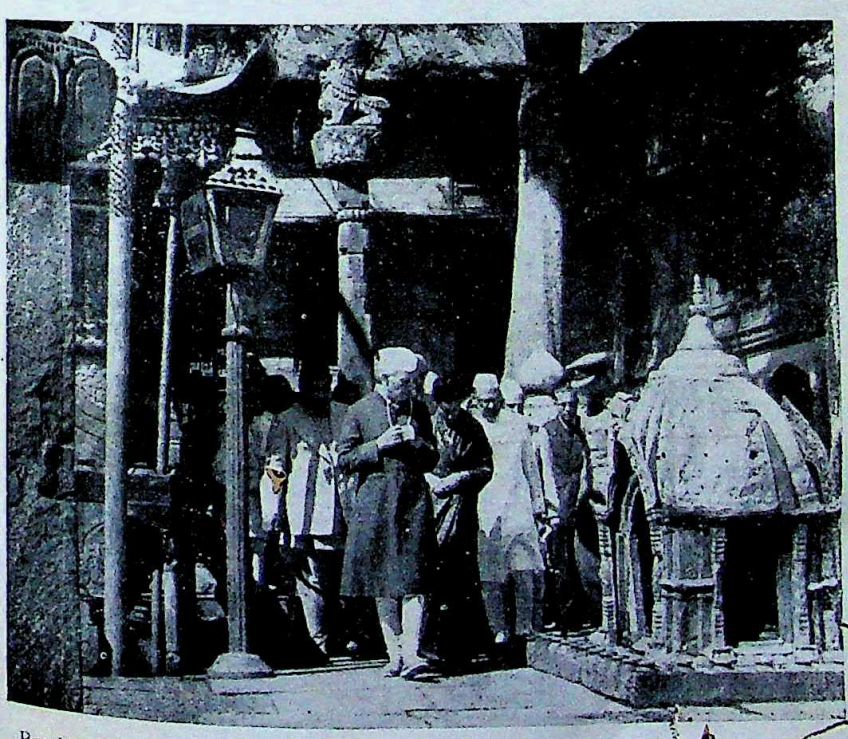
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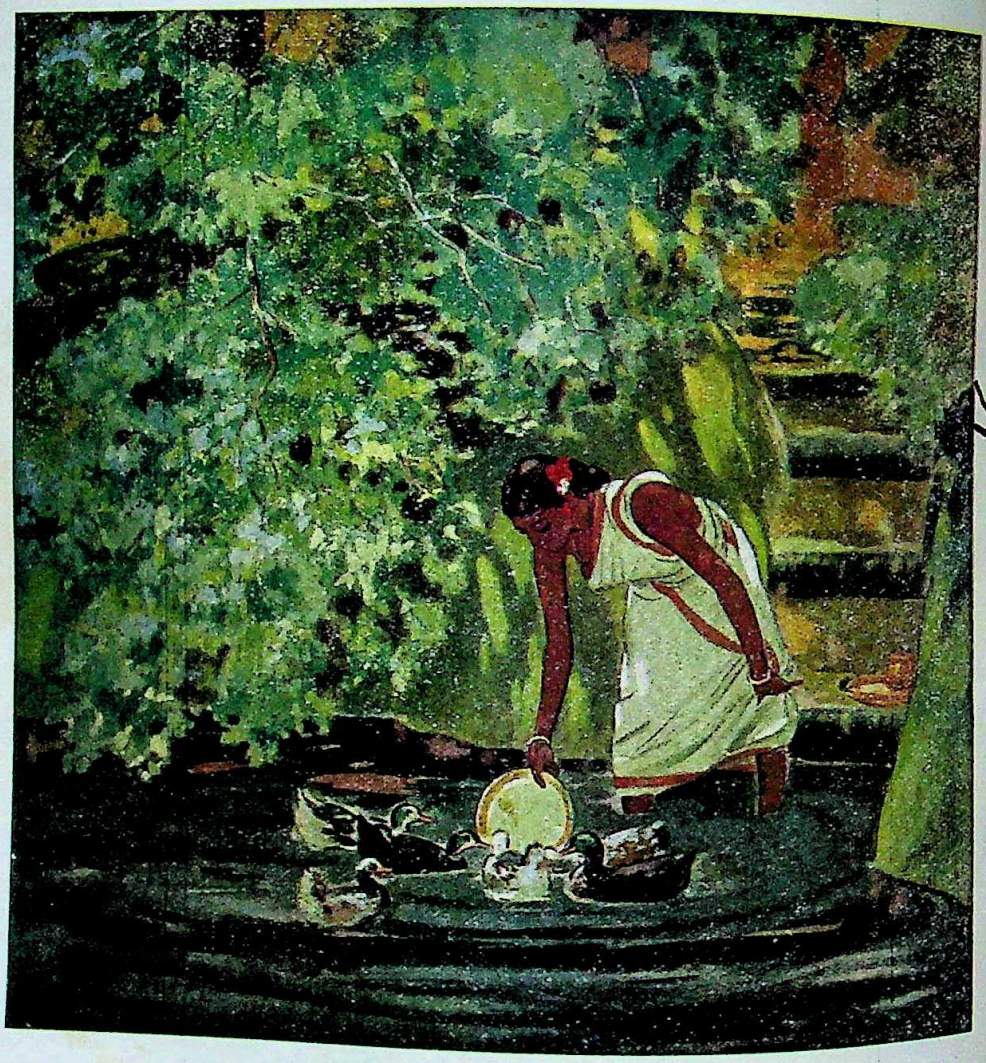
Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru, accompanied by Srimati Indira Gandhi, Miss Singh, daughter of India's Ambassador to Nepal and Sri Koirala, Home Minister of Nepal, visits a temple at Bhadgaon, 8 miles east of Kathmandu



Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru visits the Guhyeswari Temple, two miles north-east of Kathmandu

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DOMESTIC MEMBERS
By Birendranath Chakravarty

Prabasi Press, Calcutta.

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THE MODERN REVIEW

AUGUST 1951

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NOTES

Prospects for the Coming Election

The elections for the Parliament and the State Legislatures are coming near. The contest will be as between the Congress and a whole host of opposition groups, of which there are no less than fourteen odd in West Bengal alone. There is schism within the Congress, both open and furtive. There are elements within the main body of the Congress itself, that are getting restive due to their confidence in leadership being increasingly lowered.

Apart from the splinter groups, which up till now have not been able to form effective opposition coalitions, there are the Hindu Mahasabha, the Socialist Party and the Krishak-Mazdoor-Praja Party led by Acharya Kripalani. The so-called Progressive Group and the Leftist parties are even now negotiating with all and sundry to form election combines in order to conduct an effective campaign against the Congress. They have had some petty successes in District and Local Board elections, mainly due to the action of recalcitrant local elements that are dissatisfied with the arbitrary and high-handed methods of the Congress.

The Socialist Party has issued an election manifesto, the substance of which is printed elsewhere in the editorials of this issue. Acharya Kripalani is touring the country on behalf of his party and the K.M.P. party has also issued a manifesto. Acharya Kripalani's speeches have been mainly directed against the Congress, in and out of office.

Dr. Shyamaprasad Mookerji's campaign is also directed against the Congress. His main plank is the question of appeasement of Pakistan. Hindu Mahasabha leaders are not much in evidence. The Communist party has come out in the open and is carrying out its propaganda throughout the country through a highly-skilled dissemination of news, views, propaganda articles and cartoons by the channel of its personnel that has infiltrated into almost every newspaper in India. The Party Politburo does not seem to have received any definite instructions as yet from Moscow.

The rest of the contestants, whom we have termed 'splinter groups,' have only localized influence and significance. In some provinces, like the State of West Bengal, they have as yet only considerable nuisance value, and where their influence is manifest, there will be a very considerable chance of violence and disruptive activities during the elections. None of these parties have any All-India significance, but if the proposed coalitions materialise then there is some likelihood of their affecting the Parliamentary elections to some appreciable extent.

All these parties, the major groups and the splinters are actively canvassing the support of disaffected Congressmen, the Have-nots or Have-littles within the party in power, as also the few genuine Congressmen who have stood aloof, with distressed minds, as silent spectators of the acts of perfidy against the nation being perpetrated by the dishonest ones in the Congress. Indeed the main strength of disruption lies in the corruption and malfeasance that is rife within the Congress, the administration as well as the body-politic. Honest men there are galore, inside the Congress, but they are powerless and are chewing the bitter curds of frustration in silent despair.

The Congress has issued an Election Manifesto, and the Congress Government has had a Five-Year Plan prepared in draft, a few copies of which have been circulated with discretion, so that there might be as little considered criticism and as much of empty fanfare as possible. And the A.I.C.C. has capped the Congress Manifesto with a bombastic proclamation, which in substance means that the A.I.C.C. is willing to accept and nominate for election "good men" from outside the Congress, provided the said "good men" are such congenital morons as to be willing to sell their very souls to that assemblage of pernicious and dumb nonentities who sit tog

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A.I.C.C. with the notorieties that have reduced the once noble edifice of the Congress to a veritable Augean Stable! We shall consider all the manifestos in due course. But before that let us confess to a mind charged with dismal forebodings. Unless a miracle happens, we do not see how chaos can be averted in the elections and its aftermath.

The makers of the Constitution and the members of the Constituent Assembly have made an appalling mess of their jobs, and the High Courts—or at least some prominent judges—have completed the disaster. Today the Four Freedoms—indeed a hundred times four—are for those criminals who wage war against the nation and the social structure. Honest men are at the mercy of the corrupt ones who have filled the administration with their minions. The case of the Satyagrahis of Manbhum in Bihar is so shameful as to force us to hold down our heads. We know Pandit Nehru or Babu Rajendraprasad have no time to cogitate on the prostitution of justice in corrupt governments, but what has happened to President Purushottamdas Tandon's principles? In the Manifesto itself, the issue of linguistic readjustment between Bihar and West Bengal has been evaded in a fashion that is not only cowardly but flagrantly dishonest as well.

The crying need in the Congress, both Official and National, is a purge of corruption. Corruption has permeated into the very vitals of it, right from the top to the bottom. Ministries, administrative services, the Working Committee, the A.I.C.C. all need to be rid of those vile elements. *The Public Services Commissions have been reduced to fraudulent farces, nepotism and favouritism is rife everywhere.* So until such time as we see a determined move on the parts of the Congress Governments and the Congress body-politic, we shall take the Congress Manifesto in the same light as a prospectus of a shady company promoter. If the ricketty Congress of Nehru, Tandon and their satellites and sycophants is to be re-constructed, then let them implement their declarations of faith into actual deeds. We are unable to gather any inspiration from the Manifesto as it stands, but we have substantially reproduced it *infra*, for record and for the judgment of our readers, whom we request to judge for themselves as to whether any of the noble sentiments, pious wishes and plans for the coming of the millenium contained therein, are ever likely to materialize unless the entire structure of the Congress, political and administrative, be deloused, disinfected and rebuilt from the very foundations.

The Manifesto of the Praja Party, at the very first sight, betrays a bewildering lack of consistency and weakness in its treatment of the most vital pro-[illegible]e day. Two of the most burning problems, *viz.*, nationalisation of industries and abolition of zemindary have been practically evaded. Both these points show confused thinking. The third point of vital importance, *viz.*, the formation of linguistic provinces have been completely ignored. An air of Marxism has been injected in the manifesto, but a Marxist stand on the burning problems of industries and land has been avoided. Undue disparity between the lowest and highest income groups is admitted, but the framers of the manifesto have remained content only with a barren appeal to the good wishes of the people, knowing fully well that wishes of the people, unaided by State power, means little. In their urge to support democracy, they have laid emphasis on small units and greater decentralisation, but have totally ignored the defects of this step as revealed in the working of the Panchayat system in the U.P. Desire to strike a balance between a strong Centre and a thorough decentralisation has been expressed, but the golden mean has been left undiscovered. Decentralisation of industries has also been emphatically spoken of, but the exact structure that will bring about a synthesis of both big and small industries is missed. Too much trust has been laid on co-operation with Pakistan, about the fruitfulness of which most people have much doubt. Foreign policy of the present Government has been supported. Nationalization of major industries has been opposed by singularly muddle-headed arguments. The real objective, seems to be to give sop to the rapacious Labour-Caucus that is a part of the Party. Heaven help the Nation if they come into power!

The Socialist Party Manifesto is more bold and definite, but inexperience, woeful disregard for realities, fanaticism and finally frustration is writ large all over it. The Land policy aims at vcitimisation of all middle-class tenant farmers as well as large land-holders—for unless there is victimisation of the bourgeoisie how can Marxian fanaticism be satiated? We for ourselves, neither possess land nor do we hold any brief for landlords but we consider forcible acquisition of anyone's property without compensation to be against all civilized moral codes. The other projects regarding land, industry, etc., seem to be permeated with an atmosphere of unreality.

Caution is the watchword of the much vaunted Five-Year Plan. Perhaps that is born out of the hard realities of the last four years' experiences. There is no bold display of imagination, neither is there any evidence that the Planning Commission has ventured beyond the secretarial dossiers of the development departments of the Central Government. We had only a cursory glance through the draft plan—for obvious reasons—but it seems to be a rather expensive plan for going bankrupt slowly in five years.

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The Plan has been presented by the Commission as a Draft Outline. "Planning in a democratic State," says the Commission, "is a social process in which, in some part, every citizen should have the opportunity to participate. To set the pattern of future development is a task of such magntiude and significance that it should embody the best thought of the country and reflect as fully as possible the impact of public opinion and the needs of the community." The Draft is "intended to be a document for the widest possible discussion" *and therefore its circulation has been restricted as far as possible!*

The distribution of expenditure in the first part of the Five-Year Plan, which has been worked out in detail, is shown by broad categories:

First Part of the National Plan, 1951-52 to 1955-56

(Rs. Lakhs)

	Central Government	*Part 'A' States*	*Part 'B' States*	*Part 'C' States*	*Total*
Agriculture and Rural Development.	18.04	127.47	37.93	8.26	191.70
Irrigation and Power	175.90	191.60	79.91	2.85	450.26
Transport and Communications	309.69	56.47	16.37	5.67	388.20
Industry	75.38	18.04	7.10	47	100.99
Social Services	54.24	160.25	28.70	10.89	254.08
Rehabilitation	79.00	—	—	—	79.00
Miscellaneous	21.76	5.79	1.00	—	28.54
Total:	734.00	559.63	171.00	28.15	1492.77

(Figures in Thousands)

	Food (tons)	*Jute* (400 lbs. bales).	*Cotton* (392 lbs.	*Oil-seeds* (tons)	*Sugar* (Gur tons)
Assam ..	311	440	—	—	—
Bihar ..	879	390	—	8.5	50
Bombay ..	367	—	168	63.0	84
Madhya Pradesh ..	347	—	128	27.0	—
Madras ..	834	—	218	142.0	78
Orissa ..	295	200	—	—	—
Punjab ..	650	—	79	—	57
Uttar Pradesh ..	800	330	46	61.0	410
West Bengal ..	797	700	—	—	11
Hyderabad ..	633	—	88	49.0	—
Madhya Bharat ..	300	—	91	9.5	—
Mysore ..	159	—	75	—	—
P.E.P.S.U. ..	249	—	56	—	—
Rajasthan ..	86	—	75	—	—
Saurashtra ..	94	—	159	15.0	—
Travancore-Cochin	141	—	—	—	—
Other States ..	260	—	17	—	—
Total: ..	7202	2060	1200	375.0	690

(Rupees crores)

	Part 'A' States	*Part 'B' States*		*Part 'C' States*	
Assam	..	Hyderabad	.. ..	Ajmer	.. ..
Bihar	..	Madhya Bharat	.. ..	Bhopal	.. ..
Bombay	..	Mysore	.. ..	Bilaspur	.. ..
Madhya Pradesh	..	P.E.P.S.U.	.. ..	Coorg	.. ..
Madras	..	Rajasthan	.. ..	Delhi	.. ..
Orissa	..	Saurashtra	.. ..	Himachal Pradesh	.. ..
Punjab	..	Travancore-Cochin	.. ..	Kutch	.. ..
Uttar Pradesh	..			Manipur	.. ..
West Bengal	..			Tripura	.. ..
	..			Vindhya Pradesh	.. ..
	559.6		171.0		28.15

ESTIMATE OF INTERNAL RESOURCES FOR THE PLAN

(Rupees crores)

CENTRE	
1. Surplus on Revenue Account ..	130
2. Resources normally set apart in the Revenue Account for development expenditure under civil aviation, broadcasting, education, etc., for grants to States for GMF and development, for rehabilitation of displaced persons, etc.	118
3. Resources available from Capital Account for development:	
(*a*) public loans	35
(*b*) small savings and unfunded debt	250
(*c*) others	78
4. Resources available for railway development	30
5. Total Resources available to the Centre	641
6. Assistance to States assumed in the preparation of their Plans	211
7. Resources available for the development expenditure of the Centre	430
STATES	
8. Surplus on Revenue Account ..	81
9. Resources normally set apart in the Revenue Account for schemes of expansion under social services, agriculture, irrigation, electricity, roads, etc.	275
10. Resources available from Capital Account for development:	
(*a*) public loans	79
(*b*) others	45
11. Assistance from the Centre assumed in the preparation of the Plans of States ..	211
12. Resources available for the development expenditure of the States	691

The surplus of Rs. 81 crores on revenue account in the States over five years is to be secured by raising additional resources of the order of Rs. 213 crores. There will still be a gap of Rs. 372 crores over five years in the first part of the plan.

The Congress Manifesto

The following is the substance of the draft election manifesto :

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The achievement of independence and the establishment of the Indian Republic concluded one phase of the Indian people's struggle for emancipation.

It was the high privilege of the Congress to serve the cause of the country and of the masses of our people and lead them to success. The Father of the Nation told us to value the moral and ethical basis of national life and made this the condition of political action. He emphasised that means were as important as ends and the means we adopt ultimately shape the end which follow.

Even during our struggle for independence, its content was not merely political freedom, but also the freedom of the masses from exploitation and want. The provision of basic material needs of food, clothing and shelter as the first essential, to be followed by the provision for cultural growth.

The last Great War put an end in many ways to the old world that we knew and posed entirely new problems; the partition of India left a bitter legacy behind. Our civil and military services had to be organised afresh and the very large foreign element in them replaced by Indians. India's relations with her neighbour country, Pakistan, have, in spite of our best efforts, continued to be abnormal and have raised and are still raising difficult problems.

Because of the multitude and complexity of the problems, the country has had to face since the achievement of independence, our economic progress has not been satisfactory. Millions in the country still lack sufficiency of food, clothing and shelter. The objectives of the Congress, which have been embodied in the Constitution of India, still remain, in a large measure, unrealised. The time has come for our struggle for emancipation to enter into its second phase of realising those objectives, without which political freedom can have little meaning for most of us. Economic progress must, therefore, be given first priority, subject only to the maintenance of the freedom and integrity of the country.

The key to the character of the future economic and social organisation of the country and its motive power is provided in the Congress constitution, which has as its objective the establishment in India, by peaceful and legitimate means, of a co-operative commonwealth based on equality of opportunity and of political, economic and social rights, and aiming at world peace and fellowship.

Thus the objective as well as the method is one of co-operation and the avoidance, as far as possible, of competition and conflict. This conception of social organisation inevitably leads to the secular State in which every individual has equal rights and opportunities, and the removal of barriers which may divide the people into opposing groups on the basis of religion, caste, class or region.

The application of this principle in the national sphere would lead to social progress and peace and would strengthen the nation. Its extension to the international sphere leads to an independent foreign policy basing itself on the promotion of world peace.

The progress of the country with limited resources, such as India is at present depends on the most effective utilisation of such resources for the various aspects of national life and activity. The Congress welcomes, therefore, the functioning of the Planning Commission and considers that the method of planned development is essential for progress and must be continued.

But such planning, in order to be effective, must have full support and co-operation from the public. Planning must include and might not be held up by some backward sector.

In India today, stress must inevitably be laid on the progress of the rural areas and the people, who live there.

The first and vital step has been or is being taken to free the land from the burden of old and out-of-date agrarian systems of tenure. The abolition of zamindari, jagirdari and the like must be rapidly completed.

Small and uneconomic holdings are not the way of rapid advance in agricultural production. The line of advance should, therefore, be co-operative farming with the object of making the whole or a substantial part of a village, a unit of co-operative management.

The conditions of agricultural labour should be improved, especially, in the lower wage pocket. Opportunities for work and employment in small-scale and cottage industries should be afforded to them. They should be given preference in allotment of land to newly-reclaimed areas, which should be worked on co-operative lines.

The preservation of milch and draught cattle and upgrading of cattle breeds are important for increasing the supply of milk and improvement of agriculture. Increasing attention will have to be paid to this.

The burden on the land of too many people subsisting on it has to be reduced by the diversion of part of this population to other vocations. Some of these can be absorbed in large industries but, in the main, scope for absorption will come through small-scale and cottage industries.

It is not possible to pursue a policy of 'laissez-faire' in industry. This has been rejected in most countries and is peculiarly unsuited to present-day conditions in India. It is incompatible with any planning. It has long been the Congress policy that basic industries should be owned or controlled by the State. This policy should and must be progressively given effect to.

A large field for private enterprise is, however, left over. Thus, our economy will have a public sector as well as a private sector. But the private sector must accept the objectives of the national plan and fit into it.

The progressive extension of the public sector in the field of what is now the private sector must depend on various factors, including the results achieved, the resources available and the capacity of the country at the moment. The test should always be what serves the social ends in view.

No vested interest or inherited privilage should be allowed to come in the way of the country's economic progress, nor should we allow ourselves to be distracted by slogans and doctrines which sound attractive but which might lead to a worsening of the condition of our people.

The general objective of economic progress has to be

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translated into concrete programme in close relation to the needs of the people and the available means and resources. The first consideration must always be to avoid a breakdown of any point in respect of whatever is essential for the life of the community.

This necessitates a system of controlled distribution in regard to commodities which are in short supply. It is also of the highest importance to keep prices from rising and to endeavour to reduce them. Many of our difficulties to-day are due to a high and rising price-level, and economic development has been seriously hampered because of this.

Therefore, it is of essential importance to follow firmly a price policy aiming at first, a prevention of a further rise, and secondly, to reduce present structure of relative prices as between agricultural commodities 'inter se' and between them and manufactured articles.

If prices have to be held and reduced, some measure of controlled distribution becomes essential. In the matter of food, the fate of millions of people is bound up with the presence of a nation-wide system of controls. But for these controls, the threat of famine might have materialised in different parts of the country.

We must endeavour to create conditions of relative abundance of articles which are necessary for the masses. As this happens, these controls can be progressively dispensed with.

But till we have an adequate supply, we must cooperate to make the controls function more effectively. Hesitancy and opposition to controls themselves produce weakness in their working. It is true that controls have led to corruption. The way to deal with this is to make the controls effective and to improve their administration.

Considerable progress has been made in the development of scientific research and the application of science to industry. This must be continued and adequate provision made for technical education.

Top priority has been given and must continue to be given to river valley schemes which are basic for the development of agriculture and power supply.

In regard to heavy industry, priority should be given to those industries which are considered of basic importance, such as steel, heavy chemicals, fertilisers and machine tools.

Any all-round development of the country on a significant scale must strain its resources to the utmost necessitating the need for much larger savings on the part of the community. In order to build a better future we must be prepared to suffer hardships at present.

The achievement of economic equality and social justice must proceed side by side with economic progress. The post-war shift in relative prices has, to some extent, rectified the disparity between the rural and the urban sectors.

Direction of public expenditure in the interest of social welfare and the imposition of estate duties in succession should be fully availed of as a means for the removal of inequalities. The tax structure should be examined and other methods explored for bringing about a reasonable relationship between the minimum and the maximum incomes, both in the private and the public sector, in keeping with the economic conditions of the country.

Inequalities have been accentuated during recent years largely in consequence of illegitimate gains from black-marketing, tax evasion, certain forms of speculation and other anti-social activities. To give immediate relief to the people and to promote social justice, these evils should be curbed with a strong hand.

The concern of the State for safeguarding the rights and interests of labour has expressed itself in several advanced measures of legislation. There is, however, much room for improving the implementation of these laws. Housing for workers is of great importance and should be encouraged by the State to the best of its ability and resources in co-operation with the employers and the workers.

A rise in the standard of living of the workers is not only desirable in itself, but leads to greater productivity. The 'per capita' productivity in India, when compared to some other countries, is low. This may be due to a variety of causes which must be investigated. It must be borne in mind, however, that without higher productivity, the interests of the nation as well as of the workers must suffer.

The machinery and procedure relating to arbitration and adjudication of disputes should be so improved as to secure fair settlements, based on the principle of social justice and with the least expenditure of time and money. Legal technicalities, formalities and appeals should be reduced to the minimum.

Considerable improvement has been made in our railway services. The Chittaranjan Locomotive Works have been established as a State enterprise for the production of locomotives. The Hindusthan Aircraft Limited are also producing railway wagons. The objective is to move towards self-sufficiency. Progress is being made in this direction, though it will necessarily take time. Continuous attempt has to be made to bring about further improvements in administration and for the convenience of passengers, more especially those travelling in the lower classes.

In some States, transport services have been nationalised resulting in greater efficiency and convenience to the public. This policy should be continued.

The public services and methods of recruitment have to be conditioned and adapted for the purposes of the national plan. Special training should be given, where necessary for the purposes of the nationalised or public sector of our economy. It is essential that high moral standards should be maintained in our public work; and while good work should receive commendation, bad work should be condemned. An effective machinery for this should be devised.

There has been frequent reference to corruption and there is little doubt that various forms of corruption exist as social evils to-day. Every effort must be made to put an end to this evil and some form of summary method must be devised to deal with such cases. At present, the

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real difficulty in dealing with these matters is due to the dilatoriness of procedure in departmental inquiries and judicial proceedings in the law-courts, and the standard of proof required, which often leads to the guilty escaping punishment.

The importance of education and public health is well recognised, and yet, no marked advance can be made in them so long as our resources are limited. At the same time, it is necessary to direct education in the right channels and remove many of the evils from which it suffers today. Education should be looked upon as something which trains the intellect and builds the character of the student, and not merely as a means for employment. What the next generation will be, depends upon the education given now and the importance of this cannot, therefore, be exaggerated. Our system of education should not be divorced from the productive aspect and other needs of the community, but should be related to and be conducive to their fulfilment. The principles of basic education, *i.e.*, learning through a craft, should be utilised to the largest possible extent. Even in general education, some form of manual work should form an essential part of the curriculum, without which degrees or diplomas should not be given. An essential part of education should be an appreciation of and devotion to truth and beauty in their various forms.

In regard to public health, considerable progress has been made in the control of epidemic diseases and provision of improved water supply and general sanitation.

The Constitution has laid a special duty on the Government to bring about the economic and cultural advancement of Scheduled Castes and Tribes and other backward classes. Both the Central and State Governments have given particular attention to this important matter. The Congress, under Gandhiji's lead, has always made this social uplift of the backward classes as one of its principal planks and has laboured to this end with considerable success. This work must continue until these classes enjoy the same economic and educational opportunities and advantages as others. In particular, the tribal people have to be helped to develop according to their own genius.

Owing to certain historical and administrative necessities of the moment, certain States in India were classified as Part B, and Part C. States. This classification was transitional and cannot be considered to be permanent. It has to be remembered that certain parts of India have developed differently during past years. Certain border areas, as well as certain areas inhabited by Tribal people, require special treatment. The general policy in regard to Parts B and C. States should be to speed up the removal of differential treatment as rapidly as possible.

One of the major problems before us during the last four years which has demanded and must continue to demand priority and full attention, is that of the rehabilitation of the displaced persons from Pakistan. According to the figures of the last census, 49 lakhs came from Western Pakistan and about 26 lakhs from Eastern Pakistan. Of those coming from Western Pakistan, about 30 lakhs came from rural areas. Rural displaced persons connected with Western Punjab, who owned land or had been carrying on cultivation there, have been settled on land except those who preferred urban occupations. These latter number about 5 lakhs. Of the urban people from Western Pakistan, it is estimated that 13,17,000 have been rehabilitated in some way or other, by finding gainful employment in Government or other services or by being given special training in production at various training centres. Of the remaining, about 2 lakhs of urban dispossed persons did not require or ask for Government assistance.

The problem of displaced persons from Eastern Pakistan became serious early in 1950 and rehabilitation schemes were drawn up. The position was rather fluid, as large numbers of migrants returned to their homes. Of the 26 lakhs that remained, a little over half, 13.50 lakhs have been rehabilitated.

During the last few weeks, a new problem has arisen in West Bengal, where a continuous stream of migrants from Eastern Pakistan is flowing in.

By the end of the current financial year, the Central Government will have to spend about Rs. 140 crores on relief and rehabilitation of displaced persons from Western and Eastern Pakistan. In addition, about 56 lakhs of acres of evacuee and other land have been given to them and about 3,56,000 urban houses, shops and industrial premises have been provided. Of these, 86.000 were new houses constructed by Government.

The question of properties left by displaced persons in Pakistan have remained unsettled, in spite of repeated efforts of Government. This is a vital matter affecting millions of people, which should be settled as early as possible.

As India is a secular State, every citizen has the same duties, rights, privileges and obligations as any other. He has full freedom to profess and practise his religion. It is the particular duty of the State to protect these rights of all minority communities in the country and to give them full opportunities for development, so that they might play their part in the economy and public life of the country.

The women of India in the past, and especially in the struggle for the country's freedom, have played a notable part and distinguished themselves in many ways. They suffer, however, from a number of social and other disabilities. It is important that these disabilities should be removed, so that they may take their full part in the economy and social progress of the country.

Demand for a re-distribution of provinces on a linguistic basis has been persistently made in the south and west of India. The Congress expressed itself in favour of linguistic provinces many years ago. A decision on this question ultimately depends upon the wishes of the people concerned. While linguistic reasons have undoubtedly a certain cultural and other importance, there are other facts also, such as, economic, administrative and

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financial which have to be taken into consideration. Where such a demand represents the agreed views of the people concerned, necessary steps prescribed by the Constitution, including the appointment of a Boundary Commission, should be taken.

In regard to foreign policy, India has pursued independent line in her own national interest and in the interest of world peace, and has sought to maintain friendly relations with all countries. This has been a positive policy, and, though sometimes criticised by others, has been vindicated by subsequent developments.

Certain small foreign establishments continue in India. The Congress has declared that these must revert to India, and our policy must be so aimed as to bring this about by peaceful means.

India's policy with our neighbour countries has been very friendly. We have welcomed the recent developments in Nepal. Unfortunately, we cannot say this in regard to Pakistan with which our relations have been full of difficulty. We have repeatedly endeavoured to find a solution of the many issues on which we are at variance, but without success. The chief among these issues is that of Kashmir. In spite of the aggression of Pakistan and the continuous provocative propaganda there, we have endeavoured to find a peaceful settlement in accordance with the wishes of the people of Jammu and Kashmir State. That policy holds and we cannot permit the Kashmir State to be disposed of in any other way.

The K.M.P. Manifesto

The following is the substance of the Krishak-Mazdoor-Praja Party:

It is easy to lay down certain general principles of social and economic reconstruction by which a political party may promise to lay the foundations of a new social order. Every party manifesto contains some excellent principles to which no progressive school of thought can take exception. We know, however, to our cost that the great aims enunciated in Congress manifestoes or in the directive principles of the Indian Constitution have little value because there are no corresponding plans and policies to give effect to them. Above all, the administrative machinery, as it is today, cannot be depended upon for the effective implementation of any plans. Its members have to deal with problems unknown to them before and in a spirit they never cultivated under foreign rule. As it is constituted today the administration lacks efficiency, integrity, and a spirit of service.

The constitution of our party lays down as our objective the establishment of a casteless and classless society free from political, economic and social exploitation. But here we propose to lay down our immediate programme of work. Our first task will be to overhaul the administrative machinery so that the services instead of acting as masters of the people act as their helpers anl servants. The task is urgent because in the complicated economy of today, even the prime necessaries of mere existence cannot be obtained except through a clean and efficient administration. Till a few years ago the State apparatus touched an ordinary citizen's life occasionally and at a few points only. Today, for a variety of reasons, the sphere of administrative regulation and interference has widened enormously. A corrupt and inefficient administration under the circumstances is bound to harm the country and lower public morale. It shall, therefore, be our endeavour to reform the services. We shall also examine to what extent and in what direction it is necessary and possible to reduce the scope of controls and of administrative interference in the citizen's life and work. In some spheres it may be desirable for the State to extend and intensify its activity to bring under effective control anti-social and disruptive forces. The State must also create a separate cadre for economic as distinguished from political service.

There is a general recognition of the fact that the great mass of our people live at a sub-human level. They are short of the vital necessaries of life such as food, clothing, shelter, education, sanitation and medical aid. Our economy is so unbalanced that it leads to the concentration of wealth and power in the hands of the few, exposing the many to unemployment, poverty, squalor and ignorance. No government which does not address itself to the solution of these grave contradictions has a right to the confidence and affection of the people. The situation we find ourselves in today can be improved only by radical changes to be brought about with the full and enthusiastic co-operation of the people. This co-operation, we believe, will be forthcoming in a generous measure if the leadership sets the example in service and sacrifice and is vigilant, earnest and careful, holding the interests of the masses as paramount. But no government is deserving of such co-operation that lacks the will or the guts to put down with a strong hand hordes of black-marketeers and other anti-social elements that have achieved so vicious a stranglehold on our economy.

In the political field we are pledged to democracy, both by the nature of our struggle for independence and by the Constitution framed for free India. But we believe that this democracy cannot function properly and effectively unless there is devolution of political authority and the local units are given reasonable power to shape their own life according to their requirements and genius. We believe that democracy works best in small units. This, however, need not mean a weak Centre. There are internal and international forces working today which necessitate a strong Centre. But a strong Centre, in a democracy, cannot rest for long on weak and helpless foundations.

The vast mass of Indian humanity is in a suppressed condition and yet there are classes, such as the Harijans, the aborigines and the hill tribes whose condition socially and economically is especially deporable. Their uplift shall receive the urgent attention of the State.

Our economic life must greatly improve if the miserably low standard of life of our masses is to be appreciably raised. This can be done by increased production, in all fields. For this increased production, it is necessary that for the time being at least there be an austerity drive to create the necessary capital and to solve our present

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difficulties. The example of austerity must, however, be set by the leadership in and outside the Government, the administration and by those who today are living in ease and luxury. In the past this austerity drive was sustained by the spirit of Swadeshi. We must review this spirit and impress upon the people the need for using home-made articles in preference to foreign goods, even at a sacrifice which ultimately will replenish the nation .As far as possible no consumer goods should be imported except such as are needed for the health and vitality of the people. Whatever foreign exchange we can build should be used exclusively for the import of capital goods and expert services which we lack. But this lack must be speedily filled so that we may not rely, in a war-threatened world, upon imports from outside for our vital requirements.

With the Industrial Revolution in the West there has been a progressive unbalance in the economy of modern countries. Instead of agriculture being the axis round which industry should revolve, the latter has been the chief concern of modern nations. This over-emphasis on centralised industrial production was made possible by the imperial policies of the Western nations. They got raw materials and food from colonial countries where they dumped unwanted and sometimes injurious manufactured articles. India was one such victim. The loss of balance between agriculture and industry and between the rural and urban economy has now to be restored.

Our agricultural methods are primitive. Our peasants are poverty-stricken and ignorant. There is little incentive to increased and better production. Intermediaries draw away from the cultivator much of the fruit of his labour. Our aim will be to remove all hindrances that impoverish the peasant, creats conditions of serfdom and impede increased production. For this the first necessity is to see that all land belongs to the tiller of the soil with necessary safeguards against its misuse. The place of the robust, self-reliant and resourceful peasant proprietor in our agricultural economy should be recognised. It is, therefore, necessary to check the further sub-division of land below on economic holding. The village cannot survive unless there is consolidation of scattered holdings and further sub-division of land is checked. However, we cannot at present deprive the peasant of his uneconomic holdings. We must, therefore, provide him with facilities for co-operative farming whereby the resources of land, labour, instruments and cattle are pooled. Even the holders of economic units must be encouraged to co-operate for various purposes, specially for the disposal of surplus produce and purchase their necessary requirements.

In recent years the question of landless labour has assumed a critical position. It can be solved only if there are schemes for the reclamation of waste and marshy lands. This reclamation must be speedily undertaken and the land divided either into economic holdings to be offered to landless labourers or worked in big farms on co-operative basis. Landless labour must also find employment in decentralised industry. Where there are big farms worked through machinery and hired labour they must be worked on a co-operative basis or labour there must be organised and so far as possible a scheme of co-sharing must be worked on a co-operative basis.

Our agriculture depends largely on rain. Yet in our streams and rivers we have water enough to make our agriculture largely independent of nature's vagaries. By training our rivers we can secure an assured supply of water to irrigate the land and thus save the agriculturist from the ravages of both drought and flood. This should also help us to get cheap hydro-electric power.

In the field of industry, considering the restricted amount of land available for cultivation in proportion to the population, it will be necessary to encourage cottage and decentralised industry. Our party will, therefore, lay great emphasis on this. Through decentralised industry, we believe, wealth can be widely and evenly distributed. Moreover, decentralised industry avoids a costly and complicated distributive mechanism and greatly reduce, if not eliminate, industrial conflict and unrest. It utilises and stimulates local initiative and skill. It is the only way to provide employment to the largest number of our unemployed and semi-employed population. The guiding principle of our industrial economy will be that whatever can be produced efficiently and adequately through decentralised industry must be so produced, leaving to large-scale production of defence and key industries, such as generation of power, mining and metallurgy, the production of heavy engineering machinery, machine tools, etc. Resources of science will be made fully available for making decentralised production efficient and plentiful, eliminating drudgery. A high priority will, therefore, be accorded to the electrification of the country so as to make available cheap power to the worker in the rural area.

While our bias will be in favour of decentralisation we realise that in the complex conditions of the present-day world, large-scale centralised industry cannot be avoided. For speedy and full exploitation of our resources, it would be necessary to utilise all modes of production, small-scale, large-scale, private and socialised. While some defence and key industries must be nationalised we do not believe in the necessity of the Government directly undertaking and conducting all industrial enterprise. This often creates State monopolies, indifferent to efficiency and cost of production and hence to the consumers' interests. This is more so the case in India where the administrative services are not equal to their own limited tasks. Under nationalisation, labour too in the end fails to get a square deal. Wholesale nationalisation of industry would ultimately create State capitalism inimical to democracy. Therefore, an increasing sector of centralised industries instead of being in private hands will be socialised and run by autonomous corporations or by co-operatives representative of various interests including the State. Some centralised industries would serve as auxiliaries to decentralised industry providing the latter with efficient implements to increase its productive capacity. The destructive competition between centralised industry and

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decentralised industry will be discouraged by, among other measures, assigning to each its definite sphere. The large-scale private enterprise, in the sector which may be assigned to it in the light of the guiding principles we have stated above, will be subject to social control and regulated in the interest of the common man who is the labourer as also the biggest consumer.

So far, we have talked of production of wealth only. Proper and equitable distribution of the wealth produced is no less important. We have already said that our economy is unbalanced. Extremes of wealth and poverty not only disfigure our economy but are a menace to any prospect of peace and progress. Therein lie the seeds of greed and hate which are fruitful causes of war and violence. Wealth created must, therefore, be equitably distributed. This distribution can be effected even at the source of production through a decentralised and socialised industry and through co-operatives. This is the only way towards a peaceful and non-violent society. For this it is necessary also to prescribe for all practical purposes the minimum and maximum emoluments that a worker in any field of social activity can enjoy. Our effort will be to level up lower incomes and level down upper incomes so that there be some equitable adjustment between the different strata of society and the various vocations. The emolument potential must bear some proportion to ability and utility potential. Our aim will be to see that no worker in any walk of life gets more than twenty times the emolument or the standard wage the labour gets in the field or factory. The minimum wage must be high enough to enable the worker and his family to live a healthy, happy and decent life.

For all this we must devise a new scheme of education suited to our present needs. The intellectual bias given to our education by our foreign masters who needed cheap local talent in the administrative field needs to be modified. But this need not mean any lowering of the standard of intellectual attainment. Practical education through fruitful co-operative work and activity and the development of the artistic sense will enhance the intellectual capacity of the pupil and make it less theoretical and formal. Co-operative work is the best training for morals. Education will be related to the practical needs of the life of the community. This will not impoverish higher knowledge but will rather enrich it. It will also stimulate original research. But situated as we are to-day, the first great need of the community is a practical kind of basic education for the child and the illiterate adult. It will be our endeavour to wipe off illiteracy in the shortest possible time as had been done in many modern lands, specially in Russia.

There is one question that has affected our economy adversely after the partition of the country and that is the question of the displaced. We could have taken advantage of the enthusiasm of the people for our brethren, who had been made to pay the highest price for freedom, and we could have speedily solved the problem with the help and co-operation of the former. But we got unnerved at the immensity of the problem and allowed local and provincial considerations to weigh with us. The large-heartedness of the Centre was nullified by want of sympathy of its officers and the apathy of the provinces. The addition of the displaced persons to the Indian population could have been made an economic asset. We could have created with their help model townships and introduced co-operative farming and small-scale industries. However, it is no use regretting post mistakes. Whatever remains to be done must speedily be done, specially with regard to the claims of the displaced persons to their lost property. It must be settled with the co-operation of Pakistan. We recognise the claims of the Muslim evacuees to their property left in India. We expect reciprocity in the matter. However, if this is not possible our Government must settle property claims of the displaced persons on a voluntary basis under mutual guarantees, if Pakistan is agreeable.

We would fain not talk of foreign policy but a party statement is considered incomplete unless this complicated problem also finds a place in its aims and objects. We believe that our foreign policy must spring from, and be directly related to, our home policy. If we are adequately aware of our internal weaknesses and are conscious of the urgent and paramount necessity of building up a decentralised economy that is neither capitalist nor Communist, then the only alternative foreign policy for us is one of strict neutrality. Whatever the inclination of our intellectual sympathies, we must scrupulously avoid any involvement in international commitments which is likely to drag us into a war, either on the side of this bloc or that.

In all this we have concentrated attention on what is immediately possible given the determination and will. We have not talked of any ideology or ism. This we have purposefully refrained from doing. Unfortunately political ideologies have become fanatical creeds over which groups, parties and nations fight. They fight more over undefined, general and abstract terms than facts and substance. Whenever we talk outside ideologies we find that we understand each other better and appreciate each other's efforts at practical reform. In the world today each ideology in practice takes something from the other.

The Socialist Party Manifesto

The Socialist Party has issued a manifesto through its Secretary Sri Limaye. The following are the salient points in the Five-Year Plan therein:

(1) Abolition of zamindari without compensation. The maximum holding per farming family will be 30 acres of average productivity: all land above this holding to be taken over and distributed among peasants and agricultural labourers.

(2) Petty zamindars, however, will be given rehabilitation compensation and proprietors of land possessing more than 30 acres will receive an annuity for 10 years on holdings up to 100 acres.

(3) Village panchayats elected by universal suffrage and the multi-purpose co-operative societies will be the pivot of the reorganized agrarian economy. The panchayats will tabulate the resources and needs of their village

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and prepare a crop-plan which will be sent to their higher organs of the Planning Commission.

(4) There will be a thorough overhaul of State machinery, and the present multiplicity of agricultural departments will give way to an integrated administrative machinery consisting of land commissions on regional, State and Union levels.

The commissions will consist of representatives of village panchayats, co-operatives, the Government and agricultural experts. They will deal with rural credit, technical help, land revenue, irrigation, cottage industries, crop-planning, river training, flood control, export and import of agricultural produce and supply of agricultural implements. There will be as great a diffusion of power and responsibility as possible.

(5) To improve land productivity, land volunteers will be organized who will undertake minor construction work, such as digging of wells and compost pits, draining of water-logged land, and the building of bunds, roads, etc.

(6) A food army raised and equipped by the State will bring new and waste land under cultivation.

(7) All forms of co-operation, including joint farming, will be encouraged; collective farms will be organized on land reclaimed through the food army. Here landless labourers will find work, home and land.

Industry

(1) In order to release the productive power of the community, certain industries will be taken over by the State.

Nationalization of banks and insurance companies will help capital formation; social ownership of key industries —like iron and steel, power, mines, chemical fertilizers and plantations—is essential for planned economic development; taking over of the "derelict" textile, sugar, and cement industries, "which have failed the consumers so utterly," will enable the State to satisfy the basic needs of the common man.

(2) All other industries will be in private hands. State control will be so devised as to remove all restrictions on production and to give an opportunity to those with initiative to explore, experiment and expand.

(3) Emphasis will be not on capital intensive but on labour intensive technique. The world's best technical talent will be availed of.

(4) In the nationalized sector there will be autonomous public corporations competing among themselves and municipal enterprise which will avoid the dangers of monopoly, centralization and bureaucratization.

(5) Workers will be represented on these corporations through their works committee and production committees. In joint stock company concerns workers' participation in management will be compulsory. In proprietary concerns their interest will be safeguarded through a system of double audit. Management, however, will be the responsibility of the proprietors.

(6) Provision will be made for sickness insurance, maternity benefits and old age pensions. The principle of unionship—every worker a union member—will be introduced and internal democracy within the Union will be safeguarded.

(7) Producers' co-operatives and handicrafts will be encouraged by reserving certain lines exclusively for them. State initiative will break "the stalemate in industry."

(8) Planning machinery will be built from the bottom upwards: Village panchayats, public corporations, local bodies, co-operatives and associations of small manufacturers, workers and "handicraftsmen" will prepare inventories of their resources and their productive capacity, as well as the facilities required to increase productivity.

These plans will be finalized by planning commissions on State and Union levels. On the commissions will be represented all interests, including the consumers. The primary bodies mentioned above will be responsible for carrying out these plans.

There will be State trading corporations which will import and procure all requirements of the nationalized sector and scarce capital goods and industrial raw materials. All products of nationalized industry will be exported and distributed on a wholesale basis by them as well as important raw materials like jute and cotton.

Village produce will be disposed through multipurpose co-operatives which will also buy the requirements of the village on a wholesale basis. Other trade will be in private hands. "State control over it will ensure both traders' and consumers' interests."

In order to avoid corruption and black-marketing, instead of "the present partial and ineffective controls," rational and integrated controls "right from raw materials and capital goods," will be devised. A "democratic check" will be provided by associating consumers and workers at every stage of manufacture and distribution.

Measures of economic equality, such as capital levy, ceiling on income, etc., will change the character of public finance. Public revenue will be so distributed as to leave increasing resources to the organs of administration closest to the people. Public expenditure will seek to augment production and not merely maintain law and order.

To reduce disparities in wealth the State will abolish "all privileges of Princes and their Saliyanas."

Taxation measures and graduated capital levy will be used; to curtail privilege and concentration of property, and to bring all incomes within the range of a "floor" of Rs. 100 and a "ceiling" of Rs. 1,000. The floor and the ceiling will rise with increase in production.

All barriers of caste will be pulled down. The scheduled castes and tribes will be settled on reclaimed land. A sum of Rs. 100 crores will be spent over a period of 10 years to provide educational opportunities to scheduled castes and tribes. In public services there will be reservation for them at least in proportion to their population.

All disabilities imposed on women will be removed. They will get equal pay for equal work. A civil code guaranteeing equal rights will be framed and there will be reservation for them in such lines as teaching and nursing.

Minorities will have the right to profess and practise their religion and to promote study of their language, script, literature and religion through their educational institutions and cultural associations.

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Refugee agriculturists will be settled through co-operative land reclamation schemes; middle-class people and artisans will be fostered by the State.

Constitutional changes directed at (1) restricting the property rights enjoyed by a microscopic minority, which stands in the way of community's advance, and (2) expanding the sphere of the people's freedom, will be introduced.

Provinces will be rearranged on a linguistic basis, the boundaries of which will be determined by a boundary commission. All States thus brought into being will have equal status.

India will withdraw from the British Commonwealth and thus redeem the pledge of complete independence.

Administrative reforms will root out corruption, bribery, inefficiency "and red-tapism."

(1) Justice will be made cheap and fact-finding and punitive functions will be separated; (2) Public opinion will be associated at each level of the Executive; (3) There will be periodic departmental meetings of the staff to improve efficiency and abolish red-tape; (4) Talent discovered in the ranks will be offered opportunity of special training and exercise of initiative; (5) Legislative standing committees "will act as vigils"; (6) Promotion and demotion will be based on fulfilment of targets and efficiency audit; (7) An anti-corruption authority will deal with all cases of bribery and corruption; (8) Major offences will be dealt with by special courts.

India's foreign policy will be based on:

(1) Abstention from disputes between "the Atlantic and Soviet camps;"

(2) Collective security arrangements for the belt stretching from Indonesia to Egypt;

(3) Co-operation with such U.N. agencies as might help to increase living standards of retarded peoples and abolish hunger and war;

(4) Opposition to all charters and agreements that bolster up the international caste system of rich and powerful nations on the one hand and the weak and poor nations on the other.

India will also support freedom movements in Africa and Socialist movements everywhere.

Manbhum Satyagrahi's Statement in Court

It is well known in Manbhum how due to a previous intrigue between the local officers and some men of Jhalda, Sri Bibhuti Bhusan Das Gupta, Secretary of the Loksevak Sangha and six workers of the Sangha were arrested at Jhalda on the 22nd April last while they were conducting a peaceful public meeting there. They were charged with the offence of rioting, assault, theft and illegal detention. As Satyagrahis they did not put in a defence but filed a written statement in court—which was held not in public but inside the jail. They were convicted for rioting and assault and sentenced to six months rigorous imprisonment. The judgment delivered by the Magistrate of Purulia shows how justice can be prostituted in the interest of mean and selfish politics. The joint statement filed in court by Sri Das Gupta and others throws a flood of light on the condition of the people of Manbhum. We publish a substantial portion of this statement which we consider a very important document in the history of the people's struggle against oppression and corruption.

We know this *Sangha,* and have not the slightest doubt that as true followers of Bapu they have observed *Truth* in all their statements and actions. Their punishment is martyrdom, suflered in the cause of humanity. Bapu is dead and so is his beloved Congress, who is there then to offer redress? Even his *Harijan* is silent on this matter.

"We had the duty, as Satyagrahis, to fight against the foreign rule in order to end its autocratic role along with the slavery under foreign domination, we have had our duty also to fight against our countrymen's rule that has become synonymous with misrule and autocratic rule, in order to establish the real "Swaraj," in our country for which we fought so long a period of time. With that conscious sense of duty and responsibility, we have been giving a sincere fight from our Manbhum front against the bankruptcy of this Congress Rule for the last three years; and the Provincial Government also have been fighting against us the Satyagrahis, devising undesirable methods to vainly crush our rightful plans of Satyagraha launched against the misdeeds and falsehood and oppression of the powers-that-be. The Centre have given long ropes to the Provincial Autocracies to do according to their ill-will, and we saw in our own field how the Provincial Government having been aware of this unhealthy state of things, have plunged unrestrained into the unholy games of power-politics and exploitation. So as a last resort, we had to launch Satyagraha to lead Non-violent Crusade against the wrong-doers and to secure civic rights to the People.

This statement of ours is to express our stand as Satyagrahis in a Court under this Swaraj Government. We have realised the necessity of giving this statement, *as we have decided not to defend our case, as Satyagrahis, even though the charges are concocted and not those which the Satyagrahis cherish to break.* If the charges be according to the laws which a Satyagrahi deliberately and conscientiously breaks, the question of defence does not arise herein. But if the charges are otherwise, the question of defence may naturally arise therein in a free country which is ready to secure justice for its citizens. *So, there are baseless charges against us;* the court is sitting with us which is expected to do justice to the case in question; there is a Constitution for India which has assured to have provided safeguards to secure rights and justice the people deserve; and every citizen is naturally expected in this situation to exercise his rights to have justice for him through Constitutional ways, when all those things are there. We are fighting today against the mischievous laws, mal-administration and the misdeeds of the Government. We have waged non-violent fight against the misdeeds of the Government; not only not having met with a single instance of justice being done from the part of the Government in hundreds of appeals for rectification of wrongs done by the Government, but also having met with the Governmental attitude of doing more harm in

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the matters in question for which the rectification was solicited.

It may be suggested that, if we defend our case we may at least torpedo the false story of the case by the very instrument of their own, having foiled *the design of the government to inflict punishment on us for untoward charges which we never dreamt to commit;* and that by this, our case may be cleared of all wrong imputations that are made and the opposite party may be exposed therein. By our deliberately refraining from defending our case, we express our protest against the condemnable condition that has come to stay in the field of justice and rule under a National Government.

We know that there is the Bihar Maintenance of Public Safety Act. We unequivocally declare here that we have violated this aforesaid Act with the full consciousness of the action of ours; and we may be considered guilty in the eyes of the unjust executor of that undesirable Act, but we feel ourselves to be not guilty to our conscience and to our sense of duty towards our country and the cause we serve. But here we would do well to mention that such violation on our part of this infamous Act has been made by the holding of many a similar meeting in the recent days, for which the Government have not had the moral courage to take legal actions against us. The Government know that we are on the right and that the Government lack in the moral stand and moral actions.

Hence where the straight way was lacking, the authorities have had to invent, and to take recourse to, many improper and immoral methods to achieve their object. *We have been charged with rioting, theft and making illegal detention of a person* whom we are alleged to have assaulted and robbed. Before saying anything about it as our reaction to it, we would like to say that this is not a question of mere defending the particular case of ours in which our pisition is seemingly at stake, but this is a question *how an entire Government machinery is engaged in unclean practice of cooking false stories to serve their purpose for the reason of which,* defending of the whole position is involved in the question. *What can we gain in fighting our individual cases, in which we are falsely implicated, if the Government themselves are there to enjoy freedom for endangering anybody and everybody they like,* having engaged themselves in doing so with unchecked liberty, by taking advantage of their having Governmental powers in their hands? A very important question also is how the agencies of the *Government dare to concoct a false and baseless case out of an incident that has occurred before the eyes of thousands of people who are there to reveal truth for the sake of truth.* The reason is clear as daylight. Such a deplorable state of things has been made possible to happen openly and daringly in an Independent Country and before the eyes of millions of people to-day, since there is nobody in all the Governmental spheres of India to raise any question for whatever wrongs they commit under this Swaraj life. *The Provincial Government is there as the perpetrators of these evil deeds, and the Central Government is there as willingly silent spectators of all wrong doings of those whom they have had to conduct and control.* In this state of things today, it is not the question of defending only this individual case of ours that matters much in the civic life of our present-day country, regard being had to the broader question involved in the case, but what matters much for us to consider is what has become the general condition of the administrative ways of the country in which such cases like that of ours are possible to be made. So our case is a broad-based case; and the defence for it, in order to have the real justice as required for the same, may only take place in some other competent court than the court we are in—that is, the Court of the people at large. In this present setting of things if this present Court expresses his willingness to administer true justice that the case and the condition of things deserve, then it would have to extend the range of its field of investigation, which, we are compelled to say, it is not competent to do, even though it be willing to do the same. *If it could do so, then it could see that persons have been made accused by conspiracy on the part of the Government of wrongful confinement of a person after robbing and assaulting him, as a reward of their saving the very person from a trouble at some risk.* In such investigation it would have been seen that the peaceful persons are being wrongfully confined in the jail by the very persons who have raided them, without reasons, with deadly weapons and have mercilessly lathi-charged their peaceful assembly. It would also show that these men of power who are the cause of this case are men who have unfortunately undertaken to lead a life in which they have left recorded endless unattended crimes all over the district in the wake of their unfortunate Hindi Imperialism and their ill-conceived autocrative exploitation in Manbhum, having been armed with the power of the Congress regime of the country. *We say all these with due responsibility involved in it and are ready to fully substantiate what we say;* and we think all these evidences are really necessary for arriving at the truth in the case.

We know that the moral and prospering existence of a country consists in its observing the rules of justice in its own life. The Father of the Nation gave us light for it. The Congress of the by-gone days committed itself to it. But now the Congress regime has deserted it in such a pitiable way that the country is on the verge of disintegration to-day. So in this distressing state of things in our country we the Satyagrahis of Manbhum voice our humble warning from a remote corner of India, that by forsaking justice and justice thus we shall bring in our doom."

Liaquat Ali Khan's Statement

"I am deeply disappointed to read your telegram dated July 17, 1951. Instead of revoking the concentration of Indian troops on Pakistan frontiers, which you have admitted, and thus removing a serious threat to the security of Pakistan and international peace, you have proceeded to make a series of allegations and statements unrelated to facts.

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"You have asserted that India's policy continues to be to preserve and ensure peace and to avoid war. The use of military force in Junagadh, Hyderabad, and more recently in Nepal, are grave warnings against the acceptance of these assertions at their face value. The continued denial by force of arms to the people of Kashmir of their right of self-determination and repeated threats to the security of Pakistan by massing of Indian troops on its borders are hardly indications of a desire for peace.

"You have referred to a reduction of the Indian Army last year. The facts proclaim otherwise. Your defence budget has risen from 151 crores in 1948-49 to 195 crores in the current year. Last year the original defence budget was 176 crores, but, the revised budget rose to 191 crores. In the current year's budget an announcement was made of a small reduction in the strength of the Indian Army counter-balanced by increase in the Navy and Air Force; but two months later it was reported that even the proposed reduction would not be made. Actual defence expenditure in the current year is thus likely to rise to still higher levels.

"Your allegation that the armed forces of Pakistan were largely massed on Indian frontiers is completely without foundation. This would be borne out by any impartial observer. You have been at pains to distort the significance of expressions of discontent which have appeared in the Pakistan Press over your persistent refusal to allow a peaceful solution through a free plebiscite in Kashmir as propaganda for war against India. At the same time, you have either ignored or belittled the continuous and blatant propaganda for war against Pakistan by the Indian Press, prominent Indian leaders and political organisations. This propaganda has been going on in spite of the Delhi Agreement of April, 1950.

"As any impartial observer will testify, for a long time after the Delhi Agreement, the Pakistan Press strenuously propagated goodwill towards India while the Indian Press and political leaders continued to fulminate against Pakistan and to make attacks aimed at the integrity of Pakistan. When I drew your attention to this violation of the Agreement and asked for action against those responsible for it under Clause C.8 of the Agreement, you pleaded your inability to carry out the obligation undertaken by you.

"You have referred to the recent border incidents which you have reported to the United Nations. These incidents have been magnified by you out of all proportion and attributed entirely to Pakistan.

"I would draw your attention to the statement made by General Nimmo, Chief U. N. Military Observer on July 13 that quite a number of such violations of the cease-fire agreement have occurred on both sides and that the recent incidents were less serious than some of those which occurred in the past. Surely, it would be a gross distortion of facts to treat these incidents as any evidence of a desire for war.

"You have also referred to the no-war declaration. But as you are aware, the proposal for a no-war declaration could not be carried to a conclusion only because of your refusal to agree that if disputes between India and Pakistan could not be settled by negotiation and mediation, they should be referred to arbitration. In spite of the clear direction in your Constitution calling for the settlement of international disputes by arbitration, you maintained that it was beneath your national dignity to agree to this procedure.

"There can be no clearer proof of Pakistan's desire for a peaceful solution of its disputes with India than the proposal I have repeatedly put to you that all our disputes should be settled by negotiation and mediation and failing that by arbitration. Unfortunately you have preferred the threat of use of force in settling disputes in your favour wherever the opportunity has offered itself.

"You have admitted that troops movements have been ordered by you but you claim that these are for defensive purposes. The nature and magnitude of these movements and in particular the forward move of your armoured division and armoured brigade would not lead anyone to feel that their presence so close to Pakistan frontiers is for defensive purposes.

"This plea of defensive purposes loses all validity in the face of the fact that Pakistan had made no troop moves before the concentration of your forces against Pakistan borders.

"There can be no severer strain upon the relations between our two countries than to be subjected time and again to the threat constituted by concentration of forces. I would again urge you most earnestly to withdraw these forces so that this threat to the security of Pakistan and international peace is removed."

Nehru's Telegram to Liaquat Ali Khan

"I am in receipt of your telegram dated July 20. I regret deeply that my message of July 17, which I tried to make as frank and straightforward as possible should have evoked an answer which I can only describe as propagandist.

"Your references to Junagadh and Hyderabad are wrong and irrelevant. Do not propose to discuss these issues because our position in respect of both has been repeatedly explained. Your reference to Nepal is extraordinary and wholly unjustified. The Nepal Government itself has issued a strong protest against it. At the request of the Nepal Government small Indian forces are cooperating with Nepalese forces near the

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border in rounding up some terrorist gangs engaged in looting and other acts of lawlessness and violence.

"As regards our defence forces, the Central fact is that our Army was reduced in 1950-51 by over 52,000 men. This is easily verifiable. Your reference to our budget figures is irrelevant and misleading as these reflect certain economic factors, such as rise in prices and change in exchange value. We frame our budget every year in the hope of reducing our Army still further.

"If the further reduction in our forces proposed for the current year has not been carried out, this has been due to Pakistan's war propaganda and to the absence of any reduction in her armed forces. You have not controverted our statement that the size of the Pakistan forces has been steadily increasing. Thus while we have been reducing our Armed forces, you have been increasing yours.

"I have neither ignored nor belittled what you say about the Indian Press. Outside a small and irresponsible section there has been no such propaganda as you suggest in the Indian Press: I am quite willing to leave the judgment on this to any impartial student of the Press of the two countries.

"I am surprised that you should dismiss the virulent and persistent propaganda in favour of *jehad* in the Pakistan Press as 'expressions of discontent over' our 'persistent refusal to allow a peaceful solution by a free plebiscite in Kashmir.' Threats of war over Kashmir in the Pakistan Press have occurred almost daily for many months. I would quote only a few extracts from reports of views publicly expressed by persons in Pakistan holding the highest offices:

> 'You can take it from us, that the day we become desperate and lose all hope of a just solution of the problem, not only the entire Pathan population of Pakistan and the tribal areas will rise up for the *Holy Jehad* in Kashmir, but our brothers from across the Afghan frontier will also throw in their lot with us for the cause.'—(Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan, Prime Minister of N.-W. F. P.).
>
> 'So long as a single Pakistani is alive, nobody dare snatch Kashmir from Pakistan by force—if the problem was not settled immediately the whole of Asia would be engulfed in the flame of war which might lead to a world conflagration.'—(Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar, Governor of West Punjab).
>
> 'I say this with full responsibility that India has now over several months taken up the attitude with regard to Kashmir which deliberately blocks progress along peaceful lines. What does India desire? It has no right to complain if it gets something else.'—(Sir Mohammad Zafrullah Khan, Foreign Minister of Pakistan).
>
> *'Prime Minister Liaquat Ali Khan told a Press Conference in Karachi that the Kashmir question cannot brook any delay. He said there were only two courses open to Pakistan to settle the issue—One was to pursue the matter in the Security Council. The second I would not tell you.'*

"The charge that India has persistently refused to allow a peaceful solution through a free plebiscite in Kashmir is, as we have repeatedly pointed out, wholly baseless. It is the armed aggression of Pakistan against Kashmir and the continuing presence of Pakistan armies there that has come in the way of a peaceful solution. Progress towards a peaceful settlement has not been made because of the non-fulfilment on the part of Pakistan of conditions under which alone a free and impartial plebiscite could be held.

"In these circumstances, it is difficult to draw any other conclusion from the views of Pakistan's spokesman and the virulent and frequent comments of the Pakistan Press, than that Pakistan is preparing to seek a settlement of the Kashmir dispute by resort to force. This, and this alone is responsible for the wholly precautionary and defensive measures that we have taken. After what happened in Kashmir in 1947, we should be failing in our duty if we did not take adequate steps to safeguard ourselves against a repetition of those events and the far-reaching consequences to which these would lead.

"I would once more affirm in complete sincerity, that military movements on our side have not been inspired by any aggressive intent or design on our part against Pakistan. India has no intention whatever of attacking Pakistan or of seeking the solution of any problem by force, but if Indian territory, including Kashmir, is invaded by Pakistan then India will take all measures in self-defence. If, as you say, it is also Pakistan's policy not to attack India, I see no reason why peace between our two countries should be in any way threatened. My proposal for a 'No-War declaration' by both countries was a simple and straightforward one without strings attached. You did not accept this and added many conditions.

"What is needed to ease the present tension is a declaration by your Government that on no account will they attack or invade Indian territory. Even now anyone can contrast the war propaganda and preparations in Pakistan with the absence of any such activities or propaganda in India. If the militant propaganda against India and talk of war in Pakistan cease, I am confident that not only will the present tension ease, but the way will be prepared for a calm discussion, in a peaceful atmosphere, of disputes outstanding between our two countries, and for their amicable settlement."

Liaquat Ali Khan's Invitation

Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan, Pakistani Prime Minister, invited Mr. Nehru to visit Karachi. The invitation was contained in Mr. Liaquat Ali's latest reply to Mr. Nehru, which outlined a fivefold plan for the restoration of a peaceful atmosphere and the establish-

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ment of friendly relations between India and Pakistan.

The Pakistani Premier said that the visit should come off "as soon as the first essential step towards the restoration of a peaceful atmosphere, namely, withdrawal of concentration of forces, has been carried out." Other points of the peace plan are:

1. As soon as the troops have been withdrawn both India and Pakistan should reaffirm their agreement that the question of accession of the State of Jammu and Kashmir to India or Pakistan be decided through the democratic method of a free and impartial plebiscite held under U. N. auspices."

To this end both Governments should state their readiness to implement without obstruction or delay, the obligations undertaken by them under the UNCIP resolutions of August, 1948, and January, 1949.

These obligations include observance of the cease-fire agreement, withdrawal of armed forces from the State and acceptance of the decision of the Security Council in the event of any difference in regard to the interpretation and execution of these agreed resolutions.

2. Both Governments should also declare their renunciation of the use of forceful methods in the settlement of any dispute and refer such disputes to arbitration or judicial determination if they are not resolved by negotiation and mediation.

3. Both Governments should reaffirm the obligation undertaken by them in the Delhi Agreement, particularly that "they shall not permit propaganda in either country directed against the territorial integrity of the other or purporting to incite war between them, and take prompt and effective action against any individual or organization guilty of such propaganda."

4. Both Governments should make a declaration that they will on no account attack or invade the territory of the other.

Auchinleck's Activities in Pakistan

Statesman's Diplomatic Correspondent at New Delhi reports:

"New Delhi, July 27: Informal discussions have taken place between the External Affairs Ministry and the Deputy High Commissioner for the U. K. over the Prime Minister's recent reference to British military officers in Pakistan.

"An informal approach is believed to have been made by Mr. Garner to obtain an amplification of Mr. Nehru's allegation that British military officers in Pakistan had 'added greatly to the prevailing tension.' While it is not known what specific complaints Mr. Garner received during his conversations, India's main charge is believed to relate to the activities of F.-M. Auchinleck, who has been in Pakistan since April.

"A complete dossier about the Field Marshal's movements in Pakistan over the past four months, now in the possession of the Indian Government, suggests that his interests may have been connected with more than trade and business.

"Meanwhile the U. K. High Commissioner's Office here is believed to have received from F.-M. Auchinleck an explanation regarding his movements, apparently in answer to inquiries made by the High Commissioner.

"According to Indian sources, bellicose statements about Indo-Pakistani relations have also been made by General Gracey, whose visit to Pakistan was brief, and certain serving officers.

"That Mr. Nehru could not have intended a sweeping statement about British officers generally is evident from the fact that India herself has two senior British Army advisers and British Chiefs of the Navy and the Air Force.

"A *PTI-Reuter* report from Karachi says that Auchinleck had a meeting today with Chaudhry Nazir Ahmed, Pakistan's Minister for Industries, according to a Pakistani Government handout.

"The handout said that the Field-Marshal met the Minister 'to inform him of the progress of the carpet manufacturing concern he was going to sponsor'."

Conditions in India and Pakistan

Especially since the latest ration cut there has been severe criticism of the policy that our rulers, both Central and State, are following. It is said that the land of Pakistan has become by comparison a land flowing with milk and honey. Whatever may be the faults of our rulers—and we are not defending them, Pakistan is not a land flowing with milk and honey. The following statistics are self-revealing:

Unemployment

	India	Pakistan
1948	224,900	77,983
1949	293,043	70,996
1950	314,336	96,439

Index of general consumer prices and food prices:

General
1939=100

	India (Bombay)	Pakistan (Lahore)
1947	263	398
1948	286	444
1949	290	408
1950	295	415

Food
1939=100

1947	302	460
1948	305	497
1949	321	452
1950	334	453

The above informations are taken from the latest issue of the *International Labour Review*, U.N.O.

J. M. D.

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The Unity of Leftism in India

We share the opinion of the *Behar Herald* of July 7th last. "There are today a dozen Leftist Parties in Bengal, and more will sprout up by December next. These are: (1) The Socialist Party of India; (2) The Communist Party of India; (3) The Krishak-Praja-Mazdoor Party; (4) Forward Bloc of Nanu Ghosh of Howrah; (5) Do of Leela Roy; (6) Do of Shilbhadra Yajee; (7) The Revolutionary Socialist Party of India; (8) The Revolutionary Communist Party of India of Soumyendra Nath Tagore; (9) Bolshevik Party; (10) The Socialist Republican Party; (11) The Democratic Vanguard; (12) The Party of National Synthesis. While the Leftists will be quarreling among themselves, the Rightist Congress will have an easy victory in the elections."

We desire, however, to ask a question: Why have the esteemed lady and the gentlemen who have felt impelled to captain these shows differed? They are by profession all followers of Marx and Lenin. Are we then to think that like the pre-1917 Russian revolutionaries they differ because they cannot agree to the position of a coma, or a semi-colon at which Israel Zangwill poked fun?

Zemindari Abolition in Madhya Bharat

The Madhya Bharat Zamindari Abolition Act received the assent of President Prasad on June 25 last. The Act which will be promulgated within 48 hours will bring a new era in the history of the newly-created Madhya Bharat State.

More than 8,600 zamindaries, covering an area of 18,636 sq. miles, will be taken over by the Government after the promulgation of the Act. This Act, it is said, would affect 1,21,993 zamindars of the State.

The Patels appointed by the Collectors will take possession of the lands, forests, etc., belonging to the zamindars on behalf of the State Government. The Government have made provision for the grant of compensation to the zamindars, the official announcement said.

The compensation grant would be paid in fifteen instalments. The zamindars have been divided into six grades for the compensation. Those paying an annual revenue up to Rs. 100 to the Government have been placed in the first category, those paying Rs. 101 to Rs. 500 second; Rs. 501 to Rs. 2,000 third; Rs. 2,001 to Rs. 3,500 fourth; Rs. 3,501 to Rs. 5,000 fifth; and above Rs. 5,000 in the sixth and last category.

Zamindars belonging to the first category would receive compensation amounting to 20 times of their net income, the second category 17 times, the third 15 times, the fourth twelve times, the fifth ten times and the sixth eight times. Zamindars whose annual income does not exceed Rs. 3,500 were also to draw a rehabilitation grant to enable them to settle down in other occupations.

The compensatory rates are patterned after those fixed in the Uttar Pradesh and Bihar Acts. These latter are subjects of litigation in the Supreme Court.

Orissa's Financial Crisis

A Cuttack news dated June 21 last told the world that the Governor of Orissa, Mr. V. P. Menon, and the Chief Minister, Mr. Nabakrushna Chaudhuri, are now daily "holding conferences at Government House to find a solution of the financial crisis" which the State is stated to be passing through. It is understood that as a result of the deficit budget of the State during the last three years the State Government had to overdraw to the extent of about Rs. 2 crores 50 lakhs from the Reserve Bank of India against its capital investments. The over-drawings being progressive without any possibility of repayment so far from Revenue Account, the Reserve Bank of India and the Government of India are understood to have drawn the immediate attention of the Government of Orissa and asked the latter to revise its financial position.

Meanwhile the Ministers of Orissa are understood to have been asked not to leave the headquarters but be in readiness to attend a short notice cabinet meeting likely to be held before June 25 to consider the joint report of the Governor and the Chief Minister and finalise the proposals for the resolution of the "financial crisis."

It is considered likely that the first announcement of the crisis and the steps taken to meet will be made in the Orissa Assembly which meets on July 11.

Drastic cuts in expenditure on unproductive schemes and retrenchment are anticipated in the Public Works Department.

Since then, the Governor and the Chief Minister had been to Delhi and the public have been informed that the news created a darker impression of the situation than the facts justified. Now that the old Governor, Janab Asaf Ali, has returned with health refreshed, we hope our neighbouring State will share his freshness.

India's Food Problem

During the second Vana-Mahotsav (Tree-planting ceremony) a fresh spate of speeches has been released over the country. Its inaugurator, Food Minister Munshi, fertile of ideas and compact of imagination has not learnt wisdom from the first year's result of his brain-wave.

We do not know who is responsible for the present food scarcity. War and profiteers are there to twist natural economic relations. But with all this, we are afraid that our Prime Minister with his craze for "planning" must have to share a part of the blame.

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forgetful of the lesson of American experience in this line.

For the benefit of his advisers we desire to draw attention to a report of the Rockefeller Foundation in which occur words of wisdom that should have a lesson for all of us. We quote these below:

"The capital required (for the better utilization of natural resources), particularly in agriculture, need not at the start take the form of spectacular dams, power facilities and industrial plants. Rather it could consist of thousands of small improvements, such as local water systems, small dams, wells and a variety of other constructions and implements."

India's food problem can be solved not by 'spectacular' planning but by making the agriculturist realize that his habitual practices have grown out of date. We hope our rulers will yet realize the generally incomplete nature of the *experts'* advice.

Animal Husbandry—Its Regionalization

We thank the Central Publicity Department for sending us a reprint of an article from the *Indian Farming* of June, 1950. A summary says that the Indian Council of Agricultural Research was established in 1929. But there was lack of co-ordination amongst its various organs and over-lapping. After 1945, this experience led to certain reforms and the setting-up of Regional Committees which work under the following scheme, the result of the enquiry by a Research Regionalization Committee. We cull the following from the article:

"(i) *Dry Northern* (*Wheat*) *Region*—comprising of the Punjab, Wetsern Uttar Pradesh, Western Madhya Pradesh, Madhya Bharat, Rajasthan, and Patiala and East Punjab States Union.

(ii) A. *Wet Eastern* (*Rice*) *Region*—comprising of Assam, West Bengal, Bihar, Orissa, Eastern Madhya Pradesh, Eastern Uttar Pradesh and North-east Madras.

(ii) B. *Coastal Region*—comprising of the two coastal strips in South India bordering on the Eastern and Western Ghats, parts of Mysore, Coorg, and Travancore-Cochin.

(iii) *Southern* (*Millet*) *Region*—comprising of Jhansi Division of Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Madhya Bharat, Eastern Hyderabad (Deccan), West Madras, Bombay and part of Mysore.

(iv) *Temperate Himalayan Region*—consisting of two sub-regions, *viz.*, the Eastern Himalayan Region including Assam (hilly parts), Sikkim, Bhutan, Nepal and the Western Region including Kumaun, Garhwal, Simla, Kulu, Chamba and Kashmir.

Four Regional Committees were appointed to consider the schemes of research, both current and proposed, with a veiw to fit them in, into the regional plan. The Committee have since made their recommendations and these would now be placed before the Scientific Committees.

Some of the new schemes recommended for consideration on a regional basis are:

(*i*) Setting up Regional Nutrition Centres—one in each region.

(*ii*) Study of sterility in cattle on a regional basis and in various areas.

(*iii*) Study of trace elements and deficiency diseases.

(*iv*) Improvement of wool.

(*v*) Utilization of industrial by-products and unusual feeds for liverstock."

There is, however, another side of the problem which mechanized-minded people in India have been pressing forward for acceptance by the people. Their attitude was reflected in an article in the Nagpur *Hitabada* of June 25 last entitled "Draught Animals—A Major Obstacle to Efficient Food Production," with a second title "Form Mechanization is the Key to Prosperity." The thesis contradicts all the purpose of the work of our Animal Husbandry Department. Our readers should know the process of their thought.

According to the standard rations for livestock in Britain, something like five acres of land is needed to feed a horse. If the total number of draught animals in the world is multiplied by five, we find the staggering total of 1,114 million acres are occupied unnecessarily. The best estimates show that between 3 and 4 thousand million acres of the world are cultivated, which means that an area equal to one-third of the world's cultivated acreage is given over to feeding draught animals. Is it any wonder that the progress of civilisation is so halting and spasmodic when the availability of food—the first essential—has such shaky foundations?

It may be argued that some draught animals do not require five acres for feed. It is just likely that a high proportion occupy a much greater area of rough, uncultivated land. The precise area is not important. The vital point is that almost all land used for draught animals could be made available for human food production. If we reckon only three acres for each draught animal, the result is still shocking.

Here are up-to-date figures of draught animals and tractors in the main regions of the world:

	Draught animals	*Tractors*
Europe	29,982,617	1,300,000
North & Central America	14,558,000	3,214,190
South America	15,155 000	54,638
Oceania	1,076,000	99,759
Asia	148,248,500	27,177
Africa	13,950,000	63 354
	222,970,117	4,759,930

With so great a proportion of the world's cultivable area given over to draught animals, the wonder is that famine is not more constantly recurring than it is in one or other part of the world. Land hunger lies at the root of agrarian unrest in nearly every country. Draught animals are a major cause of land hunger, but their braking effect on human endeavour is, per-

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haps, greater in that they rigidly limit man's own effort. The output of work from a man driving horses or oxen is not more than a quarter of what he would accomplish from the seat of a tractor. Thus, tied to draught animals he cannot earn the reward that is expected to meet present-day standards of living.

Bombay's Milk Plan

For sometime past a pamphlet on the subject has been lying with us written by Sri D. N. Khurody, Milk Commissioner, Bombay, holding a position analogous to that occupied by Dr. L. Sikka, Milk Commissioner in West Bengal. There is an impression prevalent in Bharat that Bombay's Milk Scheme has been made a success, and it will continue to serve as a model to others in Bharat's other States. The pamphlet has helped to justify this impression. The Prime Minister of India by laying the foundation of the new offices of the Are Milk Colony on March 14 last added strength to it, and the Bombay press rose enthusiastically to boost it. Friends have told us that the praise showered is fully deserved. We accept their opinion, and wish that other Milk Commissioners make up their minds to be as active as Dr. Khurody.

Plantation Labour in Assam

In the July issue of *Employment News* appears an article on the subject under the signature of Srijut H. P. Duara, Labour Commissioner. A summary of it is published below:

"Plantation labour comprises nearly one-eighth of the total population of Assam and plays a very important role in the industrial harmony and peace of the State.

"The tea industry is by far the most important industry in Assam. The name of Major Robert Bruce is associated with the early discovery of tea in India, who, in 1823, found indigenous tea growing in Assam.

"The tea industry in Assam employs nearly a million souls scattered over a wide area, spreading from the heart of the State and extending as far as the foot of the Bhutan Hills in the north, Burmese frontier in the east and East Pakistan border in the south. There are at present nearly 1,000 tea estates in the State.

"The tea labour population of Assam consists of emigrant labourers from West Bengal, Bihar, Orissa, Madras, the Madhya Pradesh and the Uttar Pradesh. The Tea District Emigrant Labour Act of 1932 now regulates the condition of recruitment of plantation labour in the tea gardens of Assam. Although some of these emigrant labourers return to their native lands after the expiry of the contractual period, the majority of them have settled down in the tea estates for generations and have become a part of the population of the State.

"When the Congress Government came into power their first and foremost task was to improve the conditions of Plantation Labour and accordingly, labour laws, enacted by Government of India, were enforced and extended to all tea estates.

"Recently, the State Government have sanctioned a lakh of rupees for the inauguration of a scheme for the welfare of the Plantation Labour, with a view to bringing about all-round improvement in their standard of living.

"It is proposed to open fifteen centres for the male workers in the first year with a target to open fifty centres in course of three years. For the female workers, fifteen centres are proposed to be opened in course of three years; and for the ex-garden labourers five centres will be opened in the first year with a target to open fifteen such centres.

"In housing, the tea industry in Assam has made quite a good start although there is still a lot more to be done to bring it up to the standard as envisaged by the Royal Commission of Labour on plantations."

Corruption in India

We have been making such a display of our own shortcomings and corruptions in places high and low that we lose sight of the fact that other countries have had these experiences. In issues of this journal we have on more than one occasion drawn attention to how the U.S.A. fared after the exaltation of the War of Independence (1772-87) and of the Civil War (1860-64). Today we refer to Italy and to what one of its makers, Cavour, said. When his friends urged the difficulties caused by corruptions amongst Neapolitans (Naples) he is reported to have said in justification: "It is not their fault, poor people; they have been ill-governed; you must moralize the country; but it is not by insulting of Neapolitans that you will modify them." There is a world of wisdom in these words which rivals of the Congress should take to their hearts.

Recognition of Labour's Dignity

Labour has through struggles and conflicts attained the dignity of a separate "estate" in every State in the modern world more than equal with the others. This has been brought out in the news-item published on May 23 last. Much of the tensions in strikes and lock-out is ultimately concerned with this "dignity" question as the following will show:

"Agreement was reached on a large number of important issues concerning industrial relations at the meeting of the development committee on industries which concluded its two-day session here this evening.

"The meeting discussed various aspects of industrial relations in order to formulate an agreed basis for industrial relations in the country as a

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as future legislation on the subject. It was agreed that industrial relations are not a matter between employers and employees alone but a vital concern of the community as economic progress is bound up with industrial peace.

"While it was agreed that in an economy organized on the basis of competition, private monopoly or private profit, the workers' right to have recourse to peaceful direct action for the defence of their rights and the improvement of their conditions cannot be denied and should not be curtailed unduly. It was generally accepted, however, that in an emergency, as at present, these things should be dealt with on a special footing. The objective should be just treatment of all concerned.

Complete unanimity was reached on the view that the employer-employee relationship should be conceived of as a partnership in a constructive endeavour to promote the satisfaction of the economic needs of the community in the best possible manner. The dignity of labour and the vital role of the worker in such a partnership must be recognised.

"It was also agreed that industrial relations should be so developed that the workers' fitness to understand and carry out his responsibility grows and he is equipped to take an increasing share in the working of industry.

"Members also found themselves in complete accord on the fact that adequate machinery should be provided for arriving at impartial decisions regarding disputes which are found incapable of settlement by conciliation. It was considered advisable to empower labour courts to take cognizance and dispose of any complaints relating to working conditions, health, safety, welfare and kindred matters.

"Reference of disputes relating to such crucial questions as wages, hours, rationalisation schemes, should, as far as possible, be left to be settled by voluntary arbitration, it was further thought.

"The most honourable and patriotic course for both employers and employees, it was felt, would be to agree to submit any present or future dispute or classes of such disputes to arbitration of any person or board of their choice. The number of such agreements would be a good index of real progress in industrial relations in the country.

"It was considered that there was ample need for continuous education of employers and employees as well as the public with regard to their duties and mutual obligations. The conduct of the parties must be in keeping with the objectives of the Constitution and the declared social policies of the State."

Calcutta's Dockers—Their Noble Deed

When a section of the so-called "Leftist" press appear determined by means fair and foul—more by the latter than the former—to stiffen labour's non-co-operative mood, it is a crowning mercy that Calcutta's dockers should have refused to toe this dirty line and seem to accept a challenge to their human instincts.

Between last May 1st and May 20th, the hottest part of this summer's abnormal weather—one lakh tons of foreign food-grains were expected in Calcutta. And it was apprehended that the dockers would refuse to work during these dog days. But as the event showed they were fully aware of their duty.

And the Port authorities are glad that their fellow-workers should have helped in releasing the ships and in moving 90 thousand tons out of this food-grains to Bihar. Thus was a great anxiety relieved both for Calcutta and for Bihar. And they desire that their noble deed should be known all over India inspiring others to similar deeds. We are glad to act on this suggestion, as ours is an all-India organ of public opinion.

Central Aid to Part B States

"The States of Hyderabad, Mysore, Travancore-Cochin and Saurashtra will receive from the Central Government annually for five years, beginning 1950-51, a sum of over Rs. 10 crores in all as grant-in-aid. Following federal financial integration, the Centre entered into agreements with these States which provide for such assistance on a graduated diminishing scale subject to the review of the Finance Commission to be set up under the Constitution.

"Under the above agreement, the Centre will also assume liability for an equitable share of the public debt of Hyderabad, Travancore-Cochin and Mysore. No other Part B State has any public debt. The Central Government's share of the public debt of Travancore-Cochin has been fixed at Rs. 276.4 lakhs and for Mysore at Rs. 470 lakhs. The figure for Hyderabad has yet to be worked out. Privy purses of rulers to the tune of nearly Rs. 4.8 crores annually are already charged to the Central revenues. The two-year and five-year plans now being finalised by the Planning Commission are likely to lead to further substantial Central assistance to Part B States.

"The aid proposed, it is pointed out, is not in the nature of 'compensation' for the loss of 'federal' revenues. It will be recalled that the Krishnamachari Committee laid stress on the principle that there could be no question of compensation for the Centre taking over the 'federal' functions, together with the connected revenue and expenditures, assets and liabilities. The Committee, however, realise that the States which had so far depended to a greater or less extent on their 'federal' revenues would not be able to maintain their existing scale of expenditure in the 'provincial' field immediately after financial integration without special assistance for a transitional period.

"The guaranteed annual recoupment for Travancore-Cochin has been fixed with reference to a 'revenue-gap' of Rs. 280 lakhs. The 'revenue-gap' represents the measure of the immediate transfer of 'federal' revenues and expenditure to the Centre. The computations have been made according to the principles laid down by the Krishnamachari Committee with reference to the 'federal' revenue and expenditure of the State concerned during an agreed basic period. The corresponding figures for the three other States are: Mysore Rs. 345 lakhs; Saurashtra Rs. 275 lakhs and Hyderabad Rs. 135 lakhs (O.S.).

"The grant-in-aid to cover the revenue gap will include the State's share of divisible Central

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taxes, which at present applies only to income-tax. If in a year the divisible tax share of a State exceeds the annual grant, the State will receive the higher figure.

"When the Centre took over the 'federal' revenues and expenditure of Mysore, Saurashtra, Travancore-Cochin and Hyderabad, it was found these States needed special assistance to maintain their expenditure on subjects in the 'provincial' fields as before the financial integration, in order to avoid any dislocation. In the case of PEPSU, Madhya Bharat and Rajasthan the reverse was the case, federal expenditure being in excess of federal revenues and, therefore, there was no immediate dislocation to their finances as a result of the transfer to the Centre. A similar scheme of financial adjustments between the Central Government and Part A States is being evolved in respect of the merged States. For Part C States the problem does not arise as the Centre is responsible entirely for Central as well as State subjects.

"With these arrangements there is now complete equality between Part A and Part B States in all matters of financial assistance, subsidies, grants, etc., from the Centre. These settlements between the Centre and the States will be reviewed by the Finance Commission under the provisions of Article 280 of the Constitution. The President may terminate or modify the Federal Financial integration Agreements after the expiration of five years from the commencement of the agreements as provided for in Article 278."

The above New Delhi news, dated June 15 last indicated the financial help that the Central Government of India proposes to extend to its B class constituent States. The cases of A class and C class are being separately considered causing not a little heart-burning.

Somnath's Revival

The colourful ceremony that signalized the rebuilding of Somnath has given rise to various feelings in India. In Pakistan there is fury; in Bharat there is elation. But we are concerned with the revival at the same time of the so-called Dravidian-Aryan conflict that has become the stock-in-trade of a certain school of politicians in the Tamil country (South India). The *Sunday Express* of Madras has become its mouth-piece. And in a recent issue, it summarized from various publications what it represents as a true version of the "Mohmed Gazani" episode. We quote portions of the article :

"Mohmed Gazani Never Reached Somnath"

"There is no historical proof to substantiate the legend of the sacking of Somnath temple. In fact, there is no evidence to substantiate the belief that Mohmed Gazani ever reached Somnath.

"It is believed according to legend that the invasion of Somnath took place in 1025 A.D. There are two great contemporary works of history of Gujarat of the same period. One is the great classic *Dvayashraya* by Hemchandra Acharya, and another is called *Prabandh Chintamani*. 'Neither of them mentions even casually the invasion of Somnath.'

"Muslim historians of that period would have jumped at this subject. Even if Gazani had just reached Somnath, they would have painted in glaring colours as to how the Kaffir's temple was demolished by the Lord of Gazani. 'But they too make no mention of Somnath.'

"The great Sanskrit scholar and historian of Gujarat, Sri Rasiklal Parikh, writes:

'It is, however, strange to find that no mention of sacking of Somnath is found in the *Tarikh-i-Lamini* of Al-'Utbi who was a sort of a private secretary to Mohmed. He wrote a good account of Mohmed's biography, and is definitely known to have lived for years after this event. Rasinuddin and Hamidulla who came more than two hundred years after and have written accounts of Mohmed also make no mention of this account.' (*Kavyanusasana*, Introduction).

"The first Muslim mention is by Ibu Asir in 1230 A.D., Shri Parikh concludes:

'From this absence of reference amongst early Muslim historians, we are driven to the conclusion that this expedition against Somnath must not have been an event of that importance which it is reported to be by later Muslim chroniclers upon whom the modern historians have almost uncritically relied. It might have been just ordinary looting of a marauding army as the places came on its way'." (*Ibid*).

"All evidences prove that the idol of Somnath was of pre-historic antiquity. It stood there before the Aryans came to what they contemptuously called the *linga-sisne-devah*. In their onward barbarous march across India, it would be no hazard to assert that the very first destruction of the ancient Somnath temple built by the Sivaite Dravidians was perpetrated by the Aryans. Even as the destruction of Somnath and thousands of other temples and idols by the Muslims did not destroy Hinduism, the destruction of hundreds of *sisne-devahs* by the early Aryan barbarians did not destroy Saivism or the traditional Dravidian form of phallic worship, which was, however, common to all early human civilisations and still goes strong in India. Failing in their attempt either to destroy *linga* worship or the higher civilisation of the Dravidians, the Aryans got civilised by the Dravidians and incorporated Indian phallic worship and the whole system of religion connected with it in the whole system of religion connected with it in Brahmanism, which slowly widened into the all-embracing Hinduism. The *linga* worshipped in Somnath was the *linga* discovered in Mohenjo-daro. When the Aryans destroyed Mohenjo-daro they must have destroyed the prosperous Somnath in the same period."

National Library at Calcutta

We draw the attention of the authorities to the following letter received from an eminent scholar of international standing:

"The present administration of the National Library has spent large sums in buying expensive racks from England, replacing quite good serviceable old book-racks. But very little money is being spent in buying most necessary and important books of Indian history and culture. For instance, the following books though published a year ago have not been purchased:

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Dr. J. Leeuw: *The Scythian Period of Indian History*, published in 1949.
Basil Gray: *Royal Academy Exhibition Catalogue of Indian Art*, published in 1950.
Mazumdar: *Vedic Age* (*National History of India*, 1951).
G. H. Gjirue; *Caste and Class in India*, 1950.
Sir J. Woodroffe: *Serpent Power* (4th Edition), 1951.

This list is not exhaustive. Formerly, the Library used to maintain a suggestion book, book for suggestions on the part of readers. This has been stopped. The Library publishes a Report of its administration. But this is not available to the public, so that no criticism could be made."

This system has militated in every way against the usefulness of the library for scholars, therefore this procedure has to be altered.

Massacre of the Innocents in Bengal

The public have learned with admiration how the devoted and thoughtful Vice-Chancellor Mr. Justice Shambunath Mukherji has added another task to his tireless activities for improving the Calcutta University. He has held a conference with the heads of colleges to discover how it was that only 27 per cent of the students who sat for the last Intermediate examination have passed. That over seventeen thousand youths have wasted one year of their lives and all the expenses of study for twelve months and gained nothing in return—except bitterness of soul—is not a matter to be dismissed with one day's thundering in the morning papers and two days' talk in the public parks. It needs probing; but no committee is necessary for discovering the cause, which is well-known to guardians and teachers alike.

The roots of the mischief are two—lack of common sense in the teaching and examination and greed for money as the supreme consideration on both sides. Any honest teacher could have told half of these youths after their test examination (I am assuming for the moment that the test examination is not a sham in most colleges) that judging from their state of preparation they had no earthly chance of passing the University examination three months later. Any honest head of a college should have told them that he was not going to send up such palpably immature candidates. A college venturing to do so would at once lose customers.

But why blame the colleges? The holy mother (*alma mater*) herself is not sinless in this respect. A Matric examination that does not truly sift those who have received the necessary preliminary grounding for a college course from those who are unfit, brings shoals of lads to the University, and thus swells the University's income in various ways, particularly that "best seller in India," the I.A. English Selections, a paper-cover booklet of some 200 pages, costing Rs. 3, without any illustration or copyright extract that has been paid for. And the University's own Bible Selection too,—which happily few students buy and fewer still read; a note-book sufficeth. If, under the inexorable law of nature, the myriads thus easily entering the colleges, are two years later subjected to a 73 per cent massacre, the University has at least pocketed six lakhs of rupees in fees (of diverse kinds) from these failures alone, without giving them anything in return. After all, the ancients hit at one or two truths in spite of their lack of modern civilisation: the Christian Chhrch has proclaimed *Radix malo-rum est cupiditas* (Love of money is the root of all evils). And Sankaracharya too, with his *Artham anartham bhavaya nityam.*

The path of reform lies in (1) freeing the curriculum of its cumbrous pretentious mass of books (whose mass and cost drives the student to seek refuge in Notes). (2) Holding a commonsense practical test in modern English prose, as an instrument for reading, —and no niceties of grammar or subtleties of aesthetic criticism below the Honours stage. (3) Curbing the natural tendency of the (compulsory) Bengali paper-setter to maintain the dignity of his subject by making it as stiff as the Honours paper in English. (4) Ensuring that the questions are fairly well-distributed over the entire subject or book, and not confined to one corner of it, which happens to be the examiner's special preserve. In 1927, the question paper in Pass Economics III (Indian Economics) was almost entirely confined to Banking,—in which the paper-setter had taken his Doctorate. Such irrational action on the part of the question-setter drives the student to be dishonest; it discourages industry, as leaving everything to chance. A revision (called *moderation*) of question papers by actual teachers of the subjects, before they are printed, is indispensably necessary. The chance of leakage is not ruled out, I admit; but that is a lesser evil than the present freaks and caprices.

Above all, disciplinary action against the inefficient mercenary colleges—which swell the percentage of failure, should be rigorously taken. Mushroom colleges after the first year's trial, should be compelled to die out like mushrooms. And that hoary-headed sinner—with 2,000 youths on the rolls (which was the laughing stock of the British members of the Radhakrishnan Commission) and whose boys pointed out the Sealdah Station third class passenger shed as their Students' Common Room to the Sadler Commission, well, a little blood-letting reducing its numbers to 500 will certainly cure it of its present elephantiasis. The accepted conditions of affiliation, if honestly enforced, can effect this surgical operation.

J. S.

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Assassination of King Abdulla

The assassination of King Abdulla will have consequences far into the Arab world. He became a part of history during the first World War of the 20th century helping to overthrow the empire of the Turks. All seemed hopeful for his family. His younger brother, Emir Feisal, was the instrument through whom the fates found a leader of the Arab Revolt. In Lawrence's book *Seven Pillars of Wisdom,* we get a glimpse of the policy of the British Government, and the betrayal of Arab hopes by Prime Minister Lloyd George and his civil advisers.

Lawrence was an archaeologist, digging into the ruins of the area in Syria, Palestine, Lebanon, Trans-Jordania and the Hejaj. Then unconsciously to himself he got entangled in Britain's far-flung scheme of a vast South-West Asian Bloc with herself as the boss. This required the break-up of the Turkish empire; and Sheriff Hussein, Emir Abdulla and Emir Feisal were its dupes. Lawrence saw before his eyes the wreck of all he had laboured for, and was naturally very bitter with Lloyd George and Clemenceau. And throughout the book he gave the freest expression to it on every conceivable occasion.

In the earlier pages he threw out pen-pictures of men and things that will remain enshrined in the English language. Of Emir Abdulla he had no high opinion; Emir Feisal was his hero. We quote from the book portions that have become relevant today:

> ". . . nothing was futile in the atmosphere of higher thinking and responsibility which ruled at Feisal's . . . Abdullah would sometimes ride a little, or shoot a little, and return exhausted to his tent for a massage . . . He was fond of Arabic verses and exceptionally well read . . . He was also interested in history and letters . . . He affected to have no care for the Hejaj situation, regarding the autonomy of the Arabs as assured by the promises of Great Britain . . . The leaven of insincerity worked through all the fibres of his being. . . . His brain often betrayed its intricate pattern, . . . Yet they never separated into straight desires or grew into effective desires. . . ."

Feisal was driven from Damascus by the French, and the British looked indifferently on. The latter made him King of Iraq, Abdulla, King of Trans-Jordan. But when King Hussein was driven from Mecca by Emir Ibn Saud, they did not raise even their little finger to help their protege. This betrayal explained much of the Arab distrust of British promises; the Palestine episode with a promise for "a Jewish home" in Palestine, was the limit of ignominy.

Abdulla, however, had to pocket it; and in recompense he has been protected by the Arab Legion captained by Glubb Pasha, the best trained and equipped force in Arabia. But this did not avail against Jewish idealism and endurance. The State of Israel was born. The Arab world, however, feels that in the pursuit of his Hashemite kingdom fantasy—made up of Syria, Lebanon, Palestine and Iraq—Abdulla has been lukewarm in the common Arab fight against Israel. This feeling will minimize the grief that would otherwise have been felt by them.

But the real loss will be Britain's. With Iran threatening her oil interests, there remains none in the Arab world to speak a good word for her or stand up for upholding these. This appreciation of the Arab situation supports our contention that in life King Abdulla had been a stabilizing factor in the maelstrom of Arab nationalism and the creeping inroads of Communism.

"Birth of a Nation Suspended"

Under the above heading Andrew Roth wrote in the London *Daily Herald,* reprinted in the *Leader,* an article indicating the multi-racial elements of the problem.

> "Those who planned the Communist revolt in Malaya fervently hoped that the Malays would help them. Instead, hardly a single Malay has joined them in their jungle hideouts, while 30,000 have volunteered as special constables against them.
>
> "Under the harsh impact of the eight-month-old anti-British rising, the growth of Malay national consciousness, rapid after the second World War, has accelerated. The Malays, as a people, are waking up. Except for 30,000 aborigines, they are the oldest inhabitants of the peninsula into which their ancestors penetrated 4,000 years ago.
>
> "During 140 years of British rule these hardy, cheerful people have multiplied more than seven times, but even so they are being outnumbered by the Chinese. Predominantly agricultural, the Malays bitterly resent this influx, which began in strength 70 years ago to meet the labour shortage in the tin mines and on the rubber estates.
>
> "Though immigration has officially stopped, the Chinese in the peninsula and Singapore today number about 2,600,000 compared with 1,700,000 in 1931. The Malays number 2,200,000, compared with 1,900,000 in 1931.
>
> "In the Federation the Malays are in the majority, while in Singapore they form a small minority. The relentless increase in the Chinese population makes the Malays feel they may ultimately become strangers in their own land.
>
> "Since the revolt began, Sino-Malay differences have so widened that some leaders darkly prophesy that if the British left tomorrow there would be inter-racial violence on a large scale. Recently some of the country Malays have been taking their *krisses* (scimitar-like national swords) to sorcerers to be blessed. One of them assured me that the spells were so powerful that they can deflect bullets.
>
> "Asking for special benefits to help them increase their members and ensure their security, the Malays assert with justice that the terrorists are almost one hundred per cent Chinese. With equal truth they insist that the ordinary Chinese inhabitants have done little or nothing to combat the

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terrorists, while many have actually helped them either by paying 'protection money' or in other ways.

"Of Chinese claims for political rights, made two years ago when the constitutional future of the country was in the melting pot, Malay leaders now suggest that those who gain rights also incur obligations. In a determined effort to bring the communities together, a nine-man Malay-Chinese goodwill committee, with Mr. Malcolm MacDonald, U.K. Commissioner-General in South-East Asia, as liaison officer, has been set up. The leading Malay member is Dato Onn Bin Ja'afar, Chief Minister of Johore and President of the United Malays National Organisation. Dato Onn is personally convinced that the future of his race is at stake. With other leaders he is trying to find a way out. . . .

"Most Chinese in Malaya heartily wish that the terror would end, but they seem incapable of assisting openly in its elimination. Only recently have Chinese miners begun to stop paying 'protection money' to the terrorists. As more of the security forces swing into action more information should begin to come in.

"One significant result of the revolt has been its effect on Malaya's embryo Trade Union movement. Before the outbreak in June, 1948, there were in the Federation 302 trade unions, with 149,946 members. Today, with the Communist elements gone, there are only 162 trade unions with 76,925 members. But they are unions, not rackets. Aiming eventually to paralyse industry, the Communists early got a grip on the unions by mailed fist methods. Chinese secret societies, with schoolboy thriller names like 'Red Face' and 'Skeleton Gang' and wired initiation rites, also infiltrated, and through them extortion and victimisation boomed."

Later news from Malaya, dated June 18 last, described how a purely Malayan nationalist leader proposed to solve it. We share it with our readers:

"Plans for the achievement of Malayan independence, sketched by the Malay leader, Dato Onn Bin Ja-afar, early this month, have had their strongest critics so far in a section of the Malays themselves, writes K. N. Ramanathan, the *P.T.I.* staff correspondent in Malaya.

"Some observers see in this opposition to Dato Onn from a section of his own community, the working of a "hidden hand," which, they consider is trying to divide the Malays and obstruct the development of national untiy.

"In the ten days that have elapsed since Dato Onn "caused a sensation" in Malaya (to quote one newspaper) by his announcement, public opinion has had the time to consider his plans. The Indian and the Chinese communities have generally welcomed them. The British comment has been cautious. It has expressed appreciation of Dato Onn's approach but has also dwelt on the difficulties of the problem.

"Dato Onn, president of the United Malaya National Organisation, probably the most outstanding leader in Malaya today, said early this month that he would form a political, non-communal 'Independence of Malaya' party to work for the achievement of independence.

"He thought that an independent Malaya would seek to remain within the Commonwealth but there is no such thing as independence in self-government, if it is strangulated by preconditions of what it can or cannot do.'

"The Malayan Indian Congress—one of the three Pan-Malayan Indian organisations in this country—at its annual session during the weekend, adopted a resolution in favour of forming, or assisting in the formation of a Malayan organisation with membership open to all Malayans. He said that the Congress would give him every support.

"The Indian-owned newspaper, the *Indian Daily Mail*, has found it difficult to believe that Dato Onn could be really interested in forming a party for the achievement of Malaya's unity or freedom."

We have a certain feeling that the resident Chinese have lost their chance by aligning themselves more secretly than openly with the "fifth-column" activities of their own nationals.

Soviet Post-War Reconstruction

Prof. Maurice Dodd, lecturer in Economics, Cambridge University, who is a visiting professor at the Delhi School of Economics from January to March, 1951, spoke to members of the Indian Council of World Affairs on the above subject. Speaking on the success of "planning" there during the last 30 years, he appeared to be appreciative of the courage and endurance of Soviet leadership of rulers and the ruled alike. The following extract from the address will give our readers an idea of the various undertakings. We make this quotation from the *Indian Quarterly*:

> "As regards the canal schemes: one of the most interesting is the famous Volga-Don Canal, joining the Volga just below Stalingrad with the river Don. It is a difficult engineering feat because of the substantial difference (some 90 ft.) between the levels of the two rivers. The canal will be just over 60 miles in length when it is completed. It was apparently started before the war, but was interrupted by the war; and the intention now is to complete it by the spring of 1952, if nothing in the international sphere occurs to interrupt it again. The importance of this project is that it will provide a continuous inland waterway system from the Baltic to the Black Sea, and one which will link Moscow with the Black Sea, enabling ships, for example, to carry fresh fish from the Black Sea to Moscow. To give some idea of the carrying capactiy of the waterway: it will be capable of taking large cargo ships, and with the deepening of the channel of the lower Don and a raising of its water level, these cargo ships will be able to proceeed from the Volga down to the mouth of the Don near Rostov and into the Black Sea. Diesel-engine ships carrying 500 passengers apiece are to be constructed for the Moscow-Stalingrad-Black Sea service when this canal is completed. Power stations with 2½ million and 1½ million kilowatts capacity are to be simultaneously built on the lower and middle Volga at Kuibyshev and Stalingrad, and are designed to be completed in 1955 and 1956 respectively. The first of these, the Kuibyshev scheme, will be linked with an irrigation scheme covering 21 million acres of land,

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"Finally, what the article from the London *Times* calls 'the boldest in conception and most difficult of all these schemes'—the highly interesting project of the Turkmenian Canal, which will run from the river Amu Darya or Oxus, across the Kara Kum desert to the Caspian Sea. The canal will extend to nearly 700 miles and will bring some 3 million acres of desert under cultivation (mainly for cotton). This scheme is to be completed in the year 1957. The forest shelter-belt schemes will be applied here also, and according to the plan shelter-belts will be planted on either side of the canal, and subsidiary dams and power stations will also be constructed along its route. Like the Volga-Don Canal it is designed to carry cargo ships."

Korea War's Cost to U.S.A.

The Korean war has cost the U.S.A. from $2,000,000,000 to $10,000,000,000 depending on how the main figure is worked out, according to the Assistant Defence Secretary, Mr. McNeil.

And if it continues, he told the Senate Finance Committee, the Armed Forces will have to ask for another $2,000,000,000 to $3,000,000,000 during the 12 months ahead.

Mr. McNeil was reluctant to give an exact estimate of the war's cost to date because of the difficulty of deciding what factors were to be included. He said he could 'prove any figure from two to ten thousand million dollars' depending on what assumptions were used.

Mr. McNeil said afterward that he would try to get the Committee as accurate a figure as possible on the cost of the Korean War.

A Washington news of date July last told us this story. We have read somewhere that the last World War cost about 4 lakh crores of rupees. Mr. McNeil's estimate is rather vague, and he declined to make himself responsible even for any near exact figure. We do not know what the American ruling classes mean by publicizing this huge expenditure of money and men, the latter being about 60,000 in killed and wounded and prisoners taken by the Communists of North Korea and China. It is time they realized that leadership in international affairs cost money.

Europe's Encroachments into Middle East

In the *Hitavada*, Sri M. F. Soonawala threw light on the doings of European powers in the areas washed by the Atlantic in North Africa and the Persian Gulf in Asia. They are on the retreat today, and their burden is being increasingly thrown up on the United States. And she is, willingly or unwillingly, playing her part, this being her destiny, as her politicians and publicists say with pride. She is inheriting Britain's hegemony; and thus do we find her intervening in Persia's oil trouble, trying to mediate between the rising nationalism of Iran and Britain's vanishing capitalistic exploitation.

The most interesting and informing portion of the article, however, is where the writer quotes the British publicist Marvin on the contrast between British and Russian technique of dealing with Asian peoples. He thus summarizes the argument:

"During the 19th century the Russian influence over the Muslims became so great that the latter almost completely identified themselves with their conquerors. One proof of this is to be found in the names of Muslim generals and politicians like General Alikhanoff, the Governor of Merv, General Nasirbegoff, Muratoff and last but not the least, Jacob (Yakub) Malik, the present-day Chief Russian delegation at U.N.O., the Suffix 'off' added to the names means 'son'."

And to give added strength to it he quoted Marvin's exact words, written in 1885:

> "The people not only identify themselves with Russians, but the Russians identify themselves with the people. Englishmen would never think of placing their home army under a Sikh or a Maratha, or permitting a Bengali to become a Cabinet Minister. An Indian has practically no career in England; on the other hand, every avenue in Russia is open to the Caucasian. The Alumenian, Loris Melikoff, rose there to a position next to that of the Czars. Generals Tergonkasoff and Lazareff, two other Asiatics, commanded Russian troops in the Turkish War of 1877-78, and when Alikhanoff accomplished his famous raid upon Merv, the exploit was acclamied as a Russian exploit, and not as the achievement of a mere native."

Crown Prince William & Marshal Petain

Within a few days have died two leaders of armies of the First World War—Crown Prince William of "Imperial Germany," first son of Kaiser William, and Marshal Petain who beat back the German attacks on the Fortress of Verdun. Both of them have departed from the field of their mundane activities in disgrace. William shorn of his glory, and Petain as the man who made his peace with Hitler. William's come-down was a fruit of Germany's defeat in 1918; Petain's of 1940. He was put up by French appeasers as the most considerable French leader who would be able to save some part of France's glory. History will say whether or not he succeeded in his venture. But this we know that the conquerors of the Second World War did recognize his status and treated him with courtesy. The death of these two men would, in no way, affect the fortunes of their country. Peace to their souls!

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ROLE OF VILLAGE PANCHAYATS IN INDIAN ECONOMY

By Prof. C. B. MAMORIA, M.A. (Geog.), M.com.

Village Panchayats

India has been a land of Village Communities or Gram Panchayats from time immemorial. It is claimed that the syetem was first introduced by King Prithu while colonising the Doab between the Ganga and the Jamuna. There are definite references to the existence of these "Grama Sanghas" in the *Shantiparva* of the *Mahabharata* and in the *Manusmriti*. Kautilya, who flourished in 400 B.C., has also described these Village Communities in his *Arthashastra*. In the Valmiki *Ramayana* we hear of the Janapada, which was, perhaps, a sort of federation of the numerous village-republics. It is also certain that the system was widely in existence in this country at the time of the Greek invasion, and Megasthenes has left vivid impressions of these "Pentads" as he termed these Panchayats. Chinese travellers Hieun Tsang and Fa Hien tell us how India at the time of their visits was very productive, and the people were "flourishing and happy beyond compare." An account of these Panchayats during the middle ages is provided in Sukracharya's *Nitisara*.

The Village Communities which were self-governing little republics all over India flourished under Hindu and Muslim governments and survived the wreck of dynasties and the downfall of empires. Even the Committee of Secretary of the East India Company reported in 1812 :

"Under this simple form of Municipal Governments, the inhabitats of the country have lived from time immemorial . . . The inhabitants give themselves no trouble about the breaking up and division of the kingdom; while the village remains entire they care not to what power it is transferred or to what sovereign it devolves; its internal economy remains unchanged."

"One foreign conqueror after another has swept over India," comments Sir Charles Trevellyan, "but the Village Municipalities have stuck to the soil like their own Kusha grass."

In 1930, Sir Charles Metcalfe described these Village Communities as little republics having nearly everything within themselves, and almost independent of any outside relations:

"They seem to last where nothing else lasts. . . . The Union of the village communities, each one forming a separate little State in itself, has, I believe, contributed more than any other cause to the preservation of the people of India through all revolutions and changes which they have suffered, and it is in a high degree conducive to their happiness and to the enjoyment of a great portion of freedom and independence. I wish, therefore, that the village constitutions may never be disturbed and I dread everything that has a tendency to break them up."

It is interesting to note that the attention of sanitation and public works such as erection and main-

Karl Marx was also drawn to these Indian Village Republics. He writes in his *Das Capital*:

"The small and extremely ancient Indian Communities which still exist to some extent, are based upon the communal ownership of the land, upon a direct linking up of manual agriculture and handicraft and upon a fixed form of the division of labour which is adopted as a cut-and-dried scheme whenever new communities are founded. They constitute self-sufficient productive entities, the area of land upon which production is carried on ranging from a hundred to several thousand acres. The greater part of the products is produced for the satisfaction of the immediate needs of the community, not as commodities; and production itself, is, therefore, independent of the division of labour which the exchange of commodities has brought about in Indian society as well . . . In different regions of India we find different forms of such communities. In the simplest form the land is commonly tilled and its produce is divided among the members of the community, while every family carries on spinning, weaving, as an accessory occupation. The simplicity of the productive organism in these self-sufficient rommunities . . . unlocks for us the mystery of the unchangeableness of Asiatic society, which contrasts so strongly with the perpetual dissolution and reconstruction of Asiatic States, and with the unceasing changes of dynasties. The structure of the economic elements of the society remains unaffected by the storms in the political weather."

Sir Henry Maine points out that

"Indian village community was a living and not dead institution and the Indian and the ancient European systems of village communities were, in all essential particulars, identical."

He further observes:

"That the earliest English emigrants to North America organised themselves at first in village communities for purposes of cultivation."

The Indian villages had evolved a well-balanced social, economic and political system by eschewing the two extremes of laissez faire and totalitarian control. They had developed an ideal form of co-operative agriculture and industry in which there was hardly any scope for exploitation of the poor by the rich. As Mahatma Gandhi has put it, "The production was almost simultaneous with consumption and distribution," and the vicious circle of money-lender economy was conspicuous by its absence. Production was for the immediate use and not for distant markets. The whole social structure was founded on non-violence and fellow-feeling. The Gram Panchayat administered the village affairs either on its own responsibility or as an adjunct to the village Headman or Patel. It also administered justice and peace, maintained local order by watch and ward, provided facilities for education,

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tenance of public buildings, roads, tanks, wells and the keeping of village tracts in order, provided all other common amenities—social, and economic—of the village life and collected and distributed the charity to the needy and the poor. It derived its finances from the rich and wealthy inhabitants of the village and from other donations. The labour for the works of public utility the village community could get from the village people. In this way it was self-sufficient and self-supporting having little to do with the outside world. In the past, indeed, these Panchayats played a very useful role in developing the village corporate life but unfortunately the advent of the British Rule in India led to their decay and disappearance.

An extreme anxiety to enhance the land revenue to its utmost limits induced the East India Company to make direct arrangements with every individual cultivator, instead of with the village community as a whole. An equally unreasonable anxiety to centralise all judicial and executive powers in their own hands led the British administrators to virtually set aside the village functionaries, and thus deprive them of their age-long powers. These republics, therefore, fell into decay. This decay was further helped by a number of factors. The administration of the village by the agencies of the Central Government, the extension of the jurisdiction of the modern civil and criminal courts of the towns, the new land revenue system, increase in the means of communication, progress of education, police administration, migration of the best and ablest persons from the villages to the towns, the growing spirit of individualism and the break-up of the joint family system—led to the decay and disintegration of the so important an institution like the Panchayats. Thus the self-sufficient nature of the old quasi-democratic rural polity was broken and consequently the village Panchayats as a rural institution sank into insignificance. As R. C. Dutt remarks:

> "One of the saddest results of British Rule in India is the effacement of that system of village self-government which was developed earliest and preserved longest in India amongst all the countries of the earth."

Gradually the British Government took steps to establish such local bodies as could look after their own affairs. This led to the enactment of a number of Acts between 1842 and 1862 resulting in the setting up of Municipalities in the towns but no attempts were made to reorganise or newly start the village institutions, although in urban areas the municipal bodies rapidly increased. Later on, with the systematic attempts and sympathetic attitude of Lord Ripon (1882) a number of sub-district boards were set up in Madras and Assam, and in other provinces powers were wholly concentrated in the hands of the district boards but the start was made at the wrong end because the process did not lead to the federation of smaller units transforming them into large ones but instead it led to the devolution of powers by District Boards to smaller bodies.

The Royal Commission on Decentralisation remarked :

> "The scant success of the efforts hitherto made to introduce a system of rural self-government is largely due to the fact that we have not built from the bottom—the foundation of any stable edifice which shall associate the people known to one another and have interests which converge on well-organised objects."

It recommended that an attempt should be made to constitute and evolve Village Panchayats for the administration of the local affairs, even though the system can be gradually and tentatively be applied to make the village a starting point of public life. Consequently the Government of India passed a resolution in 1915 and issued definite instructions to all the Provincial Governments to give full trial to a practical scheme of Village Panchayats, wherever it could be worked out in co-operation with the people. The Act of 1919 which transferred local self-government to ministers was followed by measures in several provinces leading to legislative enactments. Consequently a number of Acts were passed in various provinces, *e.g.*, in Bengal the Bengal Village Self-Government Act was passed in 1919; the Madras Village Panchayats Act 1920 (replaced and supplemented by Madras Local Boards Act, 1930); the Bombay Village Panchayats Act, 1920 (replaced and supplemented by the Act of 1933); the Central Provinces Village Panchayats Act, 1920; the U. P. Village Panchayats Act of 1920; the Bihar and Orissa Village Administration Act, 1926; the Assam Rural Self-Government Act, 1926; etc, were also passed respectively in the provinces.

Functions and the Working of the Panchayats

For the establishment of Village Panchayats there is no uniform practice and hard and fast rules in India owing to the diverse circumstances and conditions prevailing in the different parts of the country. Thus in Bombay the Village Panchayat Amendment Act of 1939 has made it compulsory to have a village panchayat for every village with a population of 1,000 and above. By the end of January, 1950, the number of such panchayats stood at 3,500, whereas in West Bengal, Uttar Pradesh and Madras every village area is a panchayat area and there has to be a statutory panchayat. In West Bengal there are 5,000 panchayats, in U.P. 34,755 village panchayats and 8,190 *adalati* panchayats; and in Orissa 528 gram panchayats and 173 *adalati* panchayats. Similarly in Baroda, Travancore, Cochin and Mysore and Madhya Pradesh there is a statutory panchayat for every village. Since the formation of Himachal Pradesh the Punjab Municipal Act, the Punjab District Board

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Act, the Punjab Small Town Act and the Punjab Panchayat Act have been applied to this state and fresh incentive has been given to the growth of *gram* panchayats. According to the Madhya Bharat Panchayat Act, every villager will be a member of a panchayat. A group of such panchayats will constitute a *kendra* (central) panchayat. The heads of these Kendra panchayats will form a larger unit known as *mandal* panchayat. The members of village panchayats will be elected on the basis of adult franchise and the *kendra, mandal* and *nyaya* panchayats will be elected indirectly.

The constitution of the village panchayats however varies from province to province. They usually consist of 5 to 11 members. In some Provinces like U.P. they are wholly nominated, while in others they are elected by voters having property, taxation or educational qualifications. In Madhya Pradesh, the members are elected by adult franchise.

The functions of the panchayats at present are judicial or administrative or both. In Bombay and Madras, panchayats are administrative, *e.g.,* in Bombay, the panchayats have been empowered to exercise control over government properties like open sites, waste lands, vacant lands, grazing lands, trees, public roads under the revenue department. In Madras, the panchayats look after the construction, repair and maintenance of public roads in the village, the lighting of public roads and public places, the construction of drains, as well as sanitation and public health. They also have the power to administer civil and criminal justice, besides registering documents. In Madhya Pradesh, the panchayats perform a variety of functions, such as promotion of public health and medical relief, water supply, lighting of streets, opening of schools. The judicial work of the *gram* panchayats has been entrusted to *nyaya* panchayats. In U.P. wide powers and duties with regard to organisation and maintenance of schools, hospitals, community buildings, pastures, public wells, sanitation, justice, village statistics, improvement in agriculture, commerce and industry, have been given to the panchayats. The list of discretionary functions is also very large and includes plantation of trees, breeding and medical treatment of cattle, organisation of village volunteer force, assistance in agricultural credit, co-operation and famine or other calamity and establishment of libraries and village *akharas*, Control of village streets, waterways and power to effect improvements in them and in village sanitation is vested in the panchayat. In West Bengal, these panchayats have been entrusted with the responsibility of village roads, excavation of tanks, planting of trees and sanitary arrangements in the village.

From the foregoing description it will be seen that the functions of the panchayats are of two kinds, administrative and judiciary. The administrative powers relate to village lanes, ponds, wells, drainage, epidemic protection through vaccination, maintenance of school buildings, night watch, etc. Occasionally they may also arrange for lighting, libraries, improvement of agriculture and handicrafts, organisation of festivals and management of travellers' rest houses.* Thus they do useful work particularly in respect of education, health, conservancy and public works. They have been of special service for maintaining dispensaries for villagers in Bengal; for supplying electricity and for enforcing Town Planning Act in rural parts of Madras; for spreading adult education in U.P., C.P., Berar and Assam; for introducing agricultural improvements in the Punjab and Mysore and giving effect to sociol legislation, such as the Marriage Registration and Child Marriage Restraint Act, the Marriage Expenses Controlling Act in Indore.**

The judicial powers of the panchayats relate to the trial of civil suits for money due on contracts, recovery of moveable property or its value, etc., of a value up to Rs. 200 (the maximum varies in different provinces) and of petty criminal cases wherein they may inflict fines up to Rs. 50. Judicial powers have been conferred on the panchayats in various provinces. In Bengal, U.P., Bombay, Bihar, Baroda, Cochin, Mewar, Travancore the panchayats are empowered to try minor cases like theft, simple hurt, offences of cattle trespass.

Every panchayat is given exclusive jurisdiction and no other court entertains complaints falling within its jurisdiction. The procedure of trial is informal. No lawyer is allowed to appear on behalf of the party. Usually the only punishment which the panchayat can impose is fines. Whatever the functions of the pachayat be it is regretted that where panchayats have both administrative and judicial duties, they have generally concentrated on the latter to the neglect of the former.

Control

In all provinces adequate provision is made in the Act for the control of panchayats. In judicial matters its actions are controlled by a competent authority with power to quash its proceedings, to revise its decisions, to withdraw or transfer cases to the higher courts, and in the last resort to cancel the jurisdiction or to supersede it.

The administrative control of the panchayat is in some cases entrusted to the government agency ranging from a Tahsildar to the Collector or Commissioner; and in most cases to superior local bodies like the Local or District Boards, *e.g.,* in U.P. the panchayats are requested to co-operate with the District Boards which can delegate duties to them. In C.P., the panchayats are controlled by the District

*Blunt: *Social Service in India*, pp. 362-63.
**Mukerji: *Indian Rural Problem*, pp. 290-91.

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Board subject to the supervision of the Government officers. Again in Madras and Bengal the village panchayats are controlled partly by the Government and partly by the District Board. In many provinces special government officers or regular salaried staff of panchayats like the Registrars and Circle Officers are appointed to supervise over the panchayats and to direct their growth. Where special officers are appointed the panchayats work efficiently as in Madras, Mysore and Baroda. The control is exercised through audit and inspection. The officers have power to cancel its resolutions and enforce performance of particular duties, and in extreme cases the panchayats may even be superseded or dissolved.

Sources of Income

According to the provision made in the Act, nearly every panchayat has a village panchayat fund, to which are credited all allotments, general and special contributions and donations from the Central, and the Local Governments, Municipalities, District and Local Boards. The panchayats also derive their income from some other sources too, *viz.*, all kinds of grants-in-aid, taxes, cesses, rates, tolls, fees and costs, income from property and endowments, sale-proceeds, interest or penalties on arrears, forfeitures, fines and compensations and donations from private persons. In nearly all provinces the panchayats are authorised to augment their income (according to need) and levy fee, tax, or assessment on land with approval of the government or superior local body.

The principal sources of income vary widely from province to province, *e.g.*, in Bengal, the panchayats derive half their income from the proceeds of the Chowkidari tax and one-sixth from the Union rate. In Madras, 46 per cent of the income is derived from house tax, 17 per cent from the markets, cart-stands, and slaughter houses, 16 per cent from the property tax. In the Punjab, special rates and village rates together account for 18 per cent of the total receipts.

Items of Expenditure

As in income so in expenditure, the principal items vary from province to province, *e.g.*, in Bengal (1939-40) out of the total expenditure of Rs. 103 lakhs, Rs. 8.4 lakhs were spent on roads and communications, Rs. 7 lakhs on water supply, Rs. 3.6 lakhs on medical relief, Rs. 8 lakhs on education and Rs. 2.7 lakhs on sanitation, drainage and conservancy. In Madras Province education absorbed the largest amount, it being Rs. 16 lakhs; Rs. 9 lakhs were spent on sanitation, Rs. 7.9 lakhs on lighting and Rs. 3.1 lakhs on road construction and repair in 1940-41, out of a total expenditure of Rs. 65 lakhs.

Many panchayats have also accumulated large balances often disproportionately high when compared to their incomes. It may be possible that the panchayats may be collecting these sums to be spent over some capital projects in future. Even where this is the case, such a course would mean the postponement of items of minor expenditure but of greater need for some future date. In such cases the better course to follow is that arrangements should be made to give the panchayats financial assistance by way of loans so as to expedite the bigger works for immediate relief and benefit of the people.

Defects in the Working of the Panchayats

The experience of the working of the panchayats has shown that they have not fulfilled the high expectations that were raised about them on the basis of their glorious past. Various reasons have been advanced for the deficiencies in their working. Among them may be mentioned the following as being the most commonly put forth :

(1) That there is faction among the villagers which makes the common acceptance of the decisions of the panchayat impossible. Faction also makes it impossible for a common mind to develop within the panchayat and decisions are coloured by the factious interests of the members.

(2) That there is a lack of proper leadership in the village so that the panchayat becomes a tool in the hands of irresponsible elements in the village population. No respect is possible to develop among the villagers for an institution which is so abused.

(3) That there is indifference among the villagers to the need for the maintenance of proper civic amenities in the village.

(4) That the panchayat is often under the overpowering influence of the big landlord or moneylender in the village and therefore, fails to inspire confidence among the majority of peasants in the village. Further, the powers that are parted with by the Provincial Governments in favour of the village panchayats with a view to training the villagers in the art of self-government are always usurped by this small group. The interests of the small minority are served at the cost of the needy majority. Thus the main ideal of democratic training and exercise of local power for the benefit of the people gets frustrated. Instances have been common where the subsidies given for the village roads or sanitation were spent on the roads in front of the houses of this small group, or only the insanitary and ugly spots near them were attended to while the rest of the village was neglected. Sometimes the funds disappear altogether but the villager cannot dare to call for the explanation of the small group. The villager is loath to court trouble on account of the very scant protection given to him by the distant Central Government and also because he is lost in toil and care for his daily bread.

(5) That the financial resources of the panchayats are very meagre so that they can never hope to look after even the elementary functions assigned to them. Government subsidies go only a little way towards removing this want. Some local works have to be left out on account of their heavy cost, in spite of their urgent necessity. For example, village water-works are in a lamentable condition, because they cannot be constructed on the scale required for the population, and even if constructed, they cannot be maintained for want of funds for

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repair. Approach roads furnish another example; they cannot be constructed on account of costs of and opposition to acquisition proceedings as well as of the cost of the construction of bridges and culverts.

(6) That the villagers resist the imposition of taxes like the house tax and would rather go without the panchayat than have one and be subjected to taxation.

Rehabilitation of Gaon Panchayats

In order to reconstruct India on peaceful and democratic foundations, it is desirable to establish self-governing Village Communities or Gram Panchayats as of old, with necessary modification to suit the modern conditions. These Panchayats will be very different from the present Local or District Boards which posses limited powers. They will be autonomous so far as their internal administration is concerned, and will be, as far as possible, self-sufficient in regard to at least the basic requirements of life like food, clothing and building materials. They will be linked up with the Taluka, District, Division, Province and country as a whole, for purposes of common policy and interests.

Every village with a population of 1,000 or more and having sufficient income for its needs should be declared a *Gaon* (village) Panchayat, and that villages with population below 1,000 should be grouped together to make a panchayat. Grouping of villages should be undertaken when lying within a radius of two miles and after taking into account the local conditions of those villages and their ability to raise the finances required.

Any person of 21 years of age or above, residing within the Panchayat area, should be elected a member and entitled to vote. No voter should be entitled to vote or to stand as a candidate for more than one Panchayat. There should be 9 to 15 members in a village Panchayat and the electoral roll, like the register of voters for each village, should be prepared by a Patwari, and revised periodically by a Kanungo. The assistance of a few non-officials in the preparation of the electoral roll will be appreciable. It will be opposed to democratic principles if the zamindars and moneylenders should be disqualified from standing as members of the Panchayat, although the legitimate fear of the Kisans is for the Zamindars who as a class have considerable power and influence in villages and dominate the Panchayat. Therefore, it will be desirable that at least three-fourths of the members should be peasants and field-workers. The inclusion of the village artisan, the patwari and the chowkidar would, no doubt, facilitate the work of the Panchayat.

Every village panchayat should be assured of a certain income for the efficient working of its plans. The sources of their income should be:

(*i*) *Fasli Chanda e.g.*, 5 seers after each plough in the village may be charged as *Fasli Chanda* per harvest. Such payments in kind are, undoubtedly, very convenient to the cultivators.

(*ii*) Manual Labour: It is a very natural form of public co-operation. In ancient India, and even now in certain villages of Mewar, public buildings, tanks, wells, etc., were and are constructed by the joint efforts and voluntary and honorary labour of the villagers. There should be at least 5 days of free manual labour after every plough in the village. This will facilitate the work of the Panchayats a great deal without any botheration regarding money and cash.

(*iii*) Private donations, on the occasion of social functions like marriages, sacred-thread ceremonies, etc.

(*iv*) Miscellaneous receipts, in the form of arbitration fees and fines, grazing charges and other special cesses for various purposes. Such cesses must, however, be realised in kind.

(*v*) Capital grants or grants-in-aid for recurrent purposes should be freely provided by the various reconstruction funds set up by the Provincial Governments.

(*vi*) Borrowings may also be allowed in special cases as regards Panchayats whose position is sound.

Each Gaon Sabha should have a Gaon Fund to which shall be credited the following: (*i*) Taxes on the rent payable not exceeding one anna in a rupee, and on rent received not exceeding six pies in a rupee, on trade, calling, and profession, and on buildings owned by persons who do not pay any of the aforesaid taxes; (*ii*) sums handed over or assigned by the Provincial Governments, District Boards, Courts or gifts; (*iii*) portion of rent or other proceeds from the *nazul* property; (*iv*) rent or revenue collection charges; (*v*) income, *adalat* panchayats, fairs and markets; and (*vii*) loans and the existing balance of the village panchayats.

As regards the functions to be followed by the Panchayats two things must be borne in mind. Firstly, the Panchayats should not be the only local authorities for the villages but there would be the District Boards also exercising jurisdiction over them. It is not, therefore, necessary that all the local services for the villages should be provided by the Panchayats. Secondly, the amount of political initiative and talent available in the village is bound to be small and their financial resources too cannot be very large. In view of these considerations it does not seem feasible to entrust the Panchayats with the maintenance of costly institutions whose clientele should be under the District Boards.

Functions of the Village Panchayats should be of three kinds:

Firstly, their own independent functions should be only a few relating to construction and upkeep of village works like roads, wells and tanks, and buildings; lighting, provision of village libraries, reading

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of public utility. They should also allot the land to the peasants and collect the Land Revenue on behalf of the village. The regulation of the inter-village markets, celebration of the local festivals, establishment and maintenance of the village primary schools, and the organisation of basic and adult education, and management and care of village grazing lands for the benefit of all the people—should also fall under the ambit of the Panchayats.

Secondly, they should be entrusted by the District Boards with a large number of agency functions in connection with the repairs of Board's buildings situated in the village, distribution of seeds and manures, starting of cottage industries, encouragement of co-operation, and consolidation of holdings, marketing of agricultural produce, improvement in the means of communications, regulation and distribution of water-supply for irrigation purposes, extension of village sites and control of rural housing, regulation of hours of work and conditions of employment in agriculture, making arrangements for the co-operative purchase of raw materials and consumption goods, and the co-operative sale of the articles of village handicrafts, and the regulation of village trade, industry and commerce by organising credit and non-credit co-operative societies under the supervision of the experts.

Thirdly, they should have the right of making representation and complaints to the Government and the District Boards regarding the inadequacy or mismanagement of any of the services which it is the duty of these authorities to provide for the villages. Thus they should have the power to enquire and report about the misconduct of certain officials, *e.g.*, Amin, Vaccinator, Constable, Patwari, Patrol, Peon, Process Server, to contract for collection of taxes and other dues on behalf of the Government and proprietors on payments and to acquire land through the collector.

Lastly, the proper judicial duty of the Panchayats should be conciliation and arbitration rather than adjudication. Conciliation is resorted to by disputants for resettlement of disputes informally, even in the absence of legal revision but if the law recognises it as a regular part of judicial administration, its utility and effectiveness will be greatly increased. To this end in view the law should provide that civil suits shall not be filed in a court, until the plaintiff has tried conciliation with the help of the Panchayat of appropriate jurisdiction. A certificate of failure of conciliation from the Panchayat should be necessary to enable the plantiff to go to a court. When a dispute comes before the Panchayat for conciliation it should summon the parties before it, hear the statements, note the points of disagreements and try to effect a reasonable compromise by arousing their friendly feeling and pointing out the troubles, delay and cost of litigation. No lawyers should be allowed to appear and nothing said before the Panchayat should be admissible as evidence before the courts should the case ultimately go there.

If an agreement between the parties is reached, it should be formally recorded and signed and should have the same validity as a formal judgment of a court of law. In cases arising out of contracts the Panchayats may also act as arbitrators. The law can help by providing that debt and other contracts up to a certain value shall compulsorily contain an arbitration clause binding the parties to the acceptance of the Panchayat's award, should a dispute concerning it arise.

Conciliation and arbitration have been the traditional role of the Panchayats. If properly organised they can dispose of a very large number of cases out of the courts. It is said that in Denmark and Norway about 75 to 90 per cent of the suits are settled in this way. The Panchayats should have no jurisdiction in criminal cases.

Supervision of the Panchayats

The duty of inspection of the work of the Panchayats should belong to the District Boards and they should create for the purpose a force of Panchayat Supervisors or Inspectors each of them having under him 40 to 50 Panchayats or fewer. Their qualification and pay should correspond to those of the organisers of rural development work. The District Boards should be allowed to dissolve the Panchayats where necessary. Their initial establishment and supervision should not be the duty of the District Boards. This work should be entrusted to a Panchayat officer maintained in each district by the Provincial Governments who would work in close collaboration with, but independently of the District Boards. He will also act as a kind of Super-Inspector of the Provincial Government supervising the work of the District Boards' Panchayat supervisors and inspectors in relation to these bodies. He will as well report to the Government cases of failure of the District Boards to foster and promote the Panchayat organisation.

Smooth and cordial relations among the Gaon Sabhas will also be necessary. The spread of proper type of education and appointment of honest selfless workers as Panchayat officers for organising and supervising the working of the Panchayats in early stages of their growth appear to be essential factors for efficient working of the Panchayats. These duties can be entrusted to the development staff appointed for the development work in rural areas, instead of Panchayat officers, although the existing system of appointment should be considerably changed.

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The rural development officer, on the one hand, should create interest in the village activities for self-help and self-improvement and, on the other, it should represent the village to the Government in the spirit of a spokesman of the former. The Village Panchayat area should be a seat of all public services or a unit thereof. For instance, it must have a veterinary sub-dispensary, a civil sub-dispensary, and it must be the headquarters of the agricultural supervisor, the Sub-Inspector of Weights and Measures, the Head Constable of Police, and the Chief Village Patel for all villages in the group, the beat-guard of the Forest Department; it must have also a small branch of post office, and a secondary school for boys and girls.

During the last 200 years, the spirit for co-operative action and corporate life has been greatly destroyed. Individualism and materialism have replaced community life and moral obligations. The present-day experience of the way democracy is functioning and of party factions even at the top cannot but make one a little pessimistic about the practical working of the existing Panchayat Acts in the provinces. It is certainly a great responsibility on the people's government to see that the provisions of the Act are not misused for the sake of party aggrandisement and for destroying the last traces of the community life. The dangers are not imaginary but real. Finally, let us not lose faith in the innate goodness of human nature and let us share the optimism with Dr. K. N. Katju that

> "What is definitely a poisonous fungus of recent growth of human origin can also be destroyed by human endeavour."

Model Gaon Sabhas for U.P.

The U.P.'s lead to the rest of India in promoting Panchayats all over the State is well-known. Finding that the response of the villages to the scheme has been very encouraging, the Government has now embarked on the second stage in the scheme, *viz.*, establishment of an ideal Gaon Sabha in every tehsil to serve as a model to the other Gaon Sabhas in the district and the State.

These ideal Gaon Sabhas will work to bring about conditions in the rural life as can promote the moral, spiritual, moral, physical, economic and social uplift of the people.

In order to implement the ideal Gaon Sabha scheme, a committee will be set up in each district, consisting of the president of the district board (chairman); district panchayat officers (secretary); president, district development board; president, district congress committee; district inspector of schools; officer-in-charge, P.R.D. in the district; district medical officer of health; district agriculture officer; district co-operative officer; district engineer; district information officer and two others to be co-opted by the committee.

The committee will select a suitable site in every tehsil for the location of the ideal Gaon Sabha. Though the initiative for building up an ideal centre will rest with the committee, actual work will have to be done by Gaon Sabhas and the members of the panchayats. These ideal centres will be given a 16-point constructive programme and the committees will be expected to secure co-ordination and co-operation of the Village Sabhas in its execution.

The aims and objects of this programme may be summed up as follows:

(*i*) To arrange for land for the panchayat house, office of the panchaytai adalat, a hall for meetings, and accommodation, for a library and reading room;

(*ii*) To display in the panchayat house the exhibits of village crafts;

(*iii*) To arrange entertainments with moral and educative background;

(*iv*) To open a dispensary or arrange for a medicine chest;

(*v*) To arrange for the education of adults and children;

(*vi*) To conduct games and exercises;

(*vii*) To hold practical demonstrations to educate the people in regard to sanitation;

(*viii*) To demonstrate how nightsoil could be disposed of and how it could be turned into manure;

(*ix*) To arrange for the construction of roads, drainage, etc.,

(*x*) To arrange for lighting in villages;

(*xi*) To plant shady trees on the road-sides;

(*xii*) To educate people in respect of animal husbandry problems and proper maintenance of the livestock;

(*xiii*) To install cane-crushing and fodder-cutting machines for the village public;

(*xiv*) To introduce compost-making schemes;

(*xv*) To make provision for the improvement of the breed of milch cattle; and

(*xvi*) To organise boy scouts, women uplift societies, etc.

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LONDON LETTER

By Major D. GRAHAM POLE

Midsummer Day has come and gone and what seems to many to be the longest year in our history pursues its dismal course. History is full of ironies but it cannot often have happened that in a given year, in a matter of days, its greatest achievement and its greatest failure should be embodied in the person of one man. But such is the present case. 1951 will be remembered in our history books as the year of the Festival of Britain. The Festival it will be recorded owed its inspiration and its success to the organizing genius of Mr. Herbert Morrison. But the year will also be remembered for the crisis which arose in the Anglo-Iranian oil-field. And that crisis it will also be recorded was mishandled from the beginning by the same Mr. Herbert Morrison, now turned Foreign Secretary. Foreign affairs have been the grave of many a reputation. Sir John Simon was too legal and Neville Chamberlain too vain. And Mr. Herbert Morrison? The verdict is: suicide. Hanged himself in his own garters, the garters being the narrow circle of his atrophied views on 'imperialism.'

There have been many important debates on foreign affairs in the House of Commons. There has too for a long time been the assumption that such matters are the concern of the whole nation, to be approached objectively and not from the party angle. On these occasions the House feels entitled to be taken to a certain extent into the Minister's confidence, to be given a survey of the situation and rather more than a hint of the course which the Government proposes to follow. Nothing like this occurred last Thursday when the Foreign Secretary wound up the debate on the Persian crisis. The only hint that the speech gave, it is fair to say, was to the Persians. Plainly they could go ahead without any fear of a check from Whitehall. Mr. Morrison indeed never came down to realities. Instead he spread himself in gibes at the Opposition and the 'imperialism in which they had been brought up' or stooped to a cheap joke about the action of the Persian Government in closing the Oil Company's information bureau. But the most astonishing levity of all was an entirely gratuitous comment about wanting to 'colonize Persia.' This of course brought Mr. Anthony Eden to his feet (with a graceful reference to Persia's long history). But what a gift to Persian extremists was all this irrelevance. For their propaganda hand-outs to the Press, to the world, they have only to garble Mr. Morrison just a very little.

Our modern anti-imperialists are very like Pontius Pilate. All they think they need do is to wash their hands of the past. But who is going to benefit if the Anglo-Iranian Company pulls out? For if ever an 'imperialism' has done more good than harm, it has done it in Persia. An article by Mr. Hilary St. George Saunders has just appeared in the *News Chronicle*. He was formerly Librarian of the House of Commons and is the author of many best-selling War Reports. And since the War he has travelled Persia from end to end, except north of Teheran where he was barred by Russian influence. A competent and sympathetic observer—and the tale he tells is extraordinary.

He traces the history of Abadan from the year 1909 when the Anglo-Persian Oil Company first appeared on the island. It was then utterly barren, but the land was needed for a refinery to deal with the oil which had been discovered in the hills away to the north. Today Abadan is

> "a town of 170,000 inhabitants, of whom about 165,000 are Persians . . . the most modern town in the Middle East, with drainage, electric light, well-built brick houses, lovely gardens, hospitals, schools, cinemas, everything in fact of which civilisation today is proud."

It is connected by pipe-lines with the seven main oilfields, and around the headquarters of these oilfields other towns are also rising.

> And "in all these places unemployment, poverty and disease, as it is known in the East, do not exist. In a generation the company has virtually stamped out malaria, small-pox and typhus by an intensive programme of preventive medicine which is unique . . ."

That is what life is like in the Anglo-Iranian concession. Its area, incidentally, is larger than that of the United Kingdom and Northern Ireland put together. So that when the present feverish times are past—and the British finally gone—the Persians will have plenty of object lessons around them from which to come to a just conclusion as to the nature of British 'exploitation.' Conditions in Persia proper are very different. Listen again to Mr. St. George Saunders :

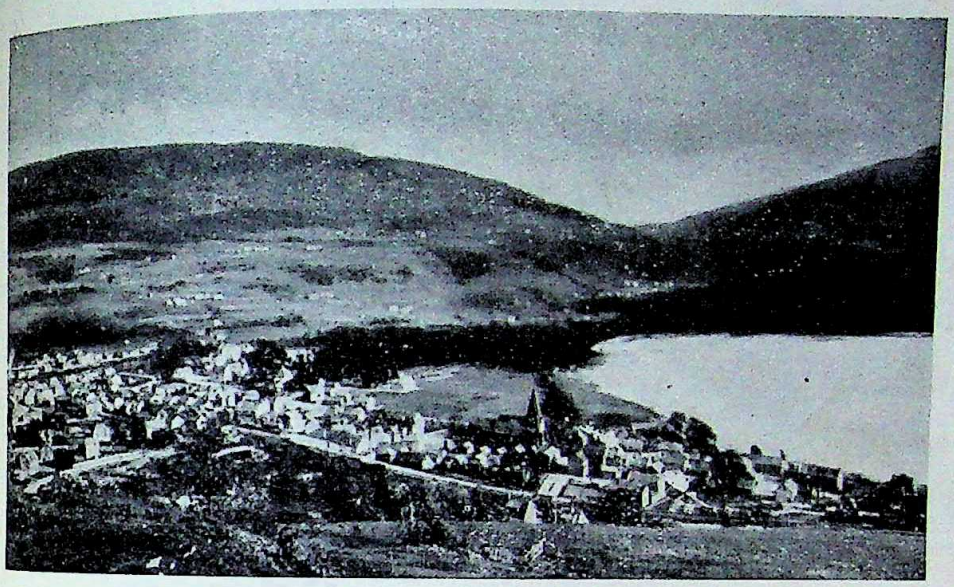
> "Outside the confines of the concession, no public health or other social services exist and the sewers run down the open streets in Teheran and Isfahan and in all other towns I visited and there are no signs of any change. You hardly see a child who is not afflicted with some loathsome eye disease, the peasants are in rags, not one in ten can read or write."

Indeed, in Abadan, the Persians can see the two systems existing side by side. Large parts of it are not under the company's control but in the hands of the local council. And, says Mr. St. George Saunders:

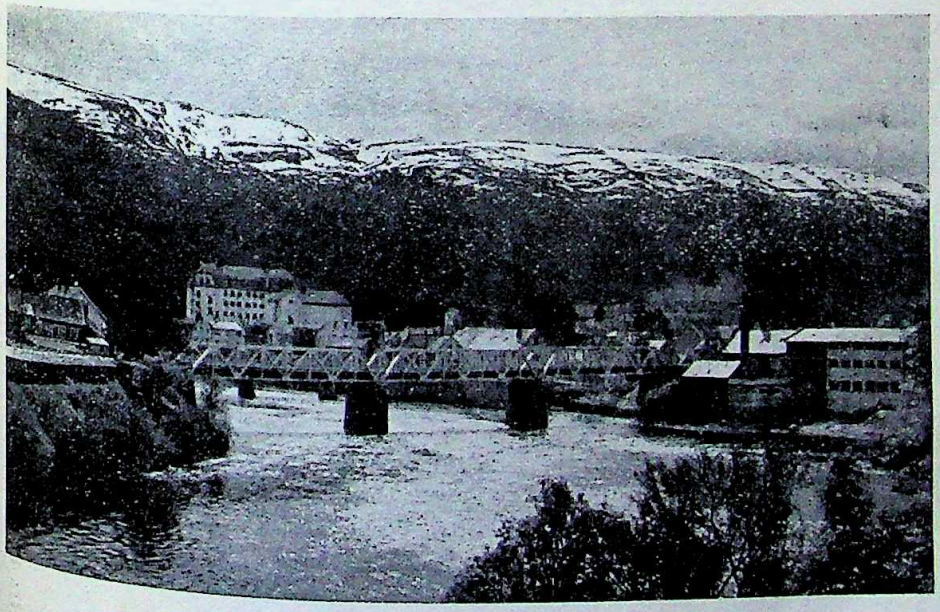
> "They contain the second worst slums I have ever seen or smelt. The first are to be found in Teheran."

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Voss Station



Voss District

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Sinclair Lewis, famous American novelist and Nobel Prize winner, who died in Rome on 10th January, 1951



Dr. Frank P. Graham, who is nominated as U. N. Mediator in Kashmir

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In Teheran also are to be found the Persian upper classes. They are described as charming, highly civilised, some would say decadent. They count their wealth by the number of villages they own and it is they who are in control in Persia and who receive the royalties paid by the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company. To a large extent they control the elections to the Majlis. They have plenty of power but will not exert themselves. A 'modest' programme of social services was adopted a few years ago, but they have not implemented it. (It will be remembered that the Persian Prime Minister, in the role of the devil citing scripture for his purposes, the other day conducted foreign newspaper men round the slums of Teheran!)

And it is to these people that we are delivering over our concession and with it the defenceless Persian labourers. How long can such a state of affairs persist? Communism has already found a footing in the Persian towns, in some of which children aged four and five are employed in making carpets at the rate of 4d a day. Communists make it their business to fish in troubled waters . . .

From every point of view it is a mismanaged, mangled business, and no one can feel happy about it. Why could not the Persian Government have agreed to arbitration—and why could not our Government even have drawn up a statement setting out their view of the rights and wrongs of the crisis? In England, the man in the street feels nothing but scorn for our drifting doctrinaires. All his sympathies and respect are with the men on the spot, with the Manager Mr. Drake and the undaunted army of tankers.

Dislocation, unemployment, uncertainty. These are the heritage on which the Persian labourer is entering. The Persians have no tankers. How are they going to manage? And, as the London *Star* points out, the pipelines across Iraq and Transjordán are still the property of the Company. The Company, incidentally, could hardly have conceded more to Persia than it did already and still remain in business. The *Star* gives the split-up of the Anglo-Iranian revenue last year. To the British Government in taxes £26,000,000; to the Persians in royalties £23,000,000. Only £3,900,000 went to the shareholders of which the British Government, the principal shareholder, took half. Well, these figures do not bear contemplating. That a Government should do so well out of a Company and then abandon its servants . . . There are many Scots employed in that company. Thinking of the treatment that has been meted out to them by the Foreign Secretary many of them must be recalling that line from *Marmion*: 'His cowardice has undone us all.'

The Persians are embarking on an experiment in nationalisation. We in this country have now had several years of it and it hampers our life at every turn. The doctors are being killed off by the strains and stresses of the National Health Service. The local authorities want their hospitals back. The railways want to recover their old identities. The public get bad coal at a higher cost. They pay more for their electricity and gas. More for travel and more for freights. Of one thing we all are certain: nationalisation means redundancy. In this connection it is worth quoting from a letter which Lady Violet Bonham Carter, daughter of the late Lord Asquith, published in the press this week. She referred to three expressions of opinion—none elicited by a tendentious question on her part—and all from workers in a nationalised industry. One was from a miner who told her: "We used to grumble because there were three cars outside—one belonging to the Boss and the others to his two sons. Now we have something like twenty bigger cars and twenty Bosses in them. And not one of them *is* the Boss." Two were from railwaymen. Said the first: "Too many Bosses. We've got twelve in this station where we used to have two—all with new offices furnished and done up 'regardless.' And not one of them knows his business." He was on a northern line. On a midland line it was the same story:

> "We used to use our own judgment in this station—but now we can't settle anything on the spot. Even if we want to put on a few extra coaches we have to telephone . . . There's long delays and then the wrong answer comes back. The railways executive say they can't afford to meet our needs—but look at the waste on what we *don't* need. They've just put a gas-oven costing £40 into our waiting-room. What do they think we want to do on it? Cook turkeys? Why, we only want a gas-ring for a cup of tea."

Too many men. Too much equipment. *Everywhere* one hears that tale.

From time to time the *News Chronicle* publishes a Gallup Poll on the state of political parties in this country. Such a poll was published this week. The question posed to a cross-section of the public was: 'If there were a General Election tomorrow, how would you vote?' After excluding 12 per cent who were undecided, the Conservatives led with 48, Labour came next with 41, the Liberals had 10, and other parties 1. Thus the Conservatives have a lead of 7 points—although last February they were leading by 14. Those who conduct this poll believe that the crucial question is, to what extent are potential Labour voters influenced by the breakaway of Mr. Aneurin Bevan. Accordingly, they analysed the Labour vote still further, and asked:

> "Are you more inclined, or less inclined, to support Aneurin Bevan and his views since he left the Government?"

And 30 were more inclined, 35 less inclined, while 35 didn't know. The most interesting thing about this analysis is that the odds should be so even! How can

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anyone say 'I don't know' in reply to a question about so catastrophic a personality as Mr. Bevan? It suggests, what I think is pretty obvious since the war, that voting Labour is becoming a habit—just as voting Conservative used to be.

Until the flare-up in Persia put every other topic out of our heads, most people were concerned with the question of the two diplomats who have disappeared. The Foreign Secretary assures us that they can have taken no important information with them. And the general opinion seems to be that they were not very valuable members of society in any event. So, setting aside the extraordinary fact that one of them should ever have been put at the head of the American section of the Foreign Office, the only point of interest that remains is—their motive. If they are gone to Russia, as it seems they must be, why should they choose to go?

Caesar could never understand why men should fear death—and I shall never understand why men should embrace Communism! Anyway as it is practised in the modern world. No free speech. No free press. People torn from their homes by the secret police. Wives not allowed to join their husbands. No one allowed out of the country. Where, in the name of all the gods at once, is the attraction? These defections to Russia are a strange phenomenon. Something has knocked these people off their balance and somehow we must discover what it is. A friend of mine had a curious experience this week. Coming up from Cheltenham in a first-class carriage she fell into conversation with her travelling companion, a man in the thirties who was reading a book by G. K. Chesterton (Chesterton the saint, Chesterton the *individualist*!) Asking him his views on the disappearing diplomats, she was startled to receive the reply that he expected there would be many more such defections. 'We intellectuals,' he said, 'have a lot of sympathy with Communism.' My friend, as it happened, once attended a meeting at which a Polish politician who had been kidnapped by the Russians gave an account of the psychological torture to which he had been subjected while their prisoner. She spoke of this to the 'intellectual.' 'Oh,' he replied, 'we are not in sympathy with *that*. We are more interested in the kind of Communism that is practised in *Burma*" I leave it to Indians to reflect upon that.

But *are* these intellectuals really drawn to Communism? Are they not, rather, a little mad? Sometimes it seems to me that just as modern art has cut itself off from tradition, has become a head without a body—so it is with these so-called Communists. Kicking away the past is the need that they feel: not the need of Communism for its own sake. And, certainly, there can be no surer way of cutting loose from the past than by getting oneself shut up behind the Iron Curtain. It is to them the great and obvious Escape.

But how will they feel if war comes? It is recorded that James II of England greatly annoyed Louis XIV by his loud admiration of the prowess of the English sailors in a sea-battle in which he and the French were engaging the English in an endeavour to restore James to the English throne. Instead of cheering on his French allies, he kept exclaiming: 'O the brave English!' Will not our muddle-headed escapists have an even more remorseful awakening?

Talk of war, alas, is in the air. The Festival may be brightening up the banks of the Thames but not many people can match its mood of gaiety. An old lift-man remarked to me this morning: 'There don't seem to be the happiness about that there used to be.' There certainly don't. Everyone fears that war is coming. In a very real sense, too, there is a feeling that the last war was left unfinished—that there can be no peace, no stability, so long as Russian armies hold down the peoples of Eastern Europe.

How far off is war? If a writer in this week's *Spectator* is correct in his assumptions, then war will come next year. First of all he thinks that war cannot now be averted, not even by Stalin. The reason why this is so, he finds in Russian propaganda.

> No Power, he says, has ever maintained "year in, year out, a campaign of such bellicose and hate-breeding defamation against its opponents . . . Propaganda of so much virulence as that now daily injected into the minds of the Soviet populations is calculated to produce a mental current towards war too strong for even its authors to resist."

That war will come in 1952 he thinks is probable on strategic grounds. In the armaments race which is now being waged, Russia is superior in land forces and in the air: America has a great superiority in atomic weapons. But both superiorites, he points out, are in process of being diminished—'the Russian land and air superiority by the working of the Atlantic Pact and the American atomic superiority by the Russians' quick use of the secrets sold to them by the traitor-scientists—Fuchs, Nunn, Pontecorvo and the rest.' And so he concludes:

> "The Russians could not wait too long lest their land and air superiority disappears; but equally they could not afford to start too early lest they find themselves without sufficient atomic weapons . . . Balancing these opposites, I have long thought that 1952 might be Russia's latest date."

All I have to say about this is that by far the worst part of it lies in what he says about Russian propaganda. What a terrible wrong to have inflicted upon a whole people—to warp and corrode their minds until nothing can turn them from their mission of destruction.

Is there no way of piercing such madness?

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WHEN CONSTITUTIONS BECOME FLEXIBLE AND CURVACEOUS

Pandit Nehru at his most "Dynamic"

By C. L. R. SASTRI

"'But what good came of it at last?'
Quoth little Peterkin.
'Why, that I cannot tell,' said he,
'But 't was a famous victory'."—*Southey*

The proverb tells us that out of the abundance of the mouth the heart speaketh. What it does not tell us, however, is that when the heart is full words fail to issue from the mouth—or, for that matter, from the pen. My heart is full just now and, needless to say, my pen is fumbling for words. It all, to cut a long story short, comes back to the age-old question of patriotism. The whole point is that some are born patriotic, while, as unquestionably, some are not: the love of our Motherland is instilled in us at the time of our birth. If, for any reason, it was not so instilled, not all the King's horses nor all the King's men are likely to get it instilled thereafter. It means only that by merely taking thought, so to speak, we may not expect to burgeon into full-blooded patriots. One cannot, that is, inject patriotism into another through, if I may say so, a hypodermic syringe: one has heard of many things but, surely, not of dragooning people into an adoration of the land of their forefathers. If one has to be dragooned into such a state one writes oneself down, not as a man, but as a moron.

Congressmen Spearhead the Anti-Patriotic Hordes

Speaking for myself, I have, let me proclaim it from the housetops, loved my country ever since, in the poet's words, I was

"A six years' darling of a pigmy size."

But the longer I live the more convinced I am becoming that there are enough barbaric hordes in every clime, *and not least in our own*, to whom the love of one's country is, to put it mildly, as unfamiliar as "this goodly frame, the earth, ... this brave o'erhanging firmament, this majestical roof fretted with golden fire" must be to the congenitally blind or the heavenly harmonies of Mozart and Beethoven to the chronically deaf.

Talking of barbaric hordes I have no hesitation in including our worthy Congressmen (the partition-wallahs, naked and unashamed) among them. *Now*, of course, this testament of faith on my part is in no immediate danger of bringing down the all-consuming wrath of the "many-headed" upon me. It is a mere commonplace—like, for instance, asserting that the grass is green or that the sky is blue. Every passing moment but buttresses and bolsters up this proposition. But my supreme merit lies in the fact that I had the prescience to vote for it wholeheartedly even in the palmy days of the Congress when, as the public will recall, it was nothing less than lese majeste to question either its wisdom or its nationalism. I had a sort of hunch even in that "dark backward and abysm of time" that that *soi disant* premier political organisation of ours would, if left to its own devices, not only speedily encompass the ruin and desolation of our beloved Motherland. Those who can legitimately boast of having minds of their own, and cannot be accused, by friend or foe, of being "dead from the neck up," as the saying is, will agree with me that from 1920 onwards the Congress has led the country from one irretrievable disaster to another, culminating in the cataclysmic partition of August, 1947. But stay! Did I say "culminating" in the partition of August, 1947? A slip of the pen, gentle reader, a slip of the pen!

Partition not the End of the Story!

But now we know, having lived through four years of so-called "independence," that partition, dastardly as it undoubtedly was, was by no means the end of the story and that, as our ill-luck would have it, in the lowest deep we were destined to discover many a lower one still. It looks, indeed, as though partition had been only the beginning and not the end of the story. Partition, we have found to our utter dismay, was but *one* of the numerous offspring of that frightfully prolific parent, appeasement. "The roses and raptures" of appeasement apparently grow on one; and it is permissible to argue that we have yet to see the last of the wonder progeny of that prolific parent aforementioned. Partition, it is becoming increasingly clear, instead of, as had been fondly imagined by the mass of our countrymen and countrywomen, bringing up the rear of that sinister procession, really formed part of its more prominent vanguard.

"Secularism"

"Secularism" is the *second* offspring of appeasement; and in its sacred name those modern orphans of the storm, *the poor Hindus*, are steadily losing what I may call their "residuary" rights. The post-1920 Congressmen (or, at any rate, the vast majority of them) have, as a direct result of clamping that "putrefying albatross," appeasement, around their necks, had, perforce, to forget what patriotism is and thereby to cease to have any kind of sympathy or fellow-feeling for their Hindu brethren, fearing that it might be a glaring blot on the otherwise spotless escutcheon of their much-vaunted "secularism." This malaise has spread so far, indeed, that the very word, "Hindu," as musical as is Apollo's lute, has well-nigh been expunged, erased, unceremoniously wiped out, from their lexicons, yielding place (*horresco referens!*) to what they doubtless regard as the overpoweringly more enchanting syllables, "non-Muslim." Even after that major surgical operation on our body politic—namely, partition—the Congress's marked emphasis has been on "Muslim" and not on "Hindu," and on this vicious slant of the Congress's

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mind must be attributed the continuing grotesqueries of the Congress Government. The latest of these grotesqueries, I need hardly remind my readers, is the Constitution (Amendment) Bill so belligerently sponsored by our distinguished Prime Minister a few weeks ago on the floor of our august Parliament, as a consequence of which our Constitution has become dynamic and flexible and curvaceous.

The Britishers' Stock Argument

It used to be the stock argument of the British whenever we demanded complete emancipation from their crippling suzerainty that, for their part, they would rejoice to transfer power into our hands at the earliest possible moment but that the trouble was that the people were not ripe for self-rule and that, anyway, no eastern country, least of all India, knew the rudiments of democracy. The implication, no doubt, was that they were loath to leave us to the tender mercies of sheer anarchy. It was, of course, never any use telling them that good government was no substitute for self-government and that how we ruled ourselves after their departure should, strictly speaking, be none of their business. The British (God bless them !) looked upon themselves as the heaven-sent trustees of the "masses"—the mute inglorious Miltons and the Cromwells guiltless of their country's blood—as well as of the "minorities" (meaning, the Muslims, their foster-children); and that sacred trust, we were given to understand, compelled them to stay on here, though, if they consulted their own interests, nothing would please them more than to shake the dust of our "vast subcontinent" from off their feet. Democracy, forsooth is a plant of slow growth in our clime, and the British were there to water it and to nurture it until it developed into a veritable Upas tree—beneath whose umbrageous branches we could shelter ourselves from the raging storms of oppression outside or from "the madding crowd's ignoble strife." If the British were lording it over us it was, obviously, only for our own ultimate good, to familiarise us to the democratic ways of living from which, for ages past, we had, it would seem, been shut out by a malignant fate. The insinuation was that, by immemorial tradition, we could appreciate only the crack of the whip and the whack of the bludgeon, not any softer mode of approach by our rulers, whoever they might, for the time being, be.

Congress Steps into their Shoes

Our political parties, and the Congress in particular, never accepted this preposterous thesis of the wily British. We all protested to high heaven that we were as democratic (as a nation) as any other, and that we could prove it, up to the hilt, the moment the British left our shores. Even if we were not, we contended (plausibly enough), that was no valid argument for their staying on indefinitely in our midst. Much less could that be a valid argument when, as a matter of bare, historical fact, democracy has never been unknown to us or we to it. Eventually the British left our shores, *though not for the reasons that Congressmen love to adduce.* Congressmen affect to believe that the British withdrawal had been necessitated by the overpowering moral pressure that they brought to bear upon them. According to these oracles, the British withdrawal was not entirely voluntary, nor did they "bestow" freedom on us: the British went because the Congress (of course, non-violently) drove them away; and the freedom that we now enjoy, or are supposed to enjoy, was "wrested" by that organization from their unwilling hands. In the last resort, perhaps, we all believe what we wish to believe; and I must content myself with simply marvelling at Congressmen's child-like credulity.

Dictatorship

But two facts are indisputable: the British went; and the Government that the Congress has established in the country since that historic date of August 15, 1947, was not conspicuously democratic at its start and has become less and less democratic with the passage of time. At the moment of going to press it bids fair to be nearly as anti-democratic as Hitler's Germany or Mussolini's Italy in the long run. The Government we now have can be called a democracy only with extreme violence to truth: it is a dictatorship rahter and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru is that dictator. He had once been the idol of the nation. For aught I know he may still be that—for some sections of our people. But his consuming passion (as we are entitled to deduce from the evidence at our disposal) is, obviously, to become a dictator—in reality, if not in name. That is how he has elected, after mature deliberation, to repay his countrymen and countrywomen for their boundless idolatry. We may, if we are so disposed, derive a modicum of consolation from the conjecture that, probably, we get the idols we deserve; probably, also the dictators we deserve. When we elevate mere humans to such giddy altitudes it usually does not take us long to be thoroughly disillusioned. Our essentially weak systems cannot be expected to stand the stresses and strains of that rarefied atmosphere, and in the end we are shown up to be what we are in actual fact as distinguished from the extravagantly fertile imaginaton of those who love us, not wisely, but too well. This has now happened to our beloved Panditji: let me hope that his perfervid admirers will, even at this admittedly late hour, take that bitter lesson to heart and having taken it, determine to be more circumspect in their adulations hereafter.

At least for the sake of disproving the British thesis referred to above by me the Congress leaders, I am convinced, should have made a firm resolve when they "took over" from our former rulers that they would govern the country in an unmistakably democratic way and bearing in mind the greatest good of the greatest number. The British, as I have remarked, propagated the revolting view that we could not recognise democracy if it was presented to us on a platter. If ultimately they abandoned their stranglehold on us it was not because they suddenly became converts to the opposite view; they are an eminently shrewd people and were

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while, according to their calculations, the going was good; and, even then, let us remember, not without administering a parting kick in the form of the dastardly partition of our hallowed land, a kick that, as one might say, will ring down the corridors of time as the most shameful act of their hundred and fifty years' rule over us. It was Napoleon's dictum that we should not oblige our enemies by doing as they wish us to do. A kind of self-rule that is not pre-eminently democratic defeats its own purpose; and that purpose is defeated all the more when those enemies can say, unctuously: "We told you so!" Before coming to the Constitution (Amendment) Bill let me take this opportunity of cleansing my bosom of the perilous stuff that has been weighing upon it for so long and charge the Congress Government, in the light of what has transpired since 1947, of never having even toyed with the notion of administering the country in the accepted traditions of democracy. Perhaps we had expected too much of an organization that, ever since 1920, has been used to dictatorial methods and has not been on nodding terms with democratic usage. Strict obedience to the merest whim of an exalted personage has been the rule, not the exception, with the result that an abjectly slavish mentality was assiduously cultivated that could, with difficulty, "break its birth's invidious bar" overnight. A Congress Government could, in the circumstances, mean only that democracy would get short shrift at its hands; but, as I have suggested earlier, it might have done otherwise if only to disprove the British thesis that western concepts of egalitarianism could hardly be transplanted to our soil.

Worse to Come

But worse was to come. The Congress has itself been telling it in Gath and bruiting it about in the streets of Askalon that we, as a nation, are not fit for democracy. It would even seem that it would take ages and aeons for us to fit ourselves for it. In a sense, of course, they may be said to be right. The Congress would have been driven out of office long ago if the country had been democratically-minded. The Congress, however, is still in office and, what is more, strengthening its position by every means in its power, fair or foul. But I can offer another explanation for our present malaise. At the top of the Congress heirarchy is one whom the masses love dearly. If the Congress falls he, inevitably, falls with the Congress; and, much as the masses may like the Congress to fall, they have no wish that their loved one—with all his failings—should fall with it. With the advent of the Mahatma into Indian politics the "exalted personage" cult, as I may call it, has taken deep root in our minds and we love the reigning exalted personage so much that we are willing to turn a blind eye to his, as well as to his party's, manifold shortcomings. We could have "cocked a snook" at the Congress if it had not been for this crippling disability. It has severely cramped our style. In this "exalted personage" cult has lain the root of our trouble. The question of our being fit, or not being fit, for democracy hardly arises in this context; and ("sorrow's crown of sorrow!") for the Congress itself to advertise far and wide that democracy is allergic to us or that we are allergic to democracy is merely to "make the gruel thick and slab." It is merely to twist the knife in the wound. It is not to put too fine a point upon it, the unkindest cut of all. The Congress might have stopped short of *that* indignity at least. But the Congress is power-drunk; and is in no mood to listen to reason.

On this Foundation they Build

In the foregoing paragraphs I have been at considerable pains to sketch the background of the Congress's unimaginably despotic rule over our unfortunate countrymen. The poor Hindus who, on any reckoning, are the only real citizens of the present "India" have been steadily ground down between the upper and the nether millstones of appeasement and "secularism;" and what has not been so ground down is being equally steadily polished off by the draconian legislation that our new "Ma Baps" see fit to enact whenever they find themselves in a tight corner. To this legislation there does not seem to be any end. The British, during their hegemony, were wont to perpetrate some preposterous laws; and, in the midst of the last war, did not scruple to perpetrate some even more preposterous than the general run of them. The British, because they were an alien race, had, to be fair to them, a sort of excuse; and war conditions, we may concede, are an excuse in themselves. But it has fallen to *our own* Government—*and in peace time*—to out-Herod Herod, so to speak. The British can congratulate themselves on having had such apt pupils, pupils that have improved upon their preceptor. They may, not unjustifiably, apply to themselves the well-known lines of Walt Whitman :

"I am the teacher of athletes,
He that by me spreads a wider breast than my
own proves the width of my own.
He most honours my style who learns under
it to destroy the teacher."

What Price Freedom ?

Our country—at long last—gets freedom from foreign domination. But with what result? With this humiliating result, gentle reader, that the common people—you and I, in fact (the legatees of that freedom)—may be deprived even of that much of freedom, *under indigenous rule*, that we had been privileged to enjoy under an alien dispensation. We are being made helots by our own rulers. Can anything beat that in the way of anti-climax? Perhaps there is a kind of poetic justice in it. We had placed too much reliance on the innate good sense and patriotism of the Congress leaders. We even prided ourselves on possessing men of such sterling character, men who could, under all weathers, be trusted to despise low joys, low gains, "disdain whatever Cornbury disdains," as the eighteenth century poet has put it. It almost looks, indeed, as though when these gentry came to power they swore within themselves that the people should jolly well pay for it.

Let me state it starkly. Four years' of Congress overlordship has left a bitter taste of "freedom" in our mouths.

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It was—we shall do well to remember—not merely freedom from British domination that we had so incessantly clamoured for: we had clamoured for something much more than that—for freedom *a outrance*, for freedom simply as such. *We had no wish at all to appeal from Philip sober to Philip drunk.* But what has happened is precisely that: the British rarely trod on our corns more cavalierly than our own "popular" (save the mark!) Government has been doing ever since that fateful day when (the gods sleeping) it stumbled into office. I am so full of this grievance that were I to begin quoting chapter and verse in support of it I might almost become incoherent. This article would be in danger of being inordinately longer than it is if I decided to cite instance after instance of Congress's gross misrule—if I decided to pile Pelion on Ossa, as it were. Some such piling may have to be done anyway before I go much further: I cannot, obviously, content myself with simply stating that (thanks to our beloved Pandit) our constitution has at last become dynamic and flexible and curvaceous—*curvaceous, especially.*

Still They Come!

The Congress, having come into power, has all along been straining every nerve to consolidate it and to perpetuate it until "this insubstantial pageant" fades, leaving "not a wrack behind." There is nothing inherently wrong in consolidating one's power—by all *lawful* means: it is when one stoops to unlawful methods that our gorge rises. The snag, of course, is that what, indubitably, would be regarded as unlawful in an individual is only too often considered as perfectly lawful and above-board by "the powers that be." A Government, it would appear, may do *any* unlawful thing it pleases if so be it is politic enough to clothe that misdemeanour in the garb of a *new* law, a *fresh* enactment. A Government, as we are all aware, can legislate: the corollory has, somehow, been taken to follow that it can legislate itself out of harm's way. A Government is subject to law like any other institution; and if it imagines that it is at liberty to embark on any iniquitous course it chooses, merely because of that unique advantage it possesses over other bodies of initiating acts and ordinances (as and when it pleases), then we must gently tell its members that those acts and ordinances come under the category of "lawless laws": a category with which the Congress cannot pretend to be wholly unfamiliar inasmuch as it was the Congress itself that had invented that term with respect to the Rowlatt Act and the innumerable war ordinances of the British. These "lawless laws" are not "laws," properly so called: they are the very negation of laws, they bring the ordinary laws into contempt; and if even then the Government escapes scot-free it is only because of its *zabberdusti*, of its *force majeure*, which are not other names for legality but the very opposite. When such conditions prevail the Government is no longer girt round by a secure shield of unimpugned law: if there is any party in the country powerful enough to eject it the moment it [illegible] signs of going on the rampage, as it were, these lawless laws cannot save its skin and it falls like ninepins. That is all the sanctity that attaches to these mushroom growths.

Had there been a Capable Opposition . . .

If the Congress Government has not so far fallen in spite of a lengthy list of obnoxious laws that it has contrived to pass by dint of its "brute majority," by reason of its familiar steam-roller tactics, it must thank its stars that no opposition capable enough to oust it has as yet arisen: it cannot go about pretending that those laws are immaculate. The various Public Safety Acts, the Preventive Detention Acts, *and now* the Constitution (Amendment) Act form the corpus of the obnoxious laws aforementioned. *Once laws of this nature are enacted it is well-nigh difficult to foresee an end to them*: Governmental appetite grows by what it feeds on, and before one knows where one is another of those mushroom growths stares one in the eye. A vicious circle is formed thereby: there is no opposition worth speaking of to prevent the enactment of those laws, and the laws themselves prevent the formation of such an opposition by their "steel-frame" nature. If such attributes of civilised society as free speech and free assembly are strictly forbidden by a Governmental ukase there is, practically, no scope for an opposition crystallising around the nucleus of vague discontent. Our Congress leaders, smelling disaffection in their vicinity, have, obviously, made up their minds to stifle it at its very birth lest it grow into a lusty child and gradually become, so to speak, a thorn in its flesh. It is panic that is at the root of all this obnoxious legislation: in its heart of hearts the Congress knows that it has had its day and that it has ceased to be. But it is not democratic—has never been so since 1920, as I have had occasion to remark already—and it has no intention of letting go its present advantage. "The Congress must rule for ever!"—that, evidently, is its motto. It has forgotten that nothing in this world is permanent, is imperishable: least of all, the power-drunk and the vainglorious:

> "The boast of heraldry, the pomp of power,
> And all that beauty, all that wealth e'er gave,
> Awaits alike th' inevitable hour:
> The paths of glory lead but to the grave."

Even the mighty British Empire has gone the way of "the many Ninevehs and Hecatempoli!"

Equating of Party with State

There is a deeper reason for these emergency enactments: the Congress believes, or affects to believe, that it is not just *one* of the parties in the country: it believes, or affects to believe, that it is *the* country. I am prepared to concede that it is the largest and the best-organised of our political parties: that, however, is not tantamount to saying that it is *the* country. The country is vaster far than a single party, be that party's pretensions what they may. The Congress is in the saddle, not [illegible] country, but because, as every-

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where else, it is the party that commands the greatest following in the country. To be against it is, therefore, not to be against the country as a whole. *Disaffection for the Congress Government is not, on this reasoning, disloyalty towards the country.* That being so no punitive measures need be contemplated in regard to those who cannot see eye to eye with the men in authority.

I am aware that our distinguished Prime Minister is apt to go a step further than even his party and to equate himself with the State. In the recent debate on the Constitution (Amendment) Bill he had some nasty things to say about those who are disloyal to *him*—an attitude unpleasantly reminiscent of *L'etat, c'est moi.* He has been feeling like that for some time past and I, for one, was not at all astonished at his ill-mannered outburst. *It was because he felt he was the State that he accepted the infamous June 3 Plan of Lord Mountbatten "on his sole responsibility,"* as he afterwards confessed (cheerfully) before an emergency meeting of the A.-I.C.C. in New Delhi—convened for the express purpose of "ratifying" his unilateral decision on that momentous question. *It was, again, because he felt he was the State that, without consulting anyone, he took the Kashmir issue to the U.N. It was, once more, because he felt he was the State that he linked the fortunes of the country with those of the British Commonwealth. Lastly, it was because he felt he was the State that he took it upon himself to sponsor the Constitution (Amendment) Bill on the floor of our august Parliament so that it might become dynamic and flexible and approximate to the "curves of life."*

Here we see the gradual progression. *At first the Congress was the country. Now our beloved Panditji is the country.* There is nothing for us but to echo Isabella's celebrated apostrophe in *Measure for Measure* :

> "..... Man, proud man !
> Dress'd in a little brief authority,—
> Most ignorant of what he's most assured,
> His glassy essence, — like an angry ape,
> Plays such fantastic tricks before high heaven
> As make the angels weep."

A Method in the Madness

We all know that Pandit Nehru can fly into a temper like any star of a lesser world, and he was true to form during the Great Debate, trouncing his critics—principally, Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee, who has constituted himself "The One Man Opposition" to the reigning authority in the now famous words :

> "I say any man or any newspaper who says it" (that is, who says that the Constitution (Amendment) Bill curbs the liberty of the Press) "lies and knows that he lies."

When Dr. Mookerjee protested against such an unparliamentary expression Pandit Nehru repeated it all the more vehemently: nor did the Speaker of the House care to "curb" the Pandit's "liberty" when it was fast degenerating into that "licence" which the Pandit disapproves most and for the "curbing" of which in our newspaper editorials he is so righteously anxious.

From temperamental "Leader" to "Dictator" is a not unnatural progression and the present head of our Government can be congratulated on having "made the grade" so successfully. He is now in the true line of succession to Hitler and Mussolini: nor can we help commending his examplary courage in choosing to succeed them after noting the remarkable sequel to those twin dictatorships. But, of course, there is no accounting for tastes. *De gustibus non est disputandum.* I should, however, like to make one suggestion to Pandit Nehru. It is not uncommon for him to lose his temper before a *Hindu* audience: what would be uncommon is if, at some point or other in the proceedings, he did not so lose it. *I am afraid the madness is not without a method.* I have noticed that he *can* control his temper when he is in the mood to do so. Before a *Muslim* audience he has never been known to fly into his familiar tantrums; and whenever he felt that Hindu feeling was rising rapidly against the Muslims it was he, more than any other, who always tried to moderate it, to pour cold water on it, in the Mahatma's famous phrase. Does that not show, convincingly, that our hero's explosiveness is not *just* explosiveness but is part of a make-believe role? We, Hindus, tolerate his temperamental role: our Muslim friends, who, obviously are made of sterner stuff, do not relish the spectacle of a grown-up individual displaying temparamental spasms and generally making a nuisance of himself.

As a certain scribe has remarked, not inappositely :

> "The country is accustomed to the Prime Minister's petulant outbursts but on Saturday's debate in Parliament Mr. Nehru's temper overstepped the limits not only of private propriety but of public restraint. Impulsiveness is a quality forgivable in youth. Mr. Nehru, alas, is no longer young, and much that might have been forgiven him in the bright noonday of his impetuous youth is anomalous today. The Prime Minister's intemperate utterances do credit neither to himself nor to his high office."

This wanted saying badly, and it has now been said.

Indecent Haste

I shall not dilate further on Pandit Nehru's calculated, or uncalculated, outbursts of temper in public. As I have hinted, my own opinion is that these rather too frequent gusts of passion are more calculated than otherwise. Calculated or uncalculated we, in India, have to learn, if we have not already learnt, to put up with them as part of our Fundamental Misfortunes—in regard to which, however, we cannot rely upon anyone to bring any Amendments to "curb" their intensity in the near, or even the distant, future. These Fundamental Misfortunes have been *written into* our constitution and we cannot tinker with them as the Pandit has very successfully tinkered with the corresponding Part III (that, namely, dealing with our Fundamental Rights) of that other constitution over which there had been a great "to-do" in parliament recently. The tactics of the party in power to seek to amend the constitution *so soon (that is, fifteen months) after its creation* are gravely open to doubt; and if the party in power was able so easily to over-ride the Opposition's contention about the questionability of those tactics

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it was solely because the party could command a "brute majority" and thus could easily wriggle itself out of an otherwise insurmountable difficulty. Fundamental rights, like freedom of speech and of expression, are too precious to be tinkered with in that light-hearted fashion. As Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee was careful to point out in his brilliant speech opposing the Bill :

> "When the Constituent Assembly *deliberately* decided to have a *written* constitution and to incorporate in it a chapter on Fundamental Rights it *deliberately* curbed the power of Parliament. *That was the purpose of Fundamental Rights.*."

Fundamental Rights

The Lion of Bengal, than whom it is safe to say, there is no abler Parliamentarian in our country at the moment, went on to quote with devastating effect a Chief Justice of the United States Supreme Court in support of his thesis. The Chief Justice said :

> "The very purpose of Fundamental Rights is to withdraw certain subjects from the arena of political controversy beyond the reach of majorities and officials and to establish them as legal principles to be applied by the Courts. One's right to life, liberty, and property, to free speech and free press, to freedom of worship and assembly, and other Fundamental Rights may not be submitted to vote. They depend upon the outcome of no elections. There is a limit to your (legislature's) power: thus far and no further."

Dr. Mookherjee wound up by saying: "Today you are changing those Fundamental Rights." Yes: they have changed them: and four years' of "freedom" have converted us into mere hewers of wood and drawers of water.

Defenders of the Amending Bill were at pains to point out that in the United States also amendments to the constitution had been moved shortly after its formulation. But they did not pause to point out that there is a fundamental difference between the two amendments. The purpose of the amendments in the U.S. was *to broaden the base of democracy; to give positive affirmation to Fundamental Rights which found no place in the original draft.* Unlike the Indian constitution the American constitution of 1787 merely set out "to establish three great departments of Government, the legislative, the executive, and the judicial departments."

Freedom of the Press

As for the freedom of the press the American constitution specifically guarantees it. In France the French National Assembly, at its meeting of August 24, 1789, enshrined it in these famous words :

> "The free communication of thoughts and opinions is one of the most precious rights of mankind. Therefore, every citizen may express his views by words, writings, and printed matter, but he will be held reponsible for any misuse of this liberty in the cases fixed by the law."

The freedom of the press is the keystone of the arch of political freedom, and if that is taken away the whole edifice collapses. But probably it is idle to expect modern Congressmen to respect freedom of speech and of writing: they have been brought up as mere automatons in the League from the chairman

Mahatma having done the thinking for them in the past and the Pandit doing the same service for them now. What do they know of these precious freedoms? If they knew what they are, would they have voted for the Pandit's Bill *en masse* and, obviously, with so much gusto? It was reported that tremendous cheers broke out from them when the Bill was passed. It was only the valiant Mr. Kamath who had the courage to rebuke them for that tragically misplaced merriment. *It was a much greater shame for the journalist M.P.s, like Shri-s Deshbandhu Gupta and Shiva Rao, to have remained neutral at the time of voting.* The former had protested against it on the floor of that very Parliament a little earlier, and had protested against it in no lukewarm terms, but when it came to recording his vote he developed cold feet and abstained. Not that their recording their votes would have swung the voting in the opposite direction. But there is such a thing (is there not ?) as standing up to one's convictions without fear of the consequences: probably these journalist M.P.s have not heard about it.

Rajaji's Hand In It

It is a significant pointer to which way the political wind is blowing that this Amending Bill was sought to be introduced during the regime of Shri C. Rajagopalachari as Home Member. It is not, I think, an extravagant surmise that he is the real author of it, although the Prime Minister did most of the talking: the voice was Jacob's voice, it is true, but the hands, clearly, were the hands of Esau. I am prepared to stake my last bush-shirt on this theory of mine that the hands are of Esau (I mean of Rajaji) from the fact that one of the intimidating provisions of the Bill—now an Act—has to do with what has been called "our relations with foreign countries." Our liberty in criticising these foreign countries is sought to be curtailed ruthlessly. One has no need to be as brilliant as Rajaji has a reputation of being to guess what exactly he means by that "omnibus" term. *He means, gentle reader, only Pakistan,* of which he will go down to posterity as *the sole* architect—the father, the mother, and the wet nurse, too.

It was owing to him that the late Quaid-e-Azam was enabled to get his second wind, so to speak, when he was all but down and out. He (the Quaid) had received such a trouncing at the hands of his co-religionist, the Hon. Malik Khizar Hyat Khan Tiwana, the then Premier of the Punjab, that he immediately packed a carpet bag and removed himself to the Dal Lake in Kashmir to lick his wounds in private. Many, even of his tabernacle, had begun to lose faith in his ability to stage a come-back. I am not denying that he returned to Lahore soon after and started indulging in his old swagger, in his old swashbuckling; *but that had been rendered possible only through Rajaji's connivance.* Rajaji had emerged into the limelight again at Panchgani and suddenly propped up that recumbent figure with the notorious formula he devised in conjunction with the Mahatma. It was Rajaji who was instrumental in the resurrection of the Muslim League from the chasmic tomb of the Punjab debacle

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and the not less calamitous sepulchre of the Bengal muddle.

THE PRO-HINDU PRESS WILL BEAR THE BRUNT OF IT

When the history of our times comes to be written it will, I dare to suggest, be Rajaji, and not the Quaid-e-Azam, who will be unanimously acclaimed as the architect of Pakistan. It will be remarked that the Muslims were, comparatively, blameless in the matter, because even when, like Brer Rabbit, they were "lyin' low and sayin' nuffin'," Rajaji came bouncing and bounding to Panchgani and forced the hands of the Mahatma to present Pakistan to them on a silver platter.

It is this same Rajaji who has incorporated this provision about not offending the tender susceptibilities of foreign countries—*meaning, of course, as I have suggested, by "foreign countries" Pakistan and Pakistan only.* The corollary naturally follows that the pro-Hindu Press will come in for the roughest possible handling from the Government—the pro-Hindu Press as well as the Hindu Mahasabha and the R.S.S. *The Muslims, not the Hindus, are still the Congress's friends.* It is up to those Hindus that are not content to be merely "non-Muslims" and that are reluctant to see their identity swamped and submerged by an unprecedented wave of "secularism" to present a united front to this new menace to our very existence: for as Madison wrote to Jefferson :

> "Wherever there is an interest and power to do wrong, wrong will generally be done—and not less readily by a powerful and interested *party* than by a powerful and interested Prince."

———:O:———

NORWAY
A Cross-Sectional Glimpse of the Country

BY ADINATH SEN, M.A., B.SC. (Glas.), M.I.E. (India)

"WE have a beautiful country. We covet no other people's land. We have no army, no navy. We live in peace." Thus declared a Norwegean merchant, a fellow passenger in the train from Oslo to Bergen a few years ago, when we were passing between the snow-covered mountains of Hardangerjokeln and Hallingskorpet on either side of Finse, the highest station on the line, which is considered as one of the world's wonder works of engineering, laid in the midst of the most dramatic and beautiful scenery in Europe.



Oslo

We started from the East station of Oslo on the Oslo-Stockholm line. It made a wide curve round the city, following the crests of the heights, east and north of the city. The line north from Oslo to Trondheim through Lillehammer, on the lake Mjosa, the biggest in Norway, or through Elverum, which once gave shelter to the harassed king of Norway, started further east, from the Oslo-Stockholm line. Except the southern coast line from Oslo, and a few branch lines, these comprise all the railway in Norway.

Sea-wards, the whole panorama of the Oslo Fjord, sometimes scene of fierce fighting, was spread, dotted with the dark shapes of pine-clad islands and the white sails of yachts. Inland, the valley lands came into view right up to the station of Honefross with big waterfalls on lake Tyrifjord. The route then ran along the side of the great lake Kroderen through the station Gulsvik, the



Trondheim

gateway to the valleys beyond. On the far shore of the lake, were seen old farmsteads, set against dense forests, below high mountains. We pass Nesbyen station as the railway winds for nearly 70 miles, winds through the historic Hallingdal Valley of famed fiddlers, of stirring melodies which have some strange wild fairy spirit in them, and of the famous national dance, the Halling.

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The farms now became rare and the forests spread. From Gol, the well-known local centre of peasant culture, the country. Gradually the fir forests dropped below the line and the hardy birch trees appeared, which later

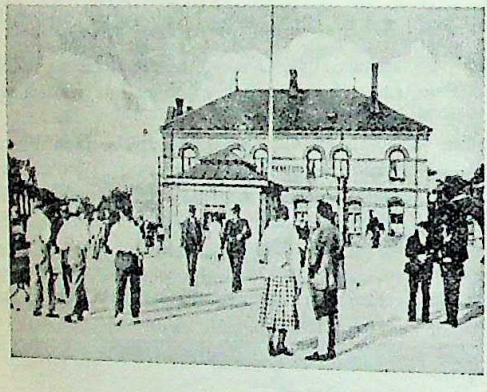


Oslo Fjord

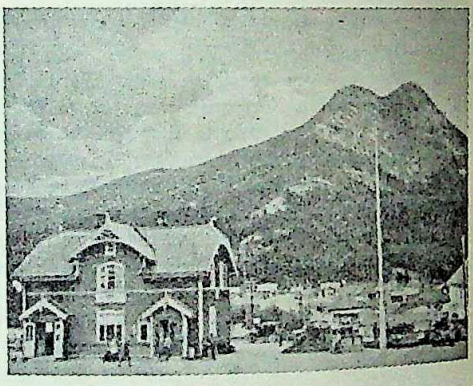


Nesbyen

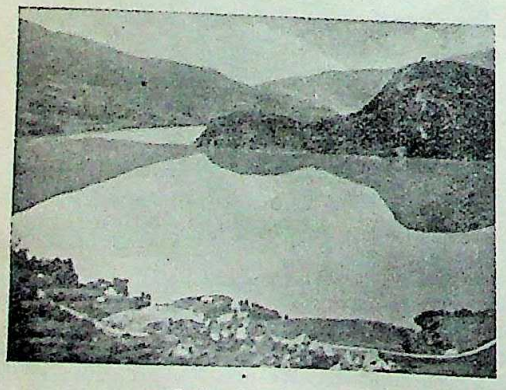
between the Hallingdal and Valdress valleys at a height of about 700 feet above sea-level, the climb began over were stunted in growth from fierce winds of winter, as we passed the stations of Torpe, Al and Hol. At the dis-



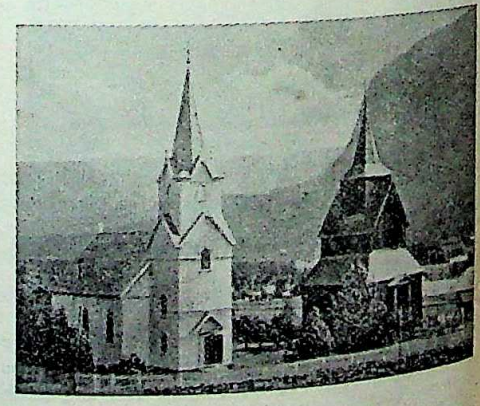
Honefross



Gol



Lake Kroderen

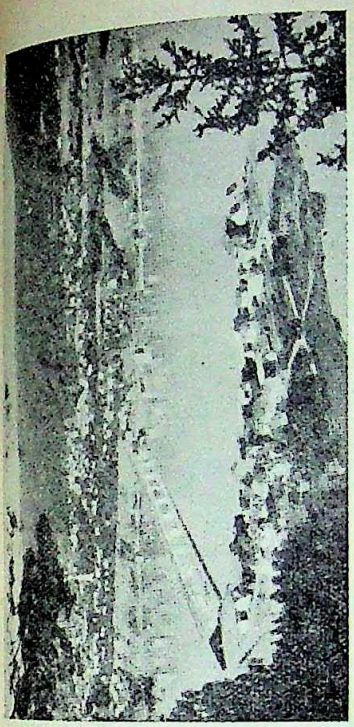


Torpe

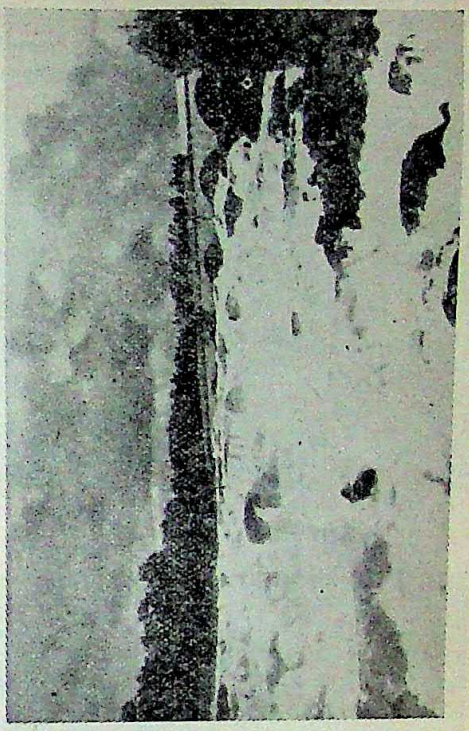
the gigantic granite wall that separated the east and west of Norway and formed as it were the backbone of tance could be seen the grey and snow-flecked mountain tops.

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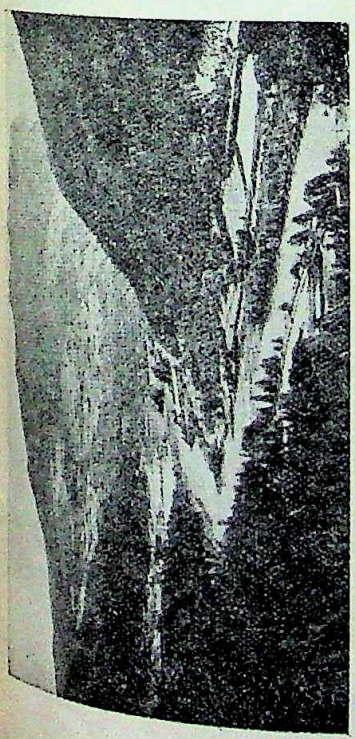
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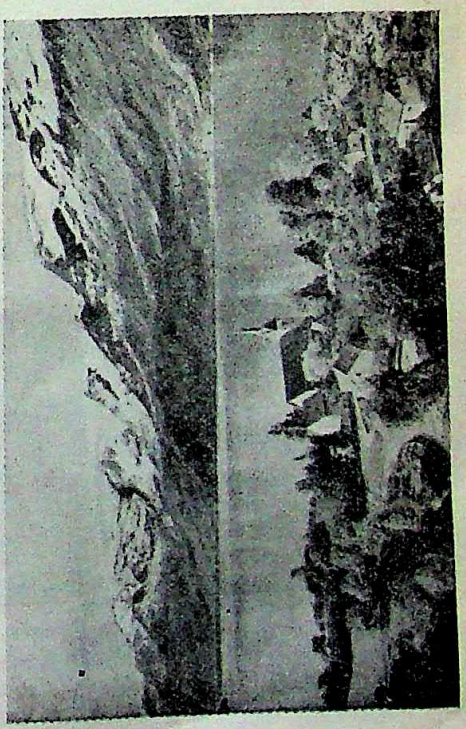
Lillehammer



Honefross. Waterfalls



Hallingdal Valley

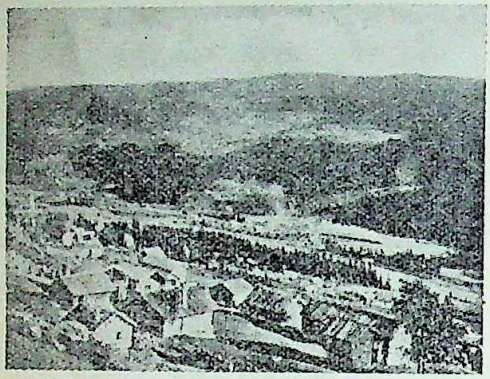


Hardanger District

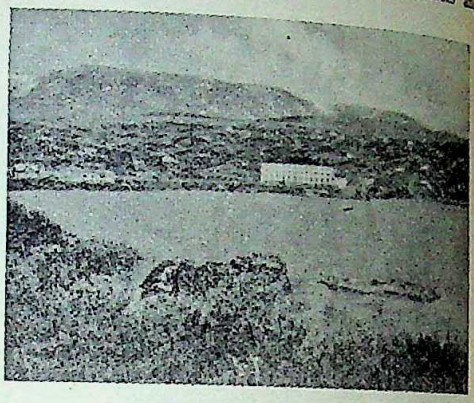
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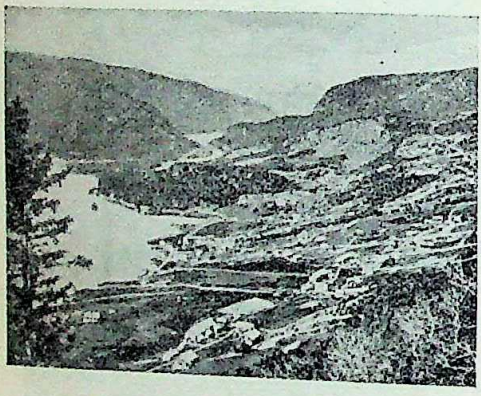
Geilo, at 2,600 feet altitude, is a ski-ing resort in winter and a popular summer centre, midway between Oslo and Bergen. From here starts the most remarkable stretch of the journey. We pass Ustaoset Ski-ing centre and Maugastal next. From a cleft between the mountains, through which the train passed, the snow of Hardangerjokeln gleaned on the south like a fantastic citadel, with great boulders of ice on the Ustavatn lake, and the glaciers of Hallingskarvet in the north flickered like jewels in the clear mountain sun-shine. Tunnels and long screens in echelon, of wood, kept back the enormous snow-drifts from blocking the line. Loneliness and



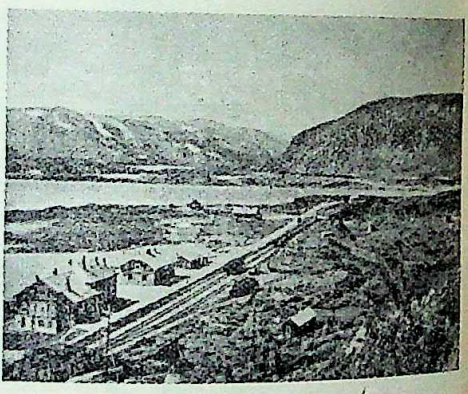
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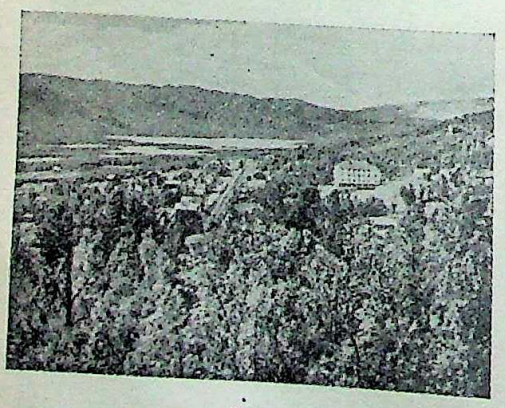
Ustaoset



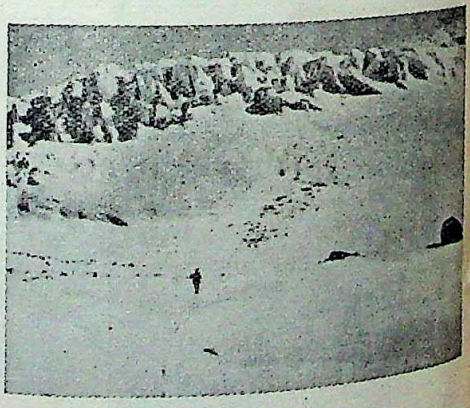
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Haugstal



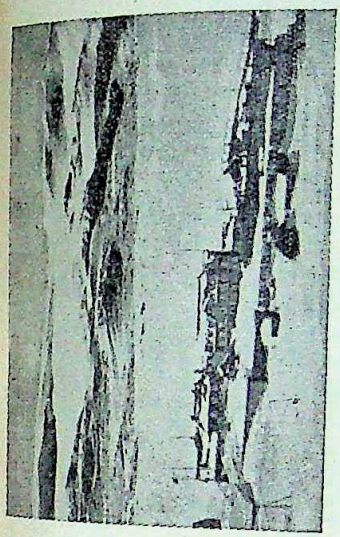
Geilo



Hardangerjokeln

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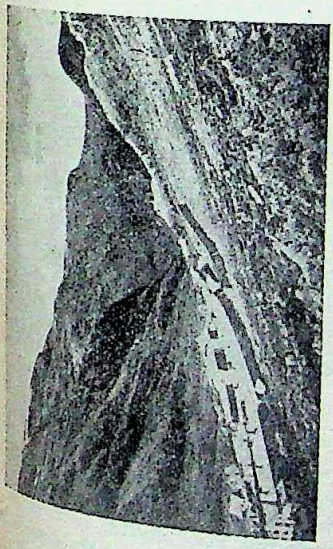
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Finse Station



Aurlands Fjord



Myrdal

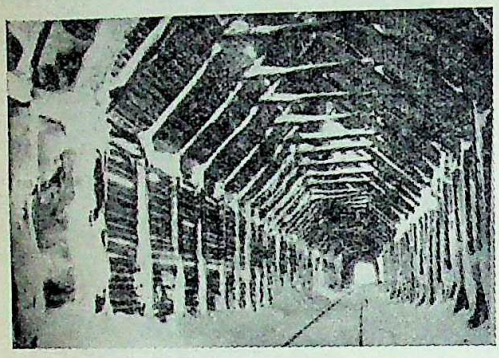


Bergen

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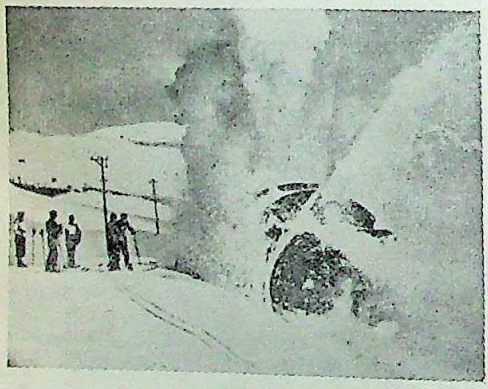
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bleakness were almost overpowering in intensity, but there was a strange beauty in the scenery, all the same, while Finse 1000 feet over sea-level was being reached. This is a townlet with hotels and ski-ing cabins. There



Tunnels to keep out snow. Oslo-Bergen Railway

are also engineering plants equipped with rotary snow ploughs, reserve locomotives and other requisites for maintaining a difficult train service. There were no trees for 60 miles, the only vegetation being reindeer moss and tough grass round swampy expanses, here and there. For 30 miles the country was absolutely bare of plants of any kind. Horizons are enormous. One is so close beneath the sky. Cloud and snowy mountains meet, so

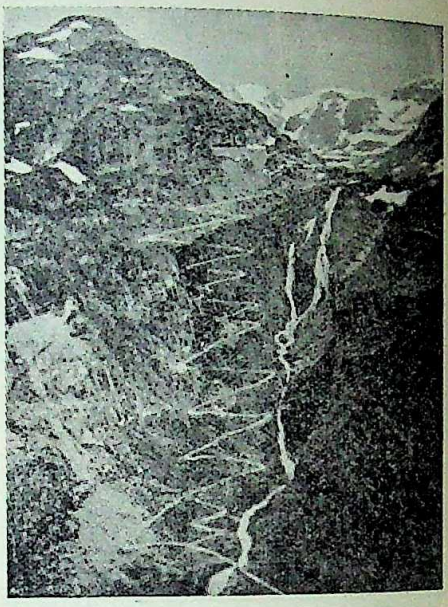


Snow-ploughs. Oslo-Bergen Railway

that one cannot sometimes quite say where the earth ends and the heavens begin.

Beyond the highest point, 4263 feet, mountain torrents run from the watershed towards east and west. Myrdal station was reached in the descent, where a magnificent view was obtained of the Flam Valley, the Flam winding like a canyon. Waterfalls crashed down the ragged mountain sides, and the road in the valley, winding like a thread in 21 spirals, led to the shores of Aurlands Fjord at the head of the Sogne Fjord, the biggest in the country, penetrating a long distance from the North Sea

inland. On another head of the Sogne, lies Ardal, where a more zigzag road to Tyin astonishes the eye. We came next to the Voss station from which there is access by motor service to the Sogne Fjord, largely used by the



Flamstad Valley Waterfalls



Sor Fjord

tourists from the Voss station, further along, only about 200 feet from the sea-level. This place occupies a famous position in Norwegean peasant culture, as the junction point between the Sogne Fjord districts in the north and the Hardanger country in the south on the shores of the Fjord below the mountains, all of the same name. An Electric Railway runs to the south from Voss. Through Vaksdal station on Sor Fjord, Bergen was reached in 2 hours time, after running along the beautiful banks of the Fjords, the total journey of 306 miles taking just about 11 hours.

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COCONUT—THE KALPABRIKSHA

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

By MURARI PROSAD GUHA, M.A.

(Illustrations by the author)

News flashes across the country when a coconut is broken to launch a ship or to inaugurate something in an auspicious moment. In ceremonies a green coconut is placed on a full pitcher as an auspicious sign. But why is coconut given this honour? Beginning from the dawn of civilization to the middle ages, religion got the upperhand over politics and the seers of truth found it very convenient to impregnate what we should do through religious rites. So, we find that the coconut, one of the most important economic plants, has established its rightful place in every home in India from pre-historic times, our *Puranas* mentioning it on every occasion. Today coconut has got its own certifications, but lest we forget, we are still importers even from the little island of Ceylon of the copra, and like many other crops are lagging behind other countries in production per acre.

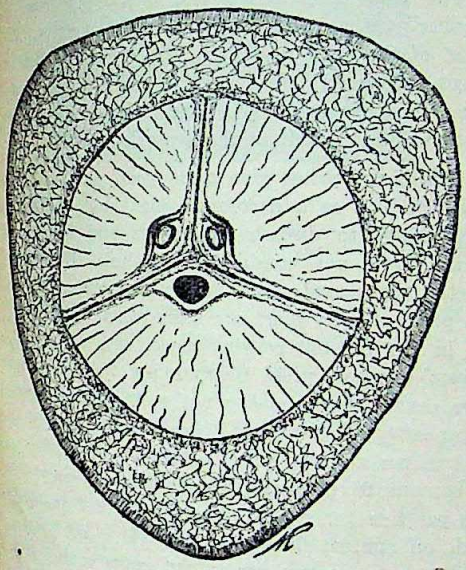


Fig. I. A dissected fruit from which the upper half of the fibrous mesocarp has been removed to expose the endocarp (nut). The shortest side of the triangular fruit is always on the reverse of the widest angle in the nut formed at the centre by the three carpels with the three eyes. And this widest segment contains the 'soft' or germinating eye hiding the only embryo (towards the base of the illustration)

Origin and Geographical Distribution

It is believed that the original home of the coconut was either the Indian archipelago or some of the Pacific islands in the southern Indian ocean. From this original home it spread to the tropical and sub-tropical regions either by the primitive seafarers or by the tide of the ocean currents from one shore to the other. The fibrous mesocarp of the fruit which helps floating, is water-proof and also protects the life of the plant for very long durations and as such explains the theory. The coastline habitat of the plant and its love of saline soil conditions with the dropping of the mature nuts to the sea even today is an additional proof. It might have spread from India to Malaya, East Indies and the Philippines, earlier than the spread of Indian culture to these areas as well as to the coast of America and its tropical islands.

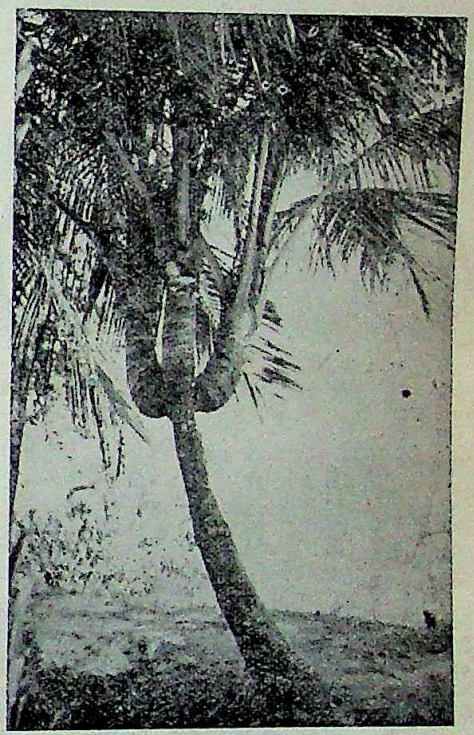


Fig. I-A. Photograph of a branched palm taken by the author at Sagar island. At an early stage due to attack of pinceros beetle growth was taken by secondary bud and the apical bud also revived giving it a *trshul*-like appearance

In India it distributed itself throughout the coastline and probably the Malabar coast is the original home with its maximum development of coconut cultivation in that land and the coconut is intimately associated with the daily life problem of the bulk of the population there. In West Bengal, it has spread maximum into the interior even in the extreme

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North-West Bengal, more than 300 miles away from the coast.

Botanical and Common Names and Important Varieties

Cocos nucifera Linn. is the 'Indian nut' belonging to the family Palmaceae. The name cocos might have been derived from the Spanish *coco*, applied to a monkey's face,[4] a beautiful allusion which the three scars (one hiding the embryo) on the stony endocarp suggest. [Fig. I.]

The Hindusthani name 'Narial' is derived from the ancient Sanskrit name *narikela* mentioned in the *Puranas*. There are many other names original to the locality which helps to prove the primitiveness of the fruit tree here.

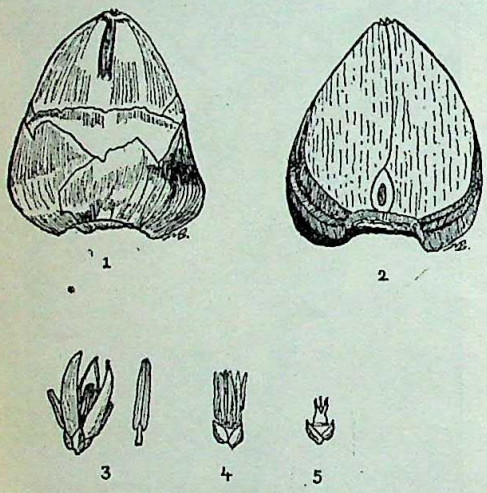


Fig. II. The flowers of coconut. (1) The mature female flower with 2 whorls of (3 each) perianth enclosing the united carpel with the beak shaped stigmas at the apex. (2) The female flower dissected through the ovary. (3) The male flower with two whorls of perianth leaves, one small, the other long enclosing the six stamens. A single stamen a little enlarged. (4) The inner whorl of perianth removed to show the position of the stamens. (5) Perianth and stamens of the male flower removed to show the undeveloped carnel

As with other crops a study of varieties of coconut has also been neglected in our country. In India we have mainly two varieties, one is the "Tall" variety found over-topping the buildings of the coastal or semi-coastal cities and towns and the other a "Dwarf" form, an early maturing variety which when starts fruiting still remains within the reach from the ground.

The tall variety also known as the "West Coast-variety" is most widely cultivated through the coconut-growing areas of India from very ancient times and may be indigenous to our country. It is one of the most economic multipurpose varieties from the point of view of its yield of nuts, copra, oil and coir of good quality as well as the tapped juice (toddy) convertible to jaggery or sugar if not used as country wine. According to growers, sub-varieties exist from the point of view of size, shape, colour of fruit and thickness of the kernel. Under favourable conditions this variety may start fruiting in six to eight years which, however, may be deferred to ten to fifteen years when conditions are not favourable. The average yield of copra per nut is about 5 oz. and the oil content in the copra is about 72 per cent.[5]

The dwarf form also known as the "Andaman" or "Nicobar" variety is quite different from others. The colour of the nuts may range from green, yellow to orange and starts bearing within three to four years, even when the tree has not quite developed and one can pluck the nuts from the ground.

The dwarf palms give quite good yield and looks very beautiful as a decorative plant but due to its susceptibility to diseases and pests and to irregular bearing it is not considered economic. Usually the varieties are named after the place of origin and from that point of view there are some other varieties familiar in the coconut-growing areas, such as, (1) *'New Guinea'*—average yield 65 nuts per tree per annum; copra content 8oz.—quality not quite good, oil content 66 per cent, (2) *'Cochin China'*—average yield 86 nuts per tree per annum; copra content 8 oz.—quality fair, oil content 66 per cent, (3) *'Java'*—average yield 95 nuts per tree per annum; copra content 7 oz.—quality good, oil content 66 per cent, (4) *'Siam'*—average yield 50 nuts per tree per annum, copra content 8 oz.—quality good, oil content 74 per cent, (5) *'Laccadive Ordinary'*—average yield 124 nuts per annum; copra content 5 oz., oil content 72 per cent, (6) *'Laccadive Small'*—alternate bearing, average yield 150 nuts per tree per annum; copra content is only 2 oz., oil content 75 per cent.[6]

Description of the Plant and Flower

The tree with its uniform cylindrical trunk and the umbrella-like tuft of pinnate leaves gives one of the most beautiful and graceful appearances amongst the palms with the patent leaning habit, in case of small varieties. The stem marked by the scar of the fallen leaves sometimes takes peculiar shapes due to obstruction of light by adjacent trees or buildings. Usually they attain a height of about 60 feet, sometimes more, the longest recorded being 117 feet in Ceylon,[14] and live a century. Sometimes, due to the destruction of the apical bud by beetle, secondary buds take up the growth and the result is an apparent branched palm (Fig. IA). Though the tree is long, the root system is characteristically shallow and developed bottom of about 4 feet

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depth, which however, can spread latterally up to 20 feet. The roots are of uniform diameter, but the rootlets are thin and fibrous. The leaf scar adjacent to the root system can also develop roots if covered

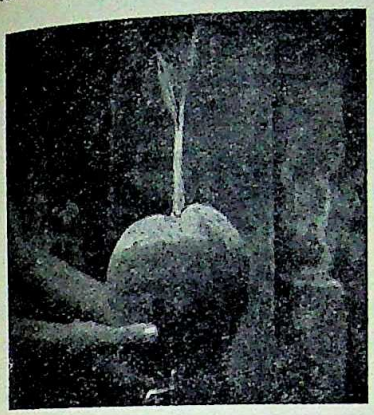


Fig. III. The ideal medium-sized round-shaped seed nut of the Tall variety developing ideally. Germination started when the nut was attached with the palm

with earth and watered and this property comes to the aid when mature trees are transplanted or dug down deeper. A tree may have at a time 25-30 leaves with a length of 18-22 feet each.[4] The leaves slightly grooved and swollen at the base, are protected by strong net-like bracts and form an angle with the stem to give the appearance of an umbrella. The groove in the leaves helps the rain water to run down to the crown preventing its drying and also to the bole of roots helping in its development. The inflorescence is a much branched monoecious spadix enclosed by a woody spathe, in the axil of each of the leaves, abortions being rare. The trimerous flowers borne in the branches are unisexual, the female flower being at the base and male at the apex of each branch.

Liyanage[5] has observed that the tall variety palms, which remain productive for over 70 years, are protandrous and are generally cross-pollinated. But in the dwarf palms, the male and female phases overlap and self-pollination is the general rule. A saturated atmosphere seems to be injurious to the viability of the pollen grains but this viability can be prolonged artificially by creating an atmosphere with 50 per cent relative humidity.

The whorls of perianth leaves of the somewhat cone-shaped female flowers are persistent and develop along with the development of the fertilized flower. (Fig II).

Soil and Climate

The ideal soil for coconut is a rich alluvium or a deep friable loam with adequate soil moisture derived either from well-distributed rainfall, percolation water or proper irrigation with drainage facilities. Land with faulty drainage should be avoided. The sandy soil is also ideal in this respect but it must provide subsoil anchorage to the tall palm, which, as will be observed, is available almost throughout the coastline. But with drifting sandy soil it is a failure.

The coconut is a true tropical palm extending its domain within the actual tropics. It loves a climate with heavy but evenly distributed rainfall, high humidity and fairly even temperature (85 deg. to 95 deg. F mean temperature)[13] all the year round. Thus it will be found that coconut fares better in Ceylon and Malaya than in India. In Ceylon there is practically no month when the rainfall is below 0 foot 75 inches and in Malaya, the rainfall always exceeds 1 foot 25 inches in every month[12] whereas in India we have only 2 mon-

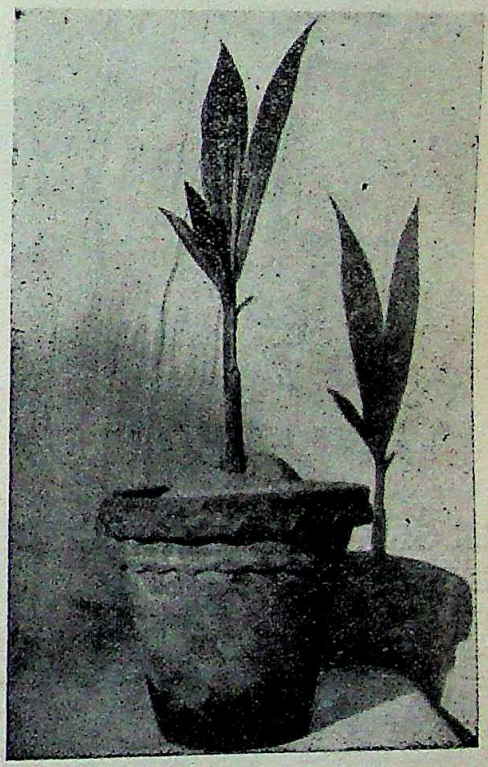


Fig. IV. The ideal seednut raised by the author in sand in an earthen pot, developing ideally (age 2 months)

soons. It is, therefore, natural that the average yield for gardens in India is below the average yield in Ceylon and Malaya. It has been found that the coconut thrives best in saline soil conditions close to the seacoast but this is not essential as will be found in Mysore and Bengal. In Bengal it flourishes even in Northern Bengal hundreds of miles away from the

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coast. The love of seacoast areas by this palm is directly related with climatological factors, because the coastline always have a high humidity and the temperature is never subject to great changes. Again although it grows best in the plains of the coast or the interiors, it grows equally the same 3,000 feet above sea-level in the Mysore Plateau.

Propagation

Propagation is always from seedlings raised from mature seednuts. The longevity of the coconut palm reminds us of the care taken by foresters in the laying

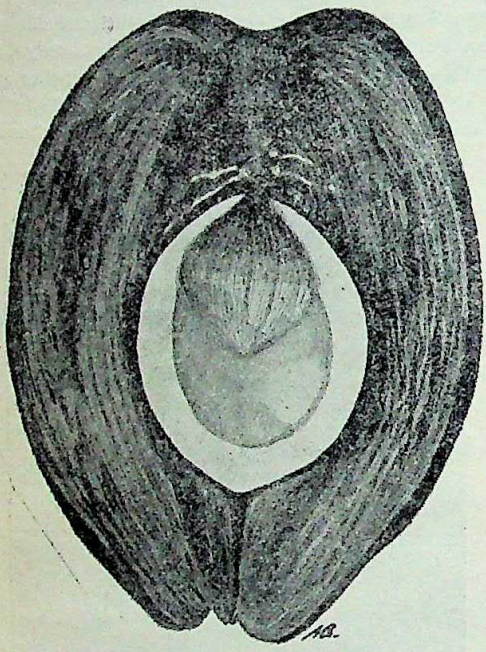


Fig. V. A dissected nut that dropped from the tree (X¼). This nut after full maturity started germinating with the development of the spongy cotyledon (*copra*) corroding the kernel a little from the top, while still attached with the tree. The roots developing through the fibrous mesocarp above the endocarp (stony) as also the first leaf just touching the point of attachment of the fruit

out of a forest with the best plantlings, that will give the choicest timber in years to come. Coconut plantations laid out for its fruit should similarly be of plantlings of the highest yielding, best quality and vigorous mother palms in its prime. As coconuts are usually cross-pollinated, to get the right type mother palms as above should be selected out of an entire plantation of the same variety. The mature seednuts, one year old, should be collected during winter and must be roped down from the top of the tree to avoid any injury. The medium-sized round-shaped nuts should be preferred and a few nuts at the base and apex of each bunch should be discarded. After harvest the seednuts should be stored indoors in a cool dry place on a 3-inch bed of sand for a month. (Fig. III) In the meantime nursery beds should be prepared preferably in a sandy soil and where that is not available the local soil should be replaced by sand to a depth of 1½ feet as this will prevent the attack of white-ant and facilitate proper drainage. Where this is also a problem, seednuts may be planted in pots of 1 foot height and 1 foot diameter or wooden boxes of 1 foot cube may be filled with sand and utilized for this purpose. These methods are customary in industrial areas like Calcutta and suburbs.

The beds should be of convenient length, say 25 feet or 50 feet, but the breadth should be preferably 4½ feet to 5 feet as in the absence of rains the seedlings should have to be watered daily or on alternate days from the sides without disturbing any of them. And according to Dorasami,[3] the nuts should be placed in the bed of sands with their stalk ends up and an inch of the tip protruding above the surface, with a spacing of 1-1½ feet from nut to nut and row to row. To avoid the cost of watering, planting is preferred at the beginning of rains. Nuts without water should be discarded before planting. (Fig. IV) In three to five months most of the seeds germinate and they are allowed to grow for an year, and the seed-beds should never be manured as this masks the initial defect in vigour. At the end of one year when the main characters are visible, only the healthy and good looking seedlings should be selected as planting material.

Seedlings that germinate early and split their leaf soon should be preferred as they bear early. Just before planting, seedlings should be removed from bed without tearing the roots and should be packed very neatly for forwarding to distant places. Sometimes seedlings older than one year are planted but they are always removed from the seed-beds of the first year and planted wider till final planting. But this is costly and moreover the one-year seedlings establish themselves more quickly. The small-scale planters should always get their seedlings from reputed plantations.

Preparation and Planting

Lands already under cultivation need no special preparation. Otherwise two or three ploughing before the rains followed by planting of some legume to be ploughed in is ideal. The land should be free from all weeds and properly levelled and in case of slopes should be properly terraced with bunds to check soil erosion of soil with run-off of rain water. Arrangements for irrigation during the dry months should be made by laying out drains and intermediate reservoirs. Along with this arrangement for a boundary fence a

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wicket gate is to be made to protect the saplings from grazing animals.

One year after this pits of three feet cube are dug in regular rows with specified intervening space of 30 ft. or as desired. Dried leaves are burned in the pits, which, it is believed, prevents white-ants. Also all nests of white-ants are to be dug out of the plantation at this time. Just before the rains one-year-old selected seedlings are to be planted in the pits.

The bottom of the pit is sometimes filled with loose earth or sand up to a foot to facilitate root growth of the root forming bole of the plant and to check white-ants. Sometimes *Neem* (Margosa) cake is also added to prevent white-ants. A handful or two of common salt and/or bonemeal is also added by some planters, in the soil of the pit surrounding the plantlings. The seedlings should be planted in right position firmly and the soil pressed like a cone. In case of high winds triangular supports are to be given to plants and a shade when the sun is very hot.

Maintenance of Soil Fertility

In our country there is a traditional neglect in the culture of permanent trees or rather long-living trees. Not only that we do not plant them in a planned way but we start our neglect as soon as the plant is established in the soil and is not eaten away by the Rhinoceros beetle. We never take care to know that the life of a plant is almost similar to the life of a human being growing to maturity. The coconut palm after gaining maturity in a few years after planting starts flowering which never stops till death. An inflorescence comes out every 4-6 weeks and one can find all the developing stages from the flower to the mature nut in the same plant. After flowering the fertilized nut comes to full maturity in 12 months. So, it is easy to guess that there is a continuous development and utilization of the available food from the soil which must be replaced to maintain the *status quo* of the soil. And this draws our attention to the scheme of manuring.

Sampson[15] observes that an individual palm growing on poor sandy-loam soil and producing 128 nuts per annum (not an unusual yield on the Malabar coast) removes from the soil 1.93 lbs. of nitrogen, 0.28 lbs. of phosphoric acid and 1.37 lbs. of potash. Pillai[13] has calculated that a crop of 2,000 nuts per acre removes from the soil of medium fertility about 18 lbs. of nitrogen, 5 lbs. of phosphoric acid and 38 lbs. of potash. Leaving aside others' findings, we find great disparity in the above figures.

Based on the observations of Sampson and taking 50 nuts as an average yield and 50 trees per acre as the usual method, the requirement for an acre will be 45.23 lbs. of nitrogen, 6.56 lbs. of phosphoric acid and 32.10 lbs. of potash. It should always be remembered, however, that if the well-being of the palm is also taken into consideration, a large proportion of N, P and K is to be added with the above in time of application to the field and the quantity of potash will have to be naturally increased giving due consideration to the huge fronds and the floral bunches. Also that 60 nuts is the average figure and this will be exceeded almost always with application of balanced manure. Again, the dosage of manures and fertilizers are obtained by personal experience and is varied in every locality as in our vast country we are subject to different soil and climatological factors and there can not be any hard and fast rule delimiting the

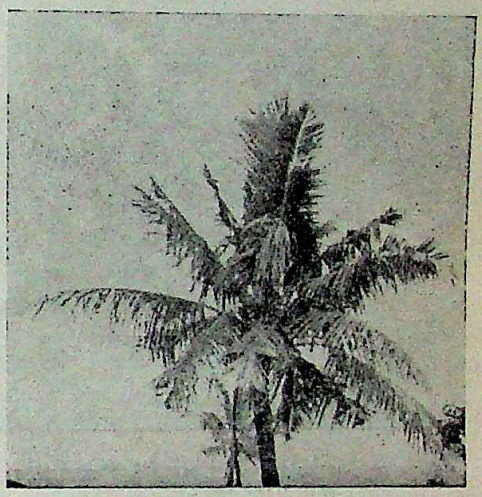


Fig. VI. A coconut palm affected with leaf disease. Bearing has almost stopped

application and the figures of intake are only a guide to this.

Manures are to be applied round the palm with a 4 feet to 5 feet radius after digging the earth a little and the costly ones to be applied close to the bole of roots. The following manure mixture adapted from John[6] is recommended :

		Per tree per annum. lbs.
	1. Cattle manure or compost or Groundnut or other oil cake ..	100 15-20
½ of these up to 5 years	or Ammonium Sulphate	3-4
	2. Muriate of Potash or potassium sulphate ..	2
½ of these up to bearing age	or Wood ash ..	30-40
	3. Superphosphate & Bonemeal or Bonemeal ..	1+1 2

Selection from this should be made according to the economics of the manure available at the locality

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as well as the physical aspect of the soil. But green manuring should be the fundamental principle of all manuring schemes and it has been found that sunn-hemp and cowpea, which comes to its age in 2 months, being sown in April-May is ideal as it can be ploughed in before the end of the rains in July so that it can help the good rotting of the green manure in the field. There are other green manure crops, such as (1) Cowgram, (2) Dhaincha and (3) Wild sunn-hemp that are also recommendable.



Fig. VII (a). An old coconut plantation in West Bengal

It has been found that cultivation increases the number of leaves per palm even when they are not manured, but manuring is necessary to replenish the loss due to heavy bearing, as in palms with many leaves the bearing is heavy always.

Food Value of the Kernel and Milk

The sweet water inside the green nut, known as 'milk' is a delicious and refreshing drink. During the summer months millions of nuts are sold in our Calcutta city alone leaving aside the suburban towns and all the wayside Railway stations within 50 miles radius from Calcutta where a thirsty passenger calls for a green coconut and gets it always with less than a lemonade's price (Fig. IX). The list of liquid diets prescribed by a doctor always contains green-nut-milk specially for patients having nasuea with fever and bowels troubles, as it has diuretic and laxative properties. It is a general practice in West Bengal to wash the pox-marked face just after recovery from pox with the milk as it is believed to make the marks less prominent.

The soft kernel inside the green nut is also delicious but does not keep and is eaten at once. The mature kernel or the 'meat' along with the 'milk' is the endosperm of the seed, the embryo being embedded in the hard endosperm, which is used either as copra for manufacture of oil or used for good preparations or delicacies and also taken along with tiffin foods.

The total weight per cent of the husk, shell, kernel and milk are 57.28, 11.59, 18.54 and 12.58 respectively.[11]

The food value of the kernel taken from the *Health Bulletin* No. 23 is given below:

Moisture (per cent)	36.3
Protein (per cent)	4.5
Fat (ether extracted) (per cent)	41.6
Mineral matter (per cent)	1.0
Fibre (per cent)	3.6
Carbohydrate (per cent)	13.0
Calcium (Ca) (per cent)	00.01
Phosphorus (P) (per cent)	0.29
Iron (Fe) Mgs. (per cent)	1.7
Calorific value per 100 gms.	444
Carotene (International Vitamin A units per 100 gms.)	Trace
Vitamin B_1 (International units per 100 gms.)	15
Vitamin C (Mgs. per 100 gms.)	1
Calories per oz.	126

Carey[2] has isolated sucrose, fructose, and glucose from the milk and raffinose, sucrose, fructose, galactose and glucose from the copra meal.

The high amount of heat energy available per ounce of coconut kernel speaks of itself as a valuable food. And it has its rightful place in the dietery of every citizen of India.

Fruiting Time and Yield Per Acre

I have already told you that the dwarf variety starts flowering in 3-4 years and the tall one in 7-8 years. But usually the yield is poor at the beginning and becomes normal in half a decade. Usually an individual plant yields 60-70 nuts per annum which limit, however, is always exceeded with good management and cultivation. Usually about 50 plants per acre is planted with 30 ft. intervening space in between the palms. And as such 3000-3500 nuts can easily be obtained from an acre. But in most cases this figure is far exceeded with better cultural practice and more close spacing. As every leaf bears an inflorescence in its axil, all the stages of fruit development will be found in the palm always, but a fertilized female flower takes about a year to come to full maturity. Periodicity in bearing is quite common in coconut. The best copra (and maximum oil) as well as coir is obtained when the nuts are harvested before they are dead ripe and the husk is still green, because at this stage (when 9-10 months old) (Fig. V) germination does not start and as such copra content is

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highest and likewise the fibre not being over-mature is of the best texture and colour. Harvesting is done usually twice in a year in Bengal but in the main coconut-growing areas 4-6 times throughout the year and June-July is the best harvesting time throughout India.

Patel[18] observed that with general manure an average yield of 33.9 lbs. of copra and 18.6 lbs. of oil can be obtained from 100 nuts, which however can be raised to 40 lbs. of copra and 22.6 lbs. of oil per 100 nuts with the application of N, P, K fertilizers, almost similar results being obtained by green-manuring and application of lime.

In judging the yield per acre the total yield of copra per acre is really taken into consideration, in case of large plantations, instead of the number of nuts, as the thickness of the kernel of the nut is variable, and a thick nut may contain kernel double of the thin nut. Aiyer[1] observes that this variation may result in 1,000 nuts yielding copra from 9-13 mds., even 14 mds.

Control of Diseases and Pests

A healthy plantation is a sign of the owner's care. As soon as any disease or pest is observed it should be stopped at once to prevent further spread. Because with the spread of disease and decay the whole economic equilibrium of the plantation is lost with the loss of production and of the bearing trees which cannot be replaced in a year or two.

The most important disease of coconut is 'Bud and Fruit Rot,' caused by *Phytophthora palmivora*. The disease starts with the withering of the young innermost visible leaves, which gradually become slight brown to light brown and finally bend and break down at the base. The infection spreads inwards emitting bad smell sometimes and ultimately kill the apical bud which stops all further growth and the plant dies. And when they attack the nuts, they either fall off immature or the kernel is rotten. Effective results have been obtained by spraying the crown with 1 per cent Bordeaux and it is better to use Bordeaux-resin-soda mixture, as resin helps to stick on the smooth surface of the coconut leaf. Similar doses of 'Perenox' may be used which is more handy. As the disease usually spreads during monsoon like most of the fungus diseases, two sprays may be given one before the outbreak and another before the close of the monsoon.

The other important disease is 'Leaf Rot' caused by more than one fungi (Fig. VI) *Helminthosporium halodes, Collectrotrichum paucisetum* and *Gliocladium roseum*, the first one being most virulent. This disease does not kill the palm but much of the leaf surface is lost due to death of the leaflets by gradual blackening and shrivelling of them and ultimate loss in yield. The same treatment as above is recommended.

Stem bleeding caused by *Ceratostomella paradoxa* shows brown fluids oozing out of longitudinal cracks of the stem. The tissue inside is rotted and the plant is weakened with loss in production. The diseased

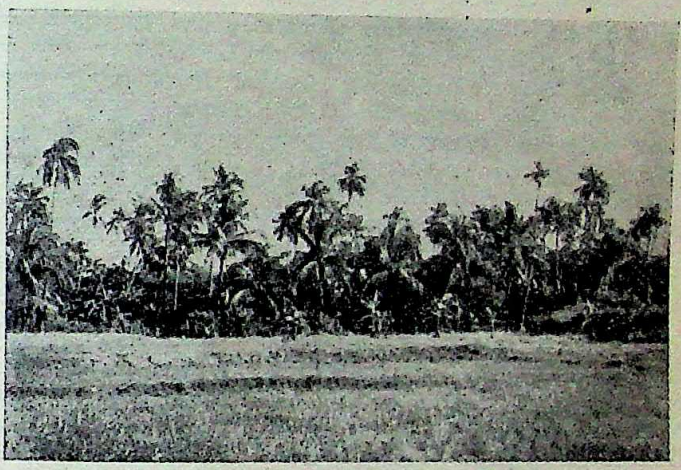


Fig. VII (a). The coconut grove

portion should be chiselled out and Bordeaux paste applied on it. Some people use coal tar.

There are other diseases of minor importance like leaf spot caused by *Pestalozzia palmarum*. Root rot caused by the bracket fungi *Ganoderma lucidum* and root disease caused by *Bortryodiplodia theobromae, Rhizoctonia bataticola* and *Rhizoctonia solani*.

Last but not of least importance is the highly destructive 'unknown disease' in the West, which brought in bold relief the activities of the plant pathologists there in the present decade.

The disease starts with nut fall, soon followed by the death of the heart and the whole crown and becomes epidemic over considerable areas where coconuts are grown closely. In a young non-bearing palm the disease starts with the drying of the still folded heart leaf or young inflorescence within a closed spadix due to the death of the young tissue at the base of it near the growing point and subsequent rottage by secondary saprophytic organisms. The disease was first reported by Leach[7] from Jamaica in 1946 which was confused by Martyn[9] with the mechanical injury caused to coconuts in the form of girdles round the nut due to

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variable supply of water. Innes[5] trying to connect it with deficiency of Manganese proved that it has no relation with the disease. Martyn's[10] recent observations lead us to the belief of a virus as the causal organism which is unlikely carried by air-borne vector, but by soil-borne organisms as will be evidenced in the rapid transmission of the disease in close-packed plantations of certain soil types. It may be noted that the symptoms are similar at the start to 'Bud Rot,' etc. Is it that in India also the virus is prevalent and the 'Bud Rot' is only the secondary stage of infection by saprophytic organisms?

Of all the pests of coconut, Rhinoceros beetle (Oryctes rhinoceros) is the most destructive and is known to every coconut-grower throughout the coconut world. It is a strongly built powerful beetle with a strong blunt recurved horn on its head like a rhinoceros, which gives it the name. Chewed fibrous materials either at the bore holes or at the base of the palms are the first signs of its attack. It attacks the crown and tender parts of the palm either destroying the apical bud and thus killing the palm or tunnel through making the inflorescence missing and twisting and disfiguring the crown. The beetle breeds freely in dung heap or decaying organic matter throughout the year.

As soon as the attack is detected the beetles should be destroyed by means of a very sharp pointed spike like the big ones used by the elephant tamers. The beetle will be pinned to death by the point and brought out by the curved iron. Close watch should be maintained to destroy the attacks and strict sanitary conditions maintained to prevent breeding.

The largest weevil known as the 'Red Palm weevil' (*Rhynchophorus ferrugineus*) is the other important pest of coconut and most of the damage is caused by the larva which feeds on the soft tissues.

The attack of the weevil and the beetle goes hand in hand, the beetle bores into the palm and the weevil lays its eggs inside the bores and the larva starts eating away the soft parts and kills the palm. And even if you kill the beetle, the destruction goes on. So, along with the measures suggested for beetle one should always seal the bores made by the beetle with sand. The crown of the palm should also be kept clean always from bird's nests, dead spathe, etc., and any damage to the palm should always be avoided through which the weevils can get access.

The black-headed caterpillar (*Nephantis serinopa*) eats away the green matter of the leaf and builds its nests under the leaf, thus destroying the leaf. It causes considerable loss to production due to large loss of leaf area. Predators help in the control of this pest.

White-ant with its large domain of destruction [illegible] has taken also coconut as one of its subjects. Local application of D.D.T. or Gammexane and destruction of their nests wherever found keeps it in check.

Rodents, squirrels and bats destroy young nuts which can be prevented through watchful eyes and by keeping the crowns clean and also by girdling the palm with an arm's length of tin sheet above human height.

Plea for Plantations—Importance as a Fruit

From the usage point of view it is an ideal plant for cultivation and where suitable land permits for starting up a plantation. Right from the roots to the leaves nothing is wasted and the kernel and the sweet milk received from the same fruit is an ideal food and drink which man can expect from nature. The use of every bit of the coconut plant even when it dies reminds us of its importance and we should grow it with care instead of haphazard planting of one nut here and another nut there. More so, because we are still in the stages of under-production and with our 1.5 million acres, out of the estimated world acreage of 8 million acres, India ranks third with a production of 3,000 million nuts annually. Philippines with 2 million acres produces 3,200 million nuts and Netherland East Indies with 1.5 million produces 3200 million nuts annually. Ceylon with 1.1 million acres produces 1,800 million nuts annually and from this little island and other countries we are annually importing on an average 38,288 tons of copra worth Rs. 1,20,00,000 to make up our deficit.[9] And this fact alone can whip us back to our senses for planting coconut in a planned way in the form of plantations. We cannot ignore the other more important facts. During the last devastating war thousands of coconut plants have been either cut down or have died an unnatural death due to construction of bases for land and air war and bursting of bomb shells, the operation of war theatre being in the main coconut-growing areas of the East Indies and Philippines. We shall have to make good this loss in production and though we cannot produce nuts with a magician's wand in a year but still we must plant the trees first and then wait for the fruit. In India the bulk of the acreage lies in the south-eastern coast line. Travancore and Cochin Union has an area of 6,35,015 acres followed by Madras 6,05,874 and Mysore 1,69,191 acres; Orissa 21,694 acres and West Bengal 16,448 acres with much less acreage in other coastal districts.[8] (Figs. VII & VIII).

The Layout of a Plantation

There is a tendency amongst small growers for a mixed plantation, but they are always detrimental to the coconuts, that live on their spreading green leaves which become covered by the other competing fruit [illegible] production. The plantation should

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be absolutely pure, only so long as the palms do not sufficiently cover the entire surface of the soil, secondary crops may be raised, preferably some legume. But along with intercropping the soil should always be additionally fertilized for the secondary crop. It has been found that the square method of cultivation is better workable than the triangular method, though the latter can afford more plants within the same area. But planting of too many plants never bring any good, not only that seedlings should be planted in such a way that when old the leaves of adjacent plants should never overlap each other. The intervening space should never be less than 24 ft. and preferably be 30 ft., when it is meant for copra or nut. But when it is meant for the milk of the green nuts, as is the case in most of the industrial areas and places round about Calcutta, they can be planted more close and is usually planted round the homestead. In most cases they harvest the green nuts leaving only a few nuts for ripening and thus making a double profit. Even the smallest planter may dig a ditch round the plantation, which will act as a reservoir of irrigation water as well as protective barrier. Let us draw up a present-day schedule for an acre of plantation with 50 trees:

(1) Price of 50 seedlings at -|8|- each .. Rs. 25|-
(2) Cost of 5 labour for making 50 pits and planting 50 seedlings at Rs. 2|- each .. „ 10|-
(3) Cost of manure mixture for 50 seedlings (calculated on the quantity of individual requirement of the manures and their price) at -|8|- for each .. „ 25|-
(4) Cost of watering 50 plants during summer months at Rs. 15 per month for 5 months .. „ 75|-

Total Rs. 135|-

The cost of ploughing, etc., will go with the cost of cultivation of the secondary crop which will fetch some money till the palms come to the bearing age. And during this time with the profit from the secondary crop, irrigation drains, fencing, etc., should be done.It should be borne in mind that a long-range plantation is always a losing concern before it comes to age.

Marketing

I have already mentioned to what extent we are deficient in copra and are to import it mainly from Ceylon and other foreign countries. Similarly we are importers of large amounts of oil with a little export. But the balance of trade is maintained by the export of coir, a bye-product of the copra industry. It was started a century back and it is estimated that in 1946-47, 516,215 cwt. of mats and matting and about 288,000 cwt. of coir yarn were exported. This export mostly to the hard currency areas brings about 1.75 crores annually. The most important feature in the marketing of coconut is that the fruit is not easily perishable like others and can be preserved for a long time only through simple natural curing methods. The estimated import and export figures to and from West-Bengal during 1949-50 is detailed below :

Item	*Source of Import and Quantity*	*Value*	*Export destination and quantity*	*Value*
Copra	Andamans .. 25,000 mds.	Rs. 10,00,000	——	——
	South India —Cochin, Malabar .. 5,000 tons	Rs. 30,00,000 at Rs. 600 per ton.	Eastern Pakistan and small quantity in Assam — 1,500 tons.	Rs. 9,00,000 at Rs. 600 per ton.
Coir-Strings	S. India—Cochin Malabar, Alleppay .. 60,000 tons	Rs. 4,80,00,000 at Rs. 800 per ton.	Assam, Burma, East Pakistan, & Upper India— 45,000 tons.	Rs. 3,60,00,000 at Rs. 800 per ton.
Mattings	South India .. 1,000 tons	Rs. 4,00,000 at Rs. 400 per ton.	——	——
Hukka Nut	South India .. 50,00,000 pieces	Rs. 5,00,000 at Rs. 10 per 100 pieces.	U.P., East Pakistan— 12,00,000 pieces.	Rs. 1,20,000 at Rs. 10 per 100 pieces.
Coconut (dry)	Port Blair .. 5,00,000 pieces East Pakistan .. 50,00,000 pieces 55,00,000 pieces	Rs. 9,90,000 at Rs. 18 per 100.	C. P. and other parts of India— 25,00,000 pieces.	Rs. 4,50,000 at Rs. 18 per 100 pieces.
Desiccated coconut	Ceylon .. 20,000 mds.	Rs. 1,00,00,000 at Rs. 50 per md.	——	——
Coconut Oil	Sea-borne (St. Settlement, C. W. Australia) 40,59,140 galls.	Rs. 2,37,85,055	1,739 gallons.	Rs. 15,850|-
	Coastal routes (Madras, Travancore) 8,74,723 gallons	Rs. 67,42,704	69,664 gallons.	Not known.
	Rail and river. 2,02,664 gallons.	Not known.	71,403 gallons.	
	51,36,527 gallons			

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ECONOMIC ASPECT

Coconut is the only fruit tree which is cultivated for food, for the oil and for the fibre and it can easily compete with any other crop on these three individual merits.

The mature nuts are either used for food preparations or are dried and made into copra. For copra making the fully matured nuts either stored for a month or two are at first husked by hand with the help of a sharp fixed horizontal iron rod. One man alone can husk about 1000 nuts daily and expert hands can do even 2000 nuts in a day. The shell is broken and kept upside down for some time to let the water drop completely, then they are kept upturned for some days when the copra shrinks away from the shell and levered out, if necessary with a thin wooden piece. Then the copras are again dried for a few days more to remove further moisture and in a good sunny week the copra is ready. Artificial drying in kilns is good for the monsoon, when sun-drying should never be undertaken, but care should be taken to see that the copra does not become sooty and give smell of smoke.

The copra thus made ready should be properly stored if not sold to oil millers. The oil is extracted either by country method or by modern milling machineries. But expellers give the maximum extraction of oil. The oil cake or *poonac* is used for feeding livestock but is also taken as food by the poorer people with jaggery. For bakeries or others dessi-

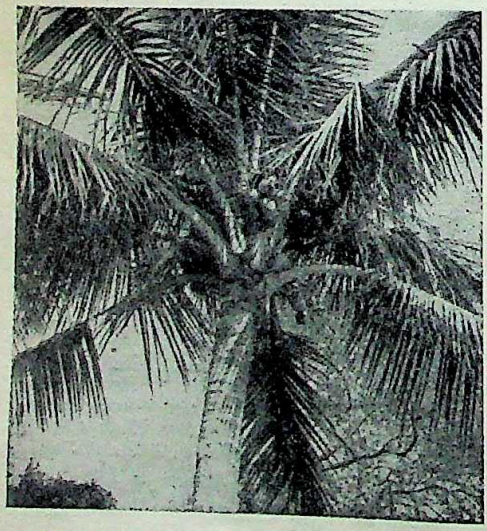


Fig. VIII. Close-up of a full-bearing palm

cated coconut is prepared from good quality nuts or copra, which gives the extracted milk, a nourishing juice as bye-product. The oil is used for cooking, as hair oil and for the manufacture of pomade, candles, 'marine soap' and glycerine. Today the mass production of vegetable fats or margarine is based on this oil.

The spongy cotyledon of the germinating coconut known as apple (*Fopra*) and the apical bud of the growing tree are delicious.

The only prominent fibre obtained from any fruit is the fibre of the coconut husk called 'coir,' mainly used as cordage for all kinds of marine and riverine

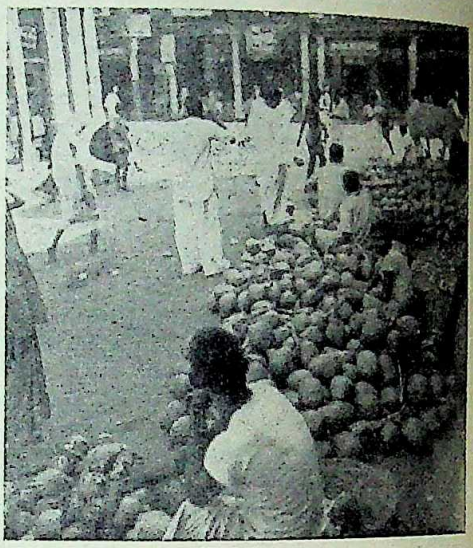


Fig. IX. Are you thirsty? Sale of green coconut at College Street Market in Calcutta

crafts, as it does not decay even in saline water, compared with jute, etc. The coir yarn is used for the manufacture of ropes, mats, door-mats, matresses and for upholstery work in railway carriage, etc. The husk retted in brakish water for about 8-12 months with suitable enclosures are of best quality, although it can be done in fresh water also.

After retting they are beaten with heavy wooden mallets and the fibres are separated from the husk. Best quality fibres are obtained from mature but not over-ripe nuts. The disintegrated pith is usually wasted although it forms the bulk of the husk. In these days of air conditioning with shortage of raw materials the value of the pith compressed as insulation boards may be explored by refrigeration engineers.

The unopened inflorescence is tapped for the juice which can be either 'Nira' or the fermented 'toddy'. It has been observed that in case of poor bearing trees effects of tapping appears to improve the yield, which lasts up to four years. From the juice vinegar and alcohol or jaggery and sugar may be made. The fronds and fruit stalks as well as the husk may be used as fuel and the ash contains a high percentage of potash and can be used as manure. The fronds after

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trimming and beating can be used as white washing brush. The tender shoots can be made into pickle. The spathe is used as a shelf by the poor. But the midrib of the leaflet helps the cleaning of indoors and outdoors as brooms and its use is universally known. The leaflets are used for making fans, mats as well as thatching of poor men's homes.

The ploughman's hubble-bubble is always made with the coconut shell and today with modern ideas it is used in various other ways as ash-tray, cup and saucer, button, buckles, lamp-shade and box. It can be used as a laddle. The shell charcoal is a good absorbent and is used in making gas masks. The roots are of value as medicine and dye-stuff.

Even in death the palm is of value to us. The trunk is excellent as pillars or beams and rafters.

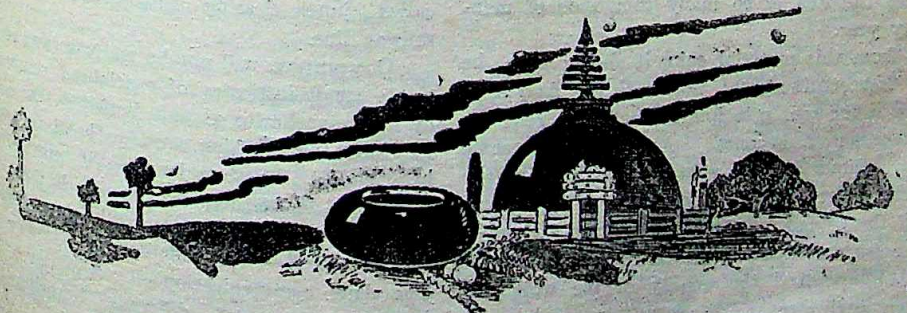
The long list of usefulness of coconut reminds us of the belief that the great sage Biswamitra in trying to create his new world with new things, first created coconut which is a unique production with its universal use of all its parts. And probably this is the *Kalpabriksha* of the *Puranas*, the tree that fulfills all human wishes.

Conclusion

All along I have tried to impress my readers that this palm with its varied use and long life is economically inter-related with our every-day life. Such a plant should obtain special care from us in the multiplication of their progeny and in this matter the place of the Indian Central Coconut Committee is unique. We know that nothing good can be obtained when the seed is bad and for this every State established and is establishing seed multiplication farms for production of quality seeds of cereals and other crops. Unfortunately coconut did not obtain the attention it deserved. Today we find only a few centres opened by States for this. Private enterprise in these matters ends in failure as it entails heavy expenditure and may be a losing concern though with ultimate gain to the country. With this idea of eliminating bad palms by replacing them with good and extension of the cultivation of coconut in the coconut-growing tracts of India, we must establish coconut multiplication farms or rather nurseries throughout the coconut-growing regions of the country with at least one unit in each producing State. Mother palms are to be selected from within the State after extensive observation tours and the selected nuts from them will be the nucleus of the nursery. The nursery may be opened with a promise to supply at least 1000 seedlings and more than this should have to be planted for rejection of the inferior ones. And this start with a thousand nuts will take us to days when we can supply thousands of good quality seedlings to our countrymen in every State for extension of its production.

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AN OLD MAN'S LAST HOPE

By Dr. JADUNATH SARKAR, Hony. D.Litt.

The supreme problem of Free India is how to be intellectually independent of Europe. On the right solution of this question depends her prosperity, and even her very existence as a nation. Europe is advancing every month, nay every day, in arts and arms, in industry and technique, in range of thought and the conquest of nature. India, as even the blind can see, has been standing still, glorying in the "wisdom of our ancestors," or at best borrowing thoughts and material products from Europe at second hand. Hence, even when we seem to be making progress at all, we are only panting far behind Europe like the coolies carrying the baggage of a civilised army and straggling in the rear.

Continual progression is the rule of Europe. Her civilisation is never stationary, she is constantly moving from more to more, from new to newer things. This is the result of the labour of an army of her best intellects, carrying on to higher and higher stages the gains of their predecessors, by working without cessation, without a break. In Europe, "the tail of one generation is where the head of its predecessor had been." This is the root principle of every living civilisation.

Hence, there must be created and vigorously worked a fountain-head of original research on the Indian soil, if Free India is to justify her name. This brings us to the next step. India today is so backward, so poor, that she cannot afford to waste any portion of her existing brain power or material resources; she must get the utmost out of every rupee she spends and every man she employs. And that can be done only by creating centres for this high type of work in those spots where the climatic conditions favour the highest brain work throughout the year without any seasonal stoppage or slackening, and the air and water exclude those periodical diseases which elsewhere cause the loss of so many thousands of man-hours every year.

Apart from this material gain, it should never be forgotten that continuity of work till the final fruit is produced is the root principle of success in research. If the investigation is once suspended for some months by summer heat or winter's cold, it will take many weeks before the returned research-worker can pick up all the threads that he had dropped and make an advance from the point reached by him before his enforced holiday. And the quality of the work also suffers from such breaks; in some cases the uncompleted result arrived at before the break has to be scrapped altogether, and that particular piece of investigation has to be started from the beginning once more. Such losses must be avoided by wise planning beforehand.

This brings us to the third point: where in this tropical country can we find spots with such a temperate climate as to allow vigorous and *continuous* brain work throughout the year? Our noted capitals have their multitude of modern civilised conveniences and scientific apparatus besides expert specialists otherwise employed who are available for consultation, but the enervating heat of Calcutta, Madras and Bombay, the sunstroke atmosphere of Delhi, Lucknow and Allahabad on the one hand, and the freezing cold of Darjeeling, Simla and Naini Tal (in winter) on the other hand, make *continuous* work there for twelve months in the year impossible; they can serve us for eight months at the utmost. These *high* hill stations are also barred out by another very relevant consideration; they cost in dress, shoes and fuel twice or thrice as much as the same style of living in the plains, and their greater distance from the centres of food production naturally enhances the cost of living there.

We are thus left with moderate heights of two thousand feet or more above sea-level and subject to strong cooling winds, such as Shillong and Dehra Dun in the north, Bangalore in Mysore, and the Bombay hills from Lonavla to Talegaon—these last two being only 36 and 20 miles from Poona, on the same G.I.P. line, and the former already provided with good educational facilities of the medium grade and the latter (Talegaon) with an admirable hospital and convalescent home. A research-and-teaching college established here will not have to bear at the start the crippling expenses of what may be metaphorically called jungle-clearing and construction of a new railway line.

Our purpose will not be really served if we merely create small institutes of specialised research manned by a few anchorite savants buried in their laboratories. Research and teaching must go hand in hand for the benefit of both; they languish if mutually isolated. And there is, besides, the sound educational principle aptly expressed by the term "the inter-fertilisation of the faculties"—(*i.e.*, different subjects or branches). The daily communication—it may even be clash—between masters of different branches not only

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sharpens and stimulates the brain of each but also creates an atmosphere most fruitful of the advancement of learning. The hermit in his cell is denied this advantage. Therefore a degree college (with not more than 400 students) should be opened there at the same time and under the same administration. This is the most successful device for bringing to the surface and enlisting for the work in the next generation the most promising pupils.

As for the teaching staff, let not the word research frighten the Finance Minister. The highest professors employed by the Calcutta University, such as Drs. Radhakrishnan, C. V. Raman, and D. R. Bhandarkar, cost about 2,000 rupees each per month (taking into account the pay, the housing concession, employer's contribution to the provident fund, and provision for furlough on full pay and half pay). It is not proposed to take the top-men of the old well-endowed Universities and dump them on my projected hill college. But I feel that a salary of Rs. 600 a month (with residence provided) will attract very able men. Many I am sure will prefer this chance of uninterrupted research work and the full enjoyment of health on Rs. 600 to a cosy chair in Calcutta or Madras on Rs. 1,000. Besides, these hill-college teachers will be kept up to the mark by the periodical society of "visiting professors" and retired educationists, who will demand no pay but only board and lodging and the opportunity of making themselves useful to the next generation, so as to keep India's torch of light burning. Provision for such visiting professors is an integral part of my scheme. (Later on Government inspectors and technical advisers will come for short periods). For them a guest-house should be made ready at the outset. And also a clean hotel supplying decent but cheap and standardised meals. I still remember how exhilarated in spirit, how elevated in mind I felt as a young freshman when attending the lectures of some known authority on a subject, a professor whose opinion is quoted in standard works as decisive, one who has himself advanced the bounds of human knowledge in a particular field. Contact with such first-rate men vivifies the young disciple, like an electric current making the dead frog dance in the physics laboratory. But it does not mean that such pre-eminent scholars should be present at our proposed college, lecturing there throughout the year. Our purpose will be well served if they pay short periodical visits and electrify the students. They will also do a still more necessary work by vivifying the permanent *teachers* of the place themselevs. After all, first-rate men are, in their very nature, not numerous enough.

Before embarking on the scheme, its financial implications must be understood. I am (with all the diffidence of a book-worm) giving below a rough estimate based on the present prices; (the index number today being 446 against 100 in August, 1939). The scheme will be worked in parts, as it grows, from year to year and not in full strength at the very start. But two things must be attended to at the very beginning: (1) land acquisition to prevent private building which may be a bar to future extension, and (2) collection of the indispensable core of a learned library, because ever since the Blitz of London destroyed 20 million copies of printed works (in England alone), many learned books of primary importance have become as rare as the phoenix. But I am optimistic enough to hope for gifts of books from the enlightened rich as soon as our work begins to justify our existence.

All the staff and preferably all the students (maximum 400) should be residential. Hence the heavy building construction necessary at the outset. But why should we not economise in other directions? Why ape Oxford or Cambridge by insisting on a vast meeting hall for *all* the students? I have heard British Oxonians in India sadly complaining that the Presidency College of Calcutta has no Hall for bringing together *all* its thousand students. India has been favoured by nature like ancient Greece; we can hold our College gatherings in the open air (except during two months in the year). Let us sternly cut out ornaments till after *all* the essentials have been provided.

And the first essentials are hostels where the students will not be packed like sardines in a tin, residences for the staff close at hand, and a really good library (with laboratory added in the case of science). For the convenience of younger teachers, there will be one or two chummeries or "bachelors' barracks"—but not in the style of our *dharmsalas*; each one must have a room of his own however small.

Other requisites are a common mess and playgrounds or gardens (so designed as to provide for future extensions). The future is to be assured and the work once started saved from curtailment or debasement by future financial stringency. This can be done only by accepting and steadily pursuing the policy of building up an Endowment Fund of fifty lakhs at its maximum. If the State makes over two lakhs a year for ten years to the Trust managing the Institute, and all public donations are credited to the Corpus of the endowment, the above is not an impossible figure. Judging from some of the noblest non-official institutions whose inner working I have seen, the work of such a hill college, if honestly done, will be its best advertisement and attract large donations. As Swami Vivekananda said to a pessimistic friend at the initial stage of his India-wide philanthropic

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organisation, "Money will be no hindrance. In India, money lies scattered on the ground. You have only to know how to gather it." It is men that matters, not money.

MONTHLY EXPENDITURE

2 Administrative officers	(total) Rs.	1,000
6 Professors	" "	3,600
12 Lecturers and assistants	" "	3,600
8 Clerks, caretakers, etc.	" "	800
Library staff	" "	250
Contribution to Hotel and Hostel	" "	250
25 Menials	" "	1,200
		10,700
Annually	Rs.	1,28,000
Add leave, provident fund, etc.	"	22,000
Total	"	1,50,000

or an *endowment* of forty lakhs.

Fee income from 400 students (less ten per cent free), at Rs. 12 per month—Rs. 51,840 per annum, or *half a lakh*. Physical instructor, doctor, etc., not included.

Capital expenditure at the start (in two years):

Land acquisition, levelling, etc.	1 lakh
Buildings	6 lakhs
Furniture and equipment	1 lakh
Water (and/or? electricity)	1 "
Library books (and/or laboratory)	1 "
Total	10 lakhs

P.S.—Will the title of my prayer be at last changed from *Hope* to *Dream*?

———:O:———

REMINISCENCES OF PROF. CARLO FORMICHI

BY MAHAMAHOPADHYAYA VIDHUSHEKHARA BHATTACHARYA

IT was with great pleasure that I read the short notice on the late Prof. Carlo Formichi published in the April issue of *The Modern Review*. It recalled vividly to my mind many incidents associated with him that happened during the time he was a Visiting Professor in the Visva-bharati and I was in charge of Vidyabhavana. The last letter I had from him would be of special interest to the present generation in view of the strong anti-Fascist sentiments he expressed therein in spite of his being an Italian who held high official rank in the academic world of his country. His letter runs thus:

"Rivoli, 25.IX, 1926.

My dear Friend,

Your kind letter has reached me here, where I shall stay a couple of days more before I go back to Rome.

Thank you very much for the sincere sympathy you show me and which I appreciate highly.

I am just like a man that has seen before his eyes a whole city crumble to dust on account of an earthquake. I am seeing many beautiful things pitifully destroyed and I cannot help crying over the ruins.

I do not know yet if the work of reconstruction will be possible. I shall do my best to help it, but on a quite new basis.

I can no longer trust persons in whom I had placed the whole of my love and confidence. I shall ever love you and some other friends in Santiniketan but they are not those who have done the mischief and who have become unworthy of my trust.

Tell Tucci,* please, that I am not writing to him this week for lack of news.

If not in this life I certainly shall meet you in some future existence and you will find a friend in me at once. Be sure of it.

Yours for ever affectionately
Carlo Formichi"

I may also in this connection narrate a few details I obtained from reliable sources regarding the trend of affairs during the Fascist regime. When Gurudev went to Italy, the Italian Government took special care to prevent any person from having access to him, who might give Gurudev a glimpse of Italian affairs different from Governmental propaganda. But somehow Gurudev did come in contact with other views which so displeased him that he publicly denounced the Fascist.

The Italian wife of an American Professor then living in Santiniketan, told me at that time that oppressed as we were under British rule, we were yet much better off regarding freedom of opinion, thought, etc., than the people under the Duce's dictatorship.

A leading Indian Scholar who visited Rome at the time told me after his return, in reply to his query his taxi-driver while passing Mussolini's Office uttered the Dictator's name in a very low and cautious whisper and explained later that he did so in order not to rouse suspicion in the mind of any passerby that he had any sinister motive in showing the Duce's office to a foreigner.

One incident may be added here, when for the first time Prof. Formichi met the class he had to teach, it fell to me to introduce him to his audience. After the introduction he dealt with his subject for a few minutes and then told me, "I hope you will now believe that I can teach." The remark was received with loud laughter

* *i.e.*, Prof. Giuseppe Tucci, the noted Italian Sanskritist who was also in Santiniketan as a Visiting Professor.—V.B.

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INDIA'S NATIONAL INCOME

By Dr. R. M. AGARWAL, M.A., Ph.D.

The calculation of per capita national income is not an end in itself but simply a means to an end. And its importance in planning future economic policies cannot be over-emphasized. Every sort of economic planning, agricultural or industrial, commercial or scientific, capitalistic or socialistic, must necessarily aim at increasing the per capita national income because other things remaining the same, particularly prices, it indicates rising standards of living of the people, material well-being and economic progress. It also serves as a measuring rod for comparing the general economic condition of the people in different countries or in the same country at different times. And changes in the various components of national income reflect upon the changing patterns of economic set-up.

But despite its playing such a vital role in the day-to-day economic life of the people and the country, no systematic or scientific attempt, official or non-official, was ever made to take stock of India's national income and compile the per capita earning. Some individual efforts were no doubt made, at their own initiative, by Dr. Dadabhai Naoroji, Messrs. Baring and Babour, Digby, Atkinson, Sir B. N. Sharma, Findlay Shirras, Shah and Khambata, Lord Curzon, the Simon Commission, V. K. R. V. Rao and B. Natarajan at various times from 1871 onwards and in the absence of any other useful data their findings did throw some light over this important issue, but they could by no means be taken as reliable and dependable because their difficulties were innumerable. This negligence on the part of our Government was more so deplorable in view of the fact that of all the countries of the world, ours was the only one which made the largest number of plans and programmes, what if they did not cross the paper stage, during the post-war years. Fortunately it recently realized the necessity of organizing such investigations and appointed for the first time on the 4th August, 1949, a National Income Committee with Prof. P. C. Mahalanobis as Chairman and Prof. D. R. Gadgil and Dr. V. K. R. V. Rao as members to prepare the report on the national income and related estimates, to suggest measures for improving the quality of available data and for the collection of further essential statistics and to recommend ways and means of promoting research in the field of national income. The Committee was also to guide the national income unit of the Government of India in compilation of authoritative estimates of the national income. The Government of India also made available to the Committee the advice of three destinguished foreign experts on national income, namely, Prof. Simon Kuzuets, Mr. J. R. N. Stone and Dr. J. B. D. Derksen who visited India during the cold weather of 1950-51. The committee submitted its first report only recently which was placed before the Parliament by our Finance Minister, Sri C. D. Desmukh on the 5th May, 1951. The Committee proposes to follow up its first report with a final one which is expected to be submitted towards the end of 1951 or early in 1952. The final report would cover both 1948-49 and 1949-50.

According to the first report of the Committee, the sum of the net output of all sectors of economy gives the net domestic product at "factor cost"—Rs. 8,730 crores (Government enterprises Rs. 300 crores, Government administration Rs. 460 crores, and private sector Rs. 7,970 crores). The net national product at market prices, factor cost plus indirect taxes, is estimated at Rs. 9,170 crores. Adjusting these figures with the estimated net earned income from abroad the figure for the net national income during 1948-49 has been arrived at Rs. 8,710 crores or Rs. 255 per head on the basis of an estimated Indian population of 341.04 millions during that year. But while discussing the above estimate at a Press Conference recently, Dr. V. K. R. V. Rao, one of the three members of the National Income Committee told that India was not richer in 1948-49 than in 1931-32 in real terms. His estimate of per capita income in 1931-32 was Rs. 65 which, he added, would come to about Rs. 260 when adjusted to the increased prices and the inflated values of other contributory factors in 1948-49. This indicated that the person was poorer by nearly Rs. 5 in 1948-49 than in 1931-32. Dr. Rao added, "I would certainly state that the per capita real income has not gone up." This is also shown partly by the fact that nearly 53 per cent of the material income was being spent over food alone.

The Committee has however estimated the national over-all average of the net output per engaged person at Rs. 660. Breaking the figure occupation-wise, the net output per engaged person was highest in mining and factory establishment, that is Rs. 1,700 followed by commerce, transport and com-

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munications Rs. 1,600, Government services Rs. 1,300, small enterprises Rs. 600, professions Rs. 600, agriculture and animal husbandry Rs. 500 and domestic services Rs. 400. Thus the comparatively more paying and productive character of mining and manufacturing enterprises as against either agriculture or services is too obvious even though agriculture, animal husbandry and auxiliary activities contributed 48 per cent and commerce, transport and communications 19.5 per cent of the national income. Again contribution by small enterprises, which is 83.6 per cent is about five times as great as that of large enterprises (16.4 per cent). It is also seen that small enterprises account for more than 61 per cent of the net domestic product.

Moreover, the total working force of the country has been placed at 132.74 millions of which 90.50 millions or 68.2 per cent were engaged in exploitation of animal and vegetation, 18.02 millions or 13.6 per cent in industry, 8.30 millions or 6.2 per cent in trade, 5.04 millions or 3.8 per cent in professions or liberal arts, 4.19 millions or 3.2 per cent in domestic services, 2.45 millions or 1.8 per cent in transport, 1.91 millions or 1.4 per cent in public force, 1.70 millions or 1.3 per cent in public administration and 0.63 millions or 0.5 per cent in exploitation of minerals. Hence, the unbalanced nature of our national economy which is predominantly agricultural offers very little scope for future developments, if left undisturbed and allowed to take its own course.

Also 97 per cent of the Government revenue that is, Rs. 690 crores out of a total revenue of Rs. 710 crores was spent over administration. Out of Rs. 710 crores, direct taxes accounted for Rs. 198 crores (Corporation tax Rs. 65 crores and other Income taxes Rs. 133 crores), indirect taxes Rs. 416 crores (Customs Rs. 139 crores, Excise Rs. 107 crores, Stamps Rs. 20 crores, Land Revenue Rs. 42 crores, and other indirect taxes and duties Rs. 108 crores) and fees and miscellaneous receipts Rs. 70 crores (Civil Administration Rs. 38 crores and Miscellaneous Rs. 30 crores) thus making a total tax revenue of Rs. 684 crores. Another Rs. 50 crores was obtained by transfer of operating surplus from current account of commercial enterprises (Railways Rs. 25 crores and others Rs. 25 crores) and income from property accounted for Rs. 22 crores (Interest Rs. 10 crores and others Rs. 12 crores). The expenditure of Rs. 690 crores, on the other hand, comprised Civil Administration Rs. 326 crores, Defence Rs. 279 crores, Miscellaneous Rs. 25 crores, Subsidies Rs. 34 crores, Transfer payment to individuals Rs. 26 crores. Of the expenditure on Civil Administration the cost of collection of taxes alone accounted for Rs. 26 crores while General Administration including expenditure on Police, Public Health, Education, etc., accounted for Rs. 242 crores. Out of Rs. 279 crores spent on Defence, the pay and allowances of the armed forces alone has been estimated at Rs. 117 crores. The surplus of Rs. 20 crores on current account does not represent the budgetary position of the public authorities, but only the excess of income drafted by them and not spent during the year.

The capital account of the public authorities for the same year reveals a sum of Rs. 49 crores and an expenditure of Rs. 208 crores (Capital Expenditure on commercial enterprises Rs. 120 crores, Maintenance and capital outlay of Administrative departments Rs. 81 crores, and Net purchase of assets Rs. 7 crores). The deficit was met by a net borrowing of Rs. 159 crores.

Taking the current and capital accounts and also the current account of the public commercial enterprises together, a sum of Rs. 1,214 crores was paid out of the public sector during the year. Of this, Rs. 680 crores represented wages and salaries, Rs. 28 crores interest, Rs. 360 crores purchase of commodities and services, Rs. 29 crores maintenance, Rs. 60 crores transfer payments and Rs. 7 crores purchase of assets.

Thus, it is obvious that the above details of India's national income and expenditure demarcate the following four characteristics of our national economy:

1. Deteriorating economic condition of the people in spite of rise in their money incomes on account of general inflationary condition in the country and rising cost of living;
2. unbalanced character of our national economy which is predominantly agricultural and which is no more paying on account of too many people working over it;
3. predominance of small-scale over large-scale enterprises; and
4. very little expenditure of public revenue over development programmes as compared with those over administration.

This is anything but in the interest of the country and our administrators must necessarily devise policies to change this natural course of our national economy. If we want to be as powerful and rich as the other countries of the West, we cannot lay too much emphasis over our agriculture and must essentially devote greater and greater attention towards large-scale industrial developments. But this cannot take place without an active and all-out help from the Government. But for this, no country in the world would have been able to increase its per capita national income, not even U.S.A., Canada, U.K., Germany or Japan.

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INACCURACIES IN OFFICIAL STATISTICS IN WEST BENGAL

By JATINDRA MOHAN DATTA, M.SC., B.L., F.S.S. (Lond.)

A fresh ration cut has been imposed from the 2nd July, 1951. The Food Minister, Sri Prafulla Chandra Sen, in a recent broadcast tried to justify the policy he is following by quoting certain official statistics. We pity him; he is more a victim of the inaccuracy of official statistics than a sinner for inaugurating a bad policy. We do by no means exonerate him or the Central Government for their policy. But we realise how badly they are being served with official statistics.

In 1934, we pointed out in the pages of the *Sankhya*, the journal of the Indian Statistical Institute, how inaccurate the official statistics sometimes are. In one single year, there were *ten* Chairmen for the Panihati Municipality!

Since then we hoped there would be an improvement in the official statistics; if not in their collection at least in its presentation. We based our hope on the formation of the Provincial Statistical Bureau in West Bengal. But our hopes have been belied.

The Provincial Statistical Bureau publishes a Statistical Abstract for West Bengal. It published one for 1947 sometime ago. It has recently published another for 1948. But there are serious errors in it, both of compilation and presentation. We hope the authorities responsible for the publication of the *Statistical Abstract* would take greater care in future. We would request them to go through the pages of such books, as the *Canadian Year-Books, Australian Year-Books*, etc., to see for themselves how the official statistics are condensed and presented in the British Dominions; and also to go through such books as *Pocket Compendium of Australian Statistics* (pp. 208), price 1 sh.

The attention of the authorities has been drawn to the inaccuracies and insufficiency of the official statistics ever since 1934. (See *Sankhya*, Vol. I, pp. 435-39 and Vol. 6, pp. 231-35). Some serious mistakes in the Bengal Census Report of 1931 (*Sankhya*, Vol. 3, pp. 163-170 and Vol. 6, pp. 327-328), were pointed out by the present writer.

Statistical Abstract, West Bengal, 1948 has been published. This is the second issue of the series. But there are certain errors persisting in it still.

(1) At page 6, in table 1.1 it is stated that the number of sub-divisions in the District of 24-Parganas is 6. But at page 22, table 1.9, five sub-divisions have been shown. The Bongong sub-division has been omitted; the area under it has been amalgamated with the Barasat sub-division.

(2) The population of West Bengal has been given as 21,196,453 in tables 1.2; 1.3; 1.4; 1.5; 1.6. The population of West Bengal (after partition) has been given as 21,211,427 in the Statistical Handbook No. 1 presented to the members of the Constituent Assembly. It is a saleable publication. The figures 21,211,427 have been repeated at pages 3 and 4 of the *Statistical Handbook*.

The error in the figure given by the Provincial Statistical Bureau has arisen in this way. In table 1.9 the figures for each thana has been given; but no figure has been given for that portion of the Daulatpur Police Station which has been allotted to West Bengal under the Radcliffe Award. This exclusion has led to the above error.

(3) At page 274, table 26.3 is headed thus :

> "Particulars relating to New Life Insurance Business of Indian Insurers effected during 1947 and total Life Insurance Business in force at the end of the year in West Bengal."

The heading is misleading. All that has been shown in the table is the business of certain companies registered in Calcutta. The Oriental Life Insurance Company's business here in West Bengal is not included; while the entire business of Hindusthan Life Insurance Company is included, much of which is outside West Bengal.

(4) In table 41.4 at page 383, the number of cinema houses and the monthly average number of spectators are given.

District	*Number of cinema houses (in Dec., 1948)*	*No. of spectators (monthly average)**
Burdwan	11	109,841
Birbhum	5	37,332
Bankura	4	65,756
Midnapore	13	201,344
Howrah	15	221,079
Hooghly	20	232,951
24-Parganas	16	194,405
Calcutta	72	Not available
Nadia	4	46,777
Murshidabad	2	21,389
West Dinajpur	3	18,152
Malda	2	36,851
Jalpaiguri	1	10,325
Darjeeling	4	52,615
Total West Bengal	172	(a) 96,832

(a) Excluding Calcutta.

Figures for Calcutta have been omitted. No explanation has been given why the number of

* Average of twelve months (Jan. to Dec. 1948)

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spectators at Calcutta cannot be given. No attempt has been made to form an estimate of the number of spectators at Calcutta from the amusement tax collected though of the total Rs. 4,21,000 amusement tax collected in 1948, Rs. 3,41,000 came from Calcutta alone. Further in calculating the provincial average of spectators a simple average of the district averages instead of a pooled average for the province has been used. In some copies there is a corrigenda, giving the correct figure, in some other copies there is no corrigenda.

(5) In table 41.2 at page 382, the particulars about street accidents in Calcutta are given.

The figures for 1945, 1946 and 1947 are given; while the figures for 1948 are given month by month, but no totals for 1948 have been given. For ready reference and easy comparison such total should have been given.

But there seems to be error in the figures themselves. For example, the number of persons killed in 1946 and 1947 are given as 324 and 184. But in the *Monthly Statistical Digest, West Bengal,* published by the same Provincial Statistical Bureau for September, 1950, we find at page 101, that the monthly average of persons killed in Calcutta in 1946 and 1947 are 19 and 15 only while they are 27 and 15 respectively if the previous annual figures are reduced to monthly figures.

324 divided by 12 for 1946, comes to 27 and not 19.
184 divided by 12 for 1947, comes to 15.

Let us assume that this is a printing mistake. The total number of vehicles involved in such street accidents in 1946 and 1947 are given as:

	Number of vehicles involved			
	Civilian	Military (British)	Military (U.S.A.)	Total
1946	5,696	2,061	1,112	8,869
1947	9,105	601	28	9,734

The monthly average of vehicles involved in accidents would work out to 739 for 1946 and 811 for 1947. But in the *Monthly Abstract* referred to above the figures given are 1,131 and 1276.

(6) At page 372, table 37.1 capacity of jails in West Bengal has been given. But no mention has been made of the Hazaribagh Reformatory, where West Bengal has a right to send convicts, perhaps because it is in Bihar. As it is a statistical abstract such information should be given. When about two years ago the Judicial Minister of West Bengal, visited the Hazaribagh Reformatory, he found that 87 convicts out of a total of 200 has been sent by West Bengal. (cf. the *Prabasi,* Baisakh, 1357 B.S.)

(7) At page 177, table 14.12 gives the number of newspapers, periodicals and books published in Bengal.

In column 3, the number of newspapers, periodicals published has been given. The *Statesman, Amrita Bazar Patrika* and the *Hindusthan Standard* are counted as one each, the twelve issues of *The Modern Review* are taken as twelve. This is not reasonable.

(8) The area of Calcutta has been shown differently at different places.

At page 22, table 1.2 the area has been given as:

Calcutta excluding Fort William, canals and port	18,121 acres
Calcutta	26,714 "

At page 29, table 1.11 the area has been given as:

Municipal area	31.70 sq. miles
Fort William and Maidan	2.00 "
Total Calcutta	33.70 sq. miles

But the areas of the 32 different wards of Calcutta as given in table 1.2 total up 18,121 sq. miles or 28.3 sq.miles.

(9) Coming now to table 34.1 at page 352, showing the number and constitution of Municipalities, District Boards and Union Boards in West Bengal we have several comments to make.

(*a*) While the figures for Municipalities and District Boards are for the year 1946-47, those for Union Boards are corrected up to July 1948. The report is signed in January 1949. Why the figures for the Municipalities and District Boards cannot be brought up to the end of 1947-48 at least we fail to see.

(*b*) The figures for Nadia District Board are said to be not available. In pre-partition Nadia, the figures were certainly available.

As a result of the partition of Bengal, the districts of Nadia, West Dinajpur, Malda and Jalpaiguri were also partitioned. To provide for this West Bengal District Boards Ordinance XI of 1947 was promulgated, and the West Bengal District Boards Act III of 1947 was passed on the 30th December, 1947. The figures for the reconstituted District Boards could have been and should have been given.

(*c*) If the figures are for the year 1946-47, how then the constitution of the District Board of West Dinajpur, which was not formed till August 1947, could be given. Surely it relates to post-partition position.

(*d*) The number of municipalities is wrong. There were 10 municipalities in Hooghly, and not 11.

(*e*) A note should have been added as to the number and constitution of Cantonment Boards in West Bengal.

(10) At page 344, in table 32.9 classified List of Assessees assessed to Agricultural Income Tax in Bengal, 1945-46 has been given. In the *Statistical Abstract* for 1947 no such table was shown. We fail to understand why the later figures for United Bengal for the year 1946-47 could not be given. After the partition of Bengal, the agricultural income-tax

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structure of West Bengal has undergone a radical change; and these later figures should have been given. The following abstract of statistics for the several years show that the statistics for 1945-46 standing by themselves are misleading as to the distribution of incomes.

	No. of cases dealt with	Total gross income	Amount of tax collected
		Rs.	Rs.
United Bengal—			
1945-46	4,331	8,18,31,920	90,91,232
1946-47	3,202	4,27,55,090	39,75,954
West Bengal—			
1947-48	2,302	4,34,96,312	38,12,579
1948-49	3,154	4,24,63,815	43,51,416
1949-50	4,249	6,59,75,512	65,11,400

If the detailed figures are available to non-officials, why the same cannot be collected and published in the *Statistical Abstract* we fail to understand.

(11) At page 345, in Table 32.10, Commercial tax collected in Bengal, 1941-42 to 1947-48 has been given.

The Sales-tax, for example, has increased from Rs. 15,61,592 in 1941-42 to Rs. 3,60,45,539 in 1946-47. To what this phenomenal increase is due? It would require sometime to get the Department concerned in assessing and collecting the tax in full working order. Therefore, there is some time-lag. Any normal increase would be due to commercial activity. But there have been several changes in the rate of tax since it was first imposed.

The Bengal Finance (Sales Tax) Act, 1941 came into force on the 1st of July, 1941. The official financial year begins on the 1st of April every year. So the first year's collection represent only 9 months working of the Act, apart from the time-lag to get the working of the Department in full swing.

At first the rate of tax was one quarter-anna in the rupee. By Bengal Act I of 1944 the rate was increased to one half of anna in the rupee. By Bengal Act VIII of 1945, the rate was increased to three-quarters of an anna. It was then reduced to one-half of an anna in 1946; and again increased to three-quarters of an anna by West Bengal Act X of 1948.

Further there have been changes in the Schedule of tax-free goods from time to time. A note drawing attention to these several facts should have been added to make the Table more useful to the reader.

Our observations cover the other taxes also.

(12) In the section headed Medical, beginning at page 160 and ending at page 163, we find in Table 13.4 the distribution of Registered Doctors according to qualification and sex in Bengal for the years 1946 and 1947; and in Table 13.5, the number of registered Nurses, Midwives and Health Visitors in Bengal from 1946-1948.

We have several comments to make on this section.

(*a*) To make the above two tables comparable the figures for the earlier years as well as for 1948 should have been given in Table 13.4.

(*b*) Nowhere we find the number of Dentists registered under the Bengal Dentists Act, 1939. Neither one finds mention of the number of Ayurvedic practitioners, registered under the State Faculty of Ayurveda, nor of the Homeopath doctors similarly registered. This is in our opinion a serious lacunae.

(13) At page 35, in Table 1.15, area and population of Provinces of Indian Union with density per square mile are given.

The area and population of Assam, West Bengal and East Punjab have been shown thus:

	Area	Population
Assam	50,321	73,92,618
West Bengal	28,215	211,96,453
East Punjab	31,028	126,91,430

It is said that these figures are estimated figures, estimated presumably by the Provincial Statistical Bureau.

In the Statistical Handbook No. 1 prepared for the use of the Members of the Constituent Assembly, the respective areas and populations have been shown thus :

	Area	Population
Assam	50,296	74,47,531
West Bengal	27,748	212,11,427
East Punjab	37,058	126,17,175

The second edition of this Handbook was published as early as 1947. Why no use has been made of this authoritative publication, and a fresh estimate, apparently erroneous, has been made, we do not know.

The discrepancies between the two sets of figures are given in the table below. Taking those given in the Handbook No. 1 as the bases, we find the differences to be:

	Area	Population
Assam	+ 25	— 78,913
West Bengal	+ 467	— 14,974
East Punjab	—6,030	+ 74,255

(*b*) Why the population and area of the Native States acceding to India, at least its totals, have not been given to make the Table really useful, we do not know. We complain of its absence.

(14) At page 234, in Table 19.5, a list of towns and villages in West Bengal served with electricity in 1946 is given.

The list is positively misleading. How misleading we shall show by a few examples. The Panihati Municipality consists of seven Wards, of which Agar-

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para, Panihati, Bhowanipore, and Sukhchar are on the river Hooghly (Bhagirathi). They are served with electricity. While Agarpara and Panihati have been mentioned as items No. 1 and 47, no mention has been made of either Bhowanipore or Sukhchar.

Similarly the Kamarhati Municipality consists of four Wards, *viz.*, Kamarhati, Areadaha, Dakshineswar, all on the river Hooghly and of Belghurria. Mention has been made of Areadaha (item No. 2), Belghurria (item No. 12) and of Kamarhati (item No.33); but Dakshineswar has been omitted.

Calcutta and Fort William have been shown as two different places (items No. 17 and No. 21).

Radhanagar (item No. 48) in the district of Burdwan is supplied with electricity from Dishergarh; but no mention has been made of Dishergarh itself as a place supplied with electricity, although it is within West Bengal.

A better plan would have been to give the names of Towns or Municipalities or of the main villages; as also the area of supply and if possible the population, enumerated or estimated, of such area where the supply is available.

We are making these observations to show how haphazardly the statistics have been compiled and presented.

(15) At page 228, in Table 18.1 the production and the number of workers and the Coal Industry have been given. It has been stated that the number of workers for 1946 and 1947 are "not available." This book has been published in 1950, and bears the signature of the Director in 1949. In the *Indian Labour Year-Book, 1947-48*, page 8, the total number of workers in the Mines of West Bengal for the years 1946 and 1947 are given as:

1946—80,373 and 1947—89,682.

The source or sources from which the authors of the *Indian Labour Year-Book*, a Central Government publication, have got the figures are presumably available to the officers of the Government of West Bengal. It appears they have not exerted themselves in the matter.

———:O:———

THE GOSPEL OF KRISHNA

By SUDHIR CHANDRA MAJUMDAR

I

1. The book of Krishna, the son of Basudev, the son of Jadu.

2. Jadu begat Madhu and Madhu begat Sattwata and Sattwata begat Vrishni and his brethren.

3. And in the generation of Vrishni was born Basudev, the husband of Devaki of whom was born Krishna who is called Basudev.

4. Now the birth of Krishna was on this wise: Devaki the king Kangsa's sister was espoused to Basudev.

5. Now it came to pass that as one day Kangsa went out to the street on his chariot, behold, there came a voice from heaven, the eighth child of Devaki, thy sister would kill thee.

6. When Kangsa heard these things, he was very wroth and threw his sister and his sister's husband into the prison and slew one after another, their seven children.

7. Now when Krishna was born in the prison, behold, the spirit of the Lord appeareth before Basudev at night saying, Arise and take the young child to Brindabon, for Kangsa will seek the young child to destroy him.

8. When he arose, he took the young child by night and departed into Brindabon and kept him at the house of Nanda, the king of cowherds.

II

1. Now Krishna grew up to be a fine lad and brought gladness into the hearts of Nanda and his wife.

2. He went forth to the fields to tend cattle by the Jamuna with other cowherd boys and piped and danced merrily in the shade of the Kadamba tree.

3. And the maidens of Braja knew that this was the God which is come to teach love and piety. So they met him in the wilderness and worshipped him.

4. And they said unto him, Draw us, we will run after thee, for thy love is sweeter than wine, so the upright love thee.

5. And he said unto them, Ye daughters of Braja, why do ye leave your husbands and brothers and run after me, behold, I am black and a mere cowherd boy.

6. And they answered and said, Thou art black but comely, yea, fairer than the primrose.

7. Behold we have left our husbands and our kindreds and followed thee, for whither thou goest we will go.

8. When Krishna heard these things, he saw their love was real and pure and so he favoured them.

III

1. Now when Kangsa heard that Krishna was living he was very wroth and he sent demons to kill him.

2. Then Krishna's wrath was kindled and he went forth to Mathura and slaote him and lo he was dead.

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3. Then Krishna gave the people good laws and ruled them wisely.

4. Now king Jarasandha of Magadh, the brother of Kangsa's wives, came with a large army to conquer Mathura.

5. And his men were numerous even as the sands of the sea and his wealth was great, yea greater than Kuvera's.

6. Then Krishna said, Behold ye sons of Jadu, we are few and poor, so shall we leave the city to Jarasandha and move westward.

7. So they went forth to the west even up to the sea and built the city of Dwaraka and dwelt there.

8. There the children of Jadu—the Bhojites, the Andhakites and the Kukurites lived peacefully under him.

IV

1. Now it came to pass that a mighty battle was fought between Pandavas and their uncle's sons, Kauravas.

2. This was done that it might be fulfilled which was said of old, Brother shall rise against brother and bloody battles shall be fought.

3. And all the kings of Ind assembled in the wilderness of Kurukshetra, yea from the Himalayas to Comorin.

4. Now when Krishna came to help Pandavas, he saw Arjun, very much cast down. And he said unto him, Why art thou cast down? Fight and have thy right.

5. If ye fight not, your enemies will think you like the publicans that are weak in heart. Are ye not much better than they?

6. Verily I say unto you, the soul dieth not, but passeth into another body, even as a man weareth a new cloak.

7. Ye have heard that it was said by the sages of old that Thou shalt perform sacrifices and go to heaven; verily I say they have their reward.

8. But desire not the reward and do not sound a trumpet before thee as the hypocrites do.

V

1. Ye have heard that Thou shalt renounce all works, but I say unto you whosoever renounceth the worldly tasks but lusteth after them is a hypocrite.

2. So be thou ever working for it has been said that even Thou shalt not eat except by the sweat of thy brow. But whatever thou eatest or whatever thou doest do to the glory of God.

3. Whosoever offereth any gift to me—water, flowers, fruits or leaves with a sincere heart, that gift shall I take; for hath he not humbled himself for which the kingdom of heaven is?

4. I am the Light of the world, the Supreme Soul, yea, the holder of the universe, but people know me as Basudeva Krishna.

5. Despise all good and bad and seek my shelter and thou shalt not sin before God. *Selah.*

6. Then Arjun arose for battle and long was the fight and terrible was the bloodshed, yea, the land was red with blood.

7. Rivers of blood flowed and mountains of corpses were heaped and the land of Ind was desolate.

8. And the Lord smote the Kauravas by the scores of hundreds and thousands and they were all dead for they sinned against God.

VI

1. When Krishna saw his work was done, the empire of righteousness founded, he departed into Dwaraka.

2. Now it came to pass that the sons of Jadu sinned in the eye of the Lord and God cursed the city and it was doomed.

3. They quarrelled with one another and fought with one another and they were destroyed for their wickedness.

4. Then Krishna seated himself on the branch of a tree when a fowler shot an arrow at him and he yielded up the ghost.

5. Then a thick darkness covered the earth, the earth quaked, the hills rent and behold the land of Dwaraka was under the sea.

6. And all the devas and the departed saints appeared and sang welcome to hail their Lord to heaven.

7. Now when the unbelievers saw these things, they feared greatly saying, Truly this was the Incarnation of God.

8. And the spirit of Krishna said unto all, Lo, I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world. *Amen.*

——:o:——

VINOBAJI IN TELANGANA

By SURESH RAMABHAI

The history of the human race may be described as the story of a long and continuous struggle between the 'haves' and the 'have-nots,' the former trying to have more at the cost of the latter, and the latter trying to rise to the status of the former. The political, economic, religious, social and even cultural revolutions may be regarded as the manifold shades of this great struggle in which greater stress was laid at a time on one particular aspect as against the other. It is the task of the reformer or revolutionary to bridge the vast gulf [illegible] from the have-nots, or, in other words, to break down the oppressive variety of walls acting as a barrier between one man and another, one class and an other, one community or country and another.

To a greater or smaller extent our country also as much suffers from this malady as any other. And inside the country the most conspicuous victim of this havoc is the State of Hyderabad whose capital city with its dazzling wealth and luxurious display offers a gruesome contrast to the squalor and poverty of the inhabitations

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stretching on from about five miles off from the city. Again, nowhere in Hyderabad has this gulf between the haves and the have-nots assumed so devastating proportions as in Telangana. It is the name given to the area comprising the districts of Mahbubnagar, Nizamabad, Karimnagar, Nalgonda and Warangal, in the south-east, east and north-east of the State, where Telugu is the language of the masses. The centuries-old feudal administration of the State has only countenanced to the growing of this gulf still wider. The general people in Telangana are perhaps poorer and far more afflicted than their brethren in any other part of the country. But, until a few years ago, no attempts were made to alleviate their misery or meet their genuine grievances. Unfortunately, however, the youths, abiding by Communism, who rallied together in this mission of service believed in the maxim of 'All is fair in love and war.' They began to develop Telangana into an impregnable base from which they thought they could succeed in establishing other pockets and thus conquering the whole country in no distant future.

During the British regime neither the condition in Telangana was very serious nor did the then Government of India take any interest in the matter. But with the British withdrawal from India the situation took a grave turn. And when both the State Government and the Republican Government at New Delhi were badly preoccupied in the 'Police Action,' the Communists took hold of this sleeping-hour opportunity to propagate their mission and set in such horrors in most of Telangana as to make the 'haves' flee away with their lives and even the official administration seemed to come to a stand-still. By the time both the State and Central governments felt ready to tackle the area the problem had already taken the form of a big menace pervading all round and the Communist-infected Telangana was famous the world over. But all governments have a strange sense of prestige and a stranger sense of recovering it, if lost. So curiously impelled, both the Governments, amassing all possible stuff in the form of man or material sprang upon Telangana with a leonine violence and asked, at the point of pistol, its people to give correct clues of the communists or hand them over to them (the Police). Frightened by this monstrosity, the poor inhabitants, in some measure, began to give the whereabouts of some of them whom they knew. This enraged the communists bitterly. And they came at night to inflict every pain and torture on those who, according to their true or false information, had submitted to the wishes of the Government. Thus ravaged by the Police forces in the day and by the communists in the night, the hundreds and thousands of men and women and children in Telangana are groaning under a terror which has no parallel in the country. Naturally many innocent people who had nothing to do with either the Police or the communists also came under fire. It is like the grinding down of the proverbial ant together with the grain between the two stones. And truth it is that the innocent ones far outnumber those who are really hands in glove with the Police or the communists. Virtually, therefore, a reign of terror stalks the entire Telangana and the woe-stricken millions know no end of their miserable plight which beggars description.

Towards these people, it was on the auspicious day of Ramnavami, the 15th of April 1951, that Acharya Vinobaji Bhave, or Vinobaji as he is lovingly called, set his face when he started from Hyderabad on a walking tour of Telangana. To quote his own words :

> "I wanted to tour the Telangana as a soldier of Shanti Sena in order to propagate the message of peace. For many days, I could not put into practice this wish of mine for many reasons. But, however, after obtaining the blessings of the Lord Rama, I have undertaken this tour", as he said in the course of a spech (May 10th) delivered to the Communist detenus whom he met in the District Jail of Nalgonda (Vide unofficial Note No. 364, issued by the Director of Information and Public Relations, Hyderabad).

What is the problem of Telangana ? As Vinobaji said in his speech in the village of Mirialguda (May 15th) :

> "Some people here possess thousands of acres of land while some cannot call even one acre as their own." (No. 353)

The seriousness of the situation can be gauged by what he said at Balapalle (May 31st) :

> "The population of this village is 3,000 and its cultivable area is 3,000 acres. But only 90 families own the entire lands, while 600 families are landless. Nor is there any cottage industry in the village. The weavers of the village get yarn sufficient to keep them engaged for eight or ten days only in a month. Equitable distribution of lands should be co-ordinated with the development of cottage industries. Villagers should not grow cash crops. They should grow food crops and enough cotton to enable them to make their villages self-sufficient in the matter of clothing. *The trouble in Telangana is due to indiscriminate growing of cash crops, like groundnut and tobacco.*" (Vide No. 390)

By the way, it shows that thoughtless encouragement given by the authorities in India to the random growth of cash crops like cane, groundnut and tobacco, is responsible for much of our food shortage, as Vinobaji also mentioned in very clear terms in his note on the letter from Sri R. K. Patil, member of the National Planning Commission. (Vide *Harijan*, dated 23rd December, 1950 and 3rd March, 1951). How deeply Vinobaji feels about this all can be gathered from his speech at Medepalli (May 24th) :

> "Forty years ago, as a student I used to read and think about the conditions of my country and feel sorry for my slave country and its miserable conditions. Today, after forty years, there is no change in those conditions; on the contrary, they have worsened." (No. 374)

In keeping with the time-old tradition of India, Vinobaji wants to meet this baffling situation by performing a *Yagna* :

> "In olden days, when disturbed conditions prevailed in the country, our ancestors used to perform *yagnas*. I also wanted to perform a *yagna*, so I have started experimenting this *Bhudana Yagna*. I have asked [illegible] to donate lands. Everyone should

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take part in this *yagna* which is in the interest of the upliftment of the people. Just as we give our share to the *yagnas*, so also we should donate lands. People were doubtful whether anyone would donate lands to the landless poor in the Kaliyug but when there is a person to ask, people are giving and up till now (speech at Tanikella on May 30th) I have got 3,500 acres of land." (No. 386)

From the foregoing it is manifest that the mal-distribution of wealth and property has brought about all the trouble in Telangana. Nothing else has so much contributed to the communist menace as this. As Vinobaji said at Suryapet on May 23rd :

> "The rich people are responsible for the creation of the communists. The rich in fact are the fathers of the communists." (No. 373)

Receiving donations of land from every one and distributing the same among the poor is the only way to root out this trouble. No amount of Police and military forces will do the job. As Vinobaji made it clear in a speech :

> "In summer you will not find grass but no sooner the rainy season starts, grass begins to grow as there are seeds of grass in the earth. So also the Police can curb the Communist menace for a while, but it cannot root it out permanently. So we must root out this menace by adopting the right path." (No. 386). Or again, "The police will not be very helpful in fighting the Communist menace. The only way to root it out is to remove the unequal distribution of land by peaceful way." (No. 379)

Vinobaji wants that effective legislations must be passed so that this anomaly may become a thing of the past. Speaking at Naikengudam (May 23rd) he said :

> "The task begun by me should be continued. Sri U. Kesava Rao, the President, Nalgonda District Congress Committee, will continue this task. According to my estimate, about fourteen to fifteen lakhs of people live in the District of Nalgonda and if fourteen to fifteen thousands acres of land are donated, then fourteen to fifteen thousand individuals will get their livelihood. This act of distribution of lands will remove the state of restlessness and establish peace. Government should give Taccavi loans and other facilities to individuals who will be acquiring these donated lands. Besides this, the Government should pass an Act limiting the extent of land and the number of acreage that a man should possess and then it should make a provision by the same Act to ballot the rest of the land to the poor. If these things come into existence the communist menace will disappear." (No. 373).

Further, the 'haves' must donate this land regarding it as their duty. Vinobaji made it clear in a speech (May 26th) at Kodmur :

> "The donations that are now being given are not obligations. According to Shastras, the act of donation means the act of sharing with others whatever we have. This clearly means that no individual obliges the other individual by giving donations." (No. 379).

It may be argued whether donation of money will not serve the same purpose. No, certainly not. Vinobaji is very firm on this point. He unequivocally declared at Kodmur (*ibid*) :

> "I do not accept money by way of donation. As a matter of fact money has destroyed India. The values of commodities do not fluctuate; on the contrary, the price of money fluctuates. The value of foodgrains is stationary. I want to redeem the people from the clutches of money which is merely medium and which generates a feeling of pride in the man who donates it. But in the donation of lands the right of the poor is inherent and, therefore, I accept donation of lands. . . . If everyone embraces the poor with love I am sure that the Communist menace will vanish."

In passing it may be remarked that Vinobaji accepts only Shrama-Dan (donation in the form of labour done). He has been working on this principle for more than a year past and with a band of devoted workers has achieved remarkable results in the direction of self-sufficiency by self-labour, in his Paramdham Ashram at Paunar, about five miles away from the famous town of Wardha.

As regards the Communist menace in Telangana, its genesis has been given above in Vinobaji's own words. He bears no malice or ill-will towards the believers in the Communist doctrine. Speaking (May 23rd) at Chandupatta, he said :

> "I have heard that a sort of awakening does exist in this village, as the communists have put in some work here. I consider the communists as my brothers. I have got some friends among the communists and it is not a crime to be a Communist. To be a Communist is to serve the poor." (No. 373)

But Vinobaji has no doubt about it that the ways of Communists are not suited to the country. In the course of the same speech he observed :

> "But, however, the Communists have indulged in violence and murderous acts. This is absolutely wrong and, therefore, all their services go over-board. Sri D. Venkateshwara Rao, a prominent Communist, who belongs to this village is a good man. If he could see me, I would have been able to convince him that he had adopted a wrong path. I have met some Communists in the jails of Hyderabad and Nalgonda and I held talks with them. It is my earnest wish to convince the people by making them understand that the way of peace is the real way to serve the masses." At another place he stated, "I want to make it clear to the Communists that it is not necessary for them to murder the rich, for the era of Democracy has ushered in. As a matter of fact the rich can be killed without pistol; for every adult has now acquired the right to vote. The future Raj will be the Raj of the common man. I request the Communists to come out openly and work. If they do that I will give my co-operation. If the Communists abandon their path of violence, all good and moral people will co-operate with them. Mahatma Gandhi also used to say: 'I am a Communist but I will not accept the suicidal path of violence'." (No. 374)

Nay, Vinobaji goes even further. In appeal to the Communists, he said at Wyra :

> "I request them to abandon violence and if they do so, I will accompany them to every nook and corner of India in order to propagate Communism."

What else could a believer in Communism aspire for ?

Vinobaji's method is that of love. As he observed (May 26th) at Kodmur :

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"The change that you villagers are perceiving in the entire environment is due to the blessings of God. If everyone believes in God it is definite that He will show the way. God is present in everyone's heart. If we appeal to Him, much work can be done. I will accept lands which are donated willingly. I have not come here with sten gun or with any power which is vested in me by Government. The Communists are doing their work and the Government is also doing its work in its own way. I am also doing some work here in my own way which is essentially based on love."

One need not be sceptical about the efficacy of this method which Mahatma Gandhi taught us by his life as also by his death. Hatred and violence do not help us at all in the long run. Attacks by the Police in the day and counter-attacks by the Communists at night will lead either of them nowhere and, of course, the people will continue to suffer in the extreme. To quote from Vinobaji's speech (June 5th) at Gavicharla :

"Violent manifestations of Communist activities may disappear in Telangana for some time, due to police vigilance and the split among the Communist workers, but Communism as such may continue as a problem with us until we solve the problem of poverty through redistribution of lands and the abolition of the drink habit."

He believes in the innate goodness of man and the conversion of his heart by persuasion. When he met the Communists in the Warangal Jail they asked him whether he could solve the problem by reinstalling the rich in their villages. To this Vinobaji replied :

"I believe that hearts do change. The act of donation will lead to a duel between the good and the evil inherent in man and improve their outlook. The fusion of Indian metaphysics and Western sciences will necessarily be sweet. Non-violence alone is the remedy of all evils." (*Ibid*)

But to work this method is a very hard task indeed. A solid work of this nature could be undertaken only by the Sarvodaya Samaj. To quote again from his Gavicharla speech :

"The Congress cannot serve the people because the principle of service has become a joke for the Congress. The Socialists are a better lot but they are after power. In these circumstances, the Sarvodaya Samaj alone can deliver the goods."

During this tour Vinobaji did not lay stress only upon the distribution of land. He made a plea for self-help and village industries also. As he said in a speech (May 10th) at Nalgonda :

"There is a limit to the extent of the availability of land. Besides, the population is also growing day by day. We must, therefore, increase the number of wells by digging new ones."

(It may be added that Vinobaji has actually dug a well at Paunar, no labour from outside the Ashram being availed of). He went on to say :

"We must construct canals also. The digging of new wells and constructing of new canals will usher in a new era wherein a man will be contented with twenty acres of wet land, whereas now he is not contented even with a hundred acres of land."

He continued :

"Without cottage industries, mere possession of land by a *kisan* will not solve his problem. If the *kisans* take to producing finished goods from the raw material obtaining in the villages, then only they will save themselves." (No. 364)

He also asked the rich to open Nai Talim schools in the villages so that no children need be sent to the cities.

Vinobaji concluded his tour on June 6th when he reached Mancherial, a little town on the bank of the Godavari. During this historic tour of 51 days Vinobaji encamped at 51 villages. It may be added that it was in the early hours of the morning on the 8th of March, 1951, that Vinobaji left his Ashram on foot for Shivarampalli, five miles from the city of Hyderabad, where he reached after covering some 300 miles on 7th April and for four consecutive days from April 8th to 11th, the Sarvodaya Samaj met there for its annual session. In his Telangana tour Vinobaji passed through some 200 villages and received about 9,000 acres of land for distribution among the landless, for which purpose he has formed a committee of three persons. Vinobaji settled about 500 village disputes, almost ten every day, during this pilgrimage of peace, and addressed some two lakhs of people.

A word about his daily routine. Vinobaji got up early in the morning before four o'clock and after the nature calls and the morning prayer he started on his tour by five. Walking for ten or twelve miles until nine he would come to a village, have his bath, frugal meal (consisting of some milk, curd, bananas, and gur) and rest. For two hours from two in the afternoon he went through his correspondence. Interviews began at four and the evening prayer at five, which closed with a speech by Vinobaji. Again, he gave time to the visitors after the prayer and by nine o'clock he went to bed.

The tour has now come to a close. Vinobaji is completing the return journey on foot which will take another fortnight. All the while in Telangana his endeavours have been to "bring about," as he said in a mass meeting at Warangal on June 5th, "a silent ideological revolution in our social outlook by asking the rich to donate lands to the poor."

This is a very heartening, refreshing news the like of which the country has not heard ever since Gandhiji passed away. At this critical hour the people all over the country look forward to Vinobaji to help show them the path lit by the Sarvodaya light and save them from the impending ruin.

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Book Reviews

Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

EDITOR, *The Modern Review*.

ENGLISH

CONVERSATIONS OF GANDHIJI: *By Chandrashanker Shukla. Vora and Co., Publishers Ltd., Bombay. 1949. Pp. viii + 134. Price Rs. 3.*

Shri Shukla, who was the Assistant Editor of the *Harijan* for several years, acted as Gandhiji's Secretary during 1933-34. This was the period when the Civil Disobedience Movement was restricted to Gandhiji alone, and when Gandhiji toured over India in order to combat the vile custom of untouchability.

There were numerous interviews in those days of which reports were duly prepared and subsequently corrected by Gandhiji himself. Shri Shukla has now presented them in the small book under review. He has put students of Congress history under a deep debt of gratitude by throwing an unexpected light on how Gandhiji used to work out his programmes through the national organization.

A DAY BOOK OF THOUGHTS FROM MAHATMA GANDHI: *Edited by K. T. Narasimha Ayar. Macmillan and Co., Limited. 1951. Pp. xxiv + 168 and eight plates. Price paper cover Rs. 2-4, cloth boards Rs. 4-8.*

The editor has brought together excerpts from Gandhiji's writings and arranged them in groups date by date. They are meant to be read, perhaps one group on each day of the year. He has therefore tried to present only such thoughts as has seemed to him to be of abiding interest.

At the end of each quotation we find the name of the book or journal from which it was taken, but no exact references are given. These look unnecessary. It would have been much better if the references had all been given in one place in the appendix. The plates which have been presented also seem to be unnecessary. One portrait of Gandhiji is all right; but why bring in others like the President of the Indian Republic or members of the Cabinet of Mission; for pictures of these impermanent actors on the Indian political chess-board seem incongruous beside a recital of Gandhiji's thoughts which have a permanent value for all times. The printing and get-up of the book do great credit to the publishers.

NIRMAL KUMAR BOSE

THE CULTURAL HISTORY OF THE HINDUS: *By Chandra Chakraberty. Published by Vijaya Krishna Brothers, Calcutta. Pp. 376. Price not mentioned.*

The author's aim is "to assess and evaluate our ancient civilisation and culture ranging from 2700 B.C. (Mohenjo Daro period) to 648 A.D. (Harshavardhana's time)" and in particular "to show dispassionately how India's culture is indebted to others and how her own natural genius has expressed itself." We can form an idea of the range and variety of topics dealt with by the author from his sectional headings, *viz.*, Arts, Philosophy, Morals, Law, Domestic Rites, Medicine, Astronomy, Religious Festivals, the Epics and the Puranas, the Economic Life, Indo-Iranian Contacts, Indo-Chinese Relations, Sex Life, and the Cultivated Plants. No one who reads these pages will grudge the author high praise for his enormous industry in tackling a vast mass of material bearing on his work. But his comparisons of ancient Indian and related civilisations have often to be accepted with a good deal of caution. His etymological derivations especially are not unoften fanciful, if not fantastic. With this qualifications, the book may be safely recommended as a useful reference work on the various aspects of ancient Indian culture and civilisation.

U. N. GHOSHAL

MAHABHARATA (Santiparvan): *Fascicules 18 and 19. Edited by Prof. S. K. Belvalkar. Published by the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, 1946-47. Pp. vii + 683.*

In these two fascicules the General Editor completes his textual analysis of the famous *Raja-dharma* section which he began printing on the 15th August, 1948, the first anniversary of Indian Independence. We are glad to hope with him, that with the building up of their printing press in the Institute's own premises in Poona, the whole work of publishing the critical edition of the Mahabharata will be completed 'long before the Institute celebrates the completion, in 1968, of 50 years of its unflagging work in the cause of oriental research.'

The *Apaddharma* and the *Mokshodharma* sections will be issued in two separate volumes with special Editorial notes on each of them and the entire Santiparvan (in 4 vols.) will be published with critical notes and general Introduction summing up the results. (As it was done by Dr. Sukthankar in the case of the *Adiparvan*). The Editor confesses that 'old and independent MSS. are very rare'; and so it is difficult to preserve uniformity of textual tradition in regard to the different versions of the Santiparvan which was nicknamed the "Pseudo-epic," of which several versions were textually altered or conflated! So we are doubly grateful to Prof. Belvalkar for having given us a rational order of text reconstruction, even when we know that the Upa-parvans have 'often suffered much wayward handling in the course of transmission.' The bulk of the Mahabharata text came to be fixed in the Gupta period (C. 500 A.D.) after say a thousand years of transmission from the age of Panini (C. 500 B.C.). Then the diverse MSS. traditions developed for another one thousand years. No wonder then that the Great

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Epic shows today a bewildering variation of readings—both in the composition of the Parvans and of the Upa-parvans.

In the MSS. of the *Rajadharma* presented by Prof. Belvalkar we notice that they mostly come from the 17-18 centuries. But a very rare Maithili version of the entire Santiparvan—dated 1516 A.D.—has been traced in the Nepal Durbar Library (No. 738) which has previously furnished unexpectedly new materials to the Bhandarkar Institute. The Editor has used, among others, a rare Bengali MS. (dated 1687) now in the National Library, Paris, which contains the Rajadharma, the Apaddharma and the Mokshadharma sections. These sub-parvans are self-contained units appealing to distinct classes of readers; and therefore critical notes will be published separately for each separate section. Purely exegetical notes apart, the learned editor has given references to the *Sutra, Smriti* and *Puranic* literature throwing new light on the Rajadharma text which can and should be studied with special reference to the Arthasastra, Manu and allied group of Sanskrit literature on the political, economic and administrative sciences of ancient India. This is a much neglected branch of Hindu sciences partly illumined by the *Arthasastra* of Kautilya; and now Prof. Belvalkar has furnished the first critically edited text of the *Raja-dharma* for which future researchers will be ever grateful to him. The Bhandarkar Institute is doing its arduous task for the whole nation and Free India should come forward to help the Editor and his learned colleagues to complete their "Mahabharata-yajna," if possible, by 1958 marking the centenary of India's first fight for Independence.

KALIDAS NAG

POONA RESIDENCY CORRESPONDENCE SERIES. (Government Book Depot, Bombay):

Vol. X: *The Treaty of Bassein and the Anglo-Maratha War in the Deccan, 1802-1804. Edited by Raghuvir Sinh. Price Rs. 15.*

Vol. XII: *Poona Affairs, Elphinstone's Embassy, 1811-1815. Edited by G. S. Sardesai. Price Rs. 15.*

Vol. XIV: *Daulat Rao Sindhia and North Indian Affairs, 1810-1818. Edited by Jadunath Sarkar. Price Rs. 15.*

These volumes bring to conclusion the famous series of English Records of Maratha History, undertaken by the Bombay Government, with the help of the most eminent historians available in India.

These contemporary reports, most of them unpublished till now, are the basic materials on which the true history of the Deccan and also of North India west of Oudh, during the first eighteen years of the 19th century will have to be constructed by the future historian. Their value can never be overestimated. The arrangement, summary of contents, and indexing of the volumes of this series are very helpful to the student. The records light up a rather obscure period of Indian history. Going through these papers, one realises that we had so long been content with the husk only; here is the kernel.

Vol. X gives the full and correct text of five important treaties not easily available elsewhere, and fully details the Duke of Wellington's diplomatic palavers with Vittal Mahadev whom he declared to be "a cleverer man than Talleyrand"! Vol. XII shows how Fate drove the last Peshwa Baji Rao II relentlessly on to the murder of Gangadhar Shastri and ensured his downfall. Vol. XIV has been called by its editor as "The Agony of Rajputana and Malwa", it gives the fullest information in print about the Pindharis, Amir Khan, Jaswant Rao Holkar, and the Rajput States in their worst plight. Tod's reports on the Pindharis, though very long, have been here printed in full. This volume is invaluable.

BRAJENDRA NATH BANERJI

THE AGRARIAN PROBLEMS OF MADRAS PROVINCE: *By V. V. Sayana, M.A., Ph.D. Published by the Business Week Press, 178 Lloyd Road, Madras 14.*

The prosperity of agriculture is not only essential to the success and prosperity of all economic activities in other sources of life as industry, trade and commerce, but to an agricultural country like India it is also to a large extent the economic basis of social progress and political stability. Agrarian problems and policies have attracted special attention of the Governments and the peoples since the Great Depression. But since after the second World War, agrarian problems have assumed much greater importance than ever before and in India, it has occupied the first place from the point of urgency. But unfortunately for us, a continuous and well-planned research activity to carry on systematic and scientific studies of the factual situation in our provinces which is so very essential for the preparation of a rational plan of reconstruction, is extremely lacking. In this book, Dr. Sayana has given us a very rich study on the agrarian situation of Madras which meets the standard of the Research Worker as well as the needs of the enlightened public. The work is the result of a study of published material and accessible records, official and non-official, available on the subject supported by direct field investigations of villages selected on a multipurpose random sampling basis. The book is a very valuable addition to our present meagre stock of knowledge of the agricultural situation in India. We wish there were more Research workers to undertake similar studies in other provinces.

D. BURMAN

THE PERMANENT SETTLEMENT IN BENGAL AND ITS RESULTS: *By S. Gopal. Allen and Unwin Ltd., London. Pp. 52. Price 4s. 6d.*

Many books have been written on the Permanent Settlement of the Land Revenue in Bengal and its good and bad effects on the people of the Province. Mr. Gopal hails from the Madras Province and is comparatively 'an outsider.' He gives a scholarly account of the establishment of permanent settlement in Bengal, and the way in which it has worked. The writer's being an outsider, while it has added value to the study generally, has sometimes landed him in errors. The book, which secured the Curzon Memorial Prize at Oxford, is of particular value now when the State is contemplating abolition of zamindaries.

HOW TO FIND OUT ABOUT THE UNITED NATIONS. *Pp. 48.*

UNESCO PUBLICATIONS: *Pp. 84.*

The United Nations Organisation with all its faults is still the only World Organisation where the world problems are discussed from the international angle of vision. Its various activities are little reported in the daily press; and the intelligent querist finds it difficult to pursue its various activities and to know authoritatively about it. These two pamphlets will be of great use to students of international politics and intelligent readers.

J. M. DATTA

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THE QUEST OF LEADERSHIP: *By Donald Portway. Thacker & Co. Ltd., Bombay. 1945. Price Rs. 4-14.*

The author is a man of varied experience. He is an Engineer, President and Senior Tutor of St. Catharine's College, Cambridge, served in the Army for a long time and had been a member of the Army Selection Directorates of Britain and India. He stayed in India for a year and came into close contact with Armymen. Having keen interest in men and their affairs he made his own observations about many aspects of Indian life and has expressed his views in clear and unambiguous language.

Leaders are necessary in every field of human activity. War, politics, business, industry and peace too depend a good deal on the leader and leading man that each has in its own sphere. Leaders in different fields need not have the same psychological qualities. Leadership depends as much on the personal traits of the leaders as on the environmental circumstances. Modern psychology has been paying very great attention to this question of leadership traits and has already contributed materials of considerable significance. The author has presented in this little volume much of this material in plain non-technical language. Laymen as also students of psychology will certainly be benefited by going through this book.

Training and sound education are necessary for all would-be leaders, even for those who are 'born' leaders. This is a point which has been rightly emphasised by the author who has in this connexion drawn pointed attention to the faultly educational system that prevails in India. Real civilian leadership cannot be expected in a country where passing the University examination by fair means or foul is accepted as the ideal of education. The author has made some very pertinent though unsavoury remarks about our methods and ideals of education.

"It is regrettably true that it is impossible to imagine the emergence of dynamic leaders from India's high schools and India's Universities in their present sitting" (p. 101), writes the author and he feels that it is in her military training centre that India is training her future leaders because there "moral and physical well-being is practised instead of mere book-learning."

After all criticisms are not new and have been repeated many times by our own countrymen. So it is not difficult to agree with him. India has travelled a long distance since 1945 when the book was published. Let us hope that she will ere long be able herself to find out the types of leaders that she needs and to devise adequate methods for their training and education.

S. C. MITRA

ROBERT KNOX IN THE KANDYAN KINGDOM (Illustrated): *Selected and edited by Prof. E. F. C. Ludowyk of the University of Ceylon. Published by the Oxford University Press, London. Price Rs. 6.*

The book under review is an abridgment of *An Historical Relation of Ceylon* by Robert Knox, a work which "delighted and edified his (the author's) age."

Son of an English ship-captain, Robert Knox along with his father and several others was detained in 1660 under orders of the king of Ceylon. The elder Knox died shortly afterwards. The younger however survived and managed to give the slip to his captors in 1680.

The present volume describes Knox's life and experience during his captivity and gives an account at the same time of the people, their manners and customs, their laws and language and also the climate, the flora and fauna and the administration of contemporary Ceylon. Editorial notes at places add to the value of the book. The reading public in general and students of history in particular will find the book useful, informative and interesting.

The printing and get-up of the book are excellent. But with a reading matter of 175 pages of text and 18 pages of introduction it should have been more moderately priced.

SUDHANSU BIMAL MOOKHERJI

REPORT OF THE BOTANICAL SURVEY OF INDIA (for 1944-45, and 1945-46): *Calcutta. 1948.*

Due to war emergency floristic study in the fields was kept in abeyance but later on 3,000,000 herbarium sheets were rearranged in the herbarium. Re-identification of all the herbarium sheets of *Grewia* in the light of Burrett's recent and excellent monograph of the family *Tiliaceae*, published in a German journal and not being easily available during the war, was done. This has resulted in adding three new species and several new combinations. Sir David Prain's *Bengal Plants*, Vols. I and II, are out of print. Students as well as plant-lovers suffer very much for their want as they are not always available for consultation. Persons interested in Botany and the Botanical Society of Bengal incessantly demanded at least their reprint, pending the long-sought-for publication, *New Flora of Bengal* by the Botanical Survey of India. But the regrettable fact is that neither the Survey has yet published the said book nor does it deem necessary for reprinting Prain's *Bengal Plants*. When will its new book, *New Flora of Bengal*, be completed and published? Would it not be possible for the Government of India to reprint the *Bengal Plants* for the sake of convenience and research as a stop-gap arrangement? Surely this method of procrastination in researches is very much undesirable and the learned public should make their protests more thorough and stronger. It is also regrettable that only 89 new specimens were incorporated in the Royal Botanic Gardens' Herbarium in 1944-45. We should record our deep sorrow at the sad death of Lt.-Col. A. T. Gage, who contributed much to Indian Botany by his researches and was also concerned with the opening up of the cinchona plantations in Burma and the scheme for the import of the Java Quinine bark. Randhawa discovered a new variety of an alga, *Botrydium granulatum* (1) Grev. (var. *polyrhiza* nov. var.) and S. N. Banerjee established a new species of fungus (*Mitrula Agharkarii Banerjee*) but both of them violated international rules of botanical nomenclature in not including Latin diagnoses and thus losing their new status. A new fossil Gymnosperm (*Dadoxylon resinosum* Shukla) from Chhindwara district (C.P.) was described by Shukla. Prof. Sahni and Surange published a note on *Cyclanthodendron*, a new silcified member of the *Cyclanthaceae* from the tertiary of the Deccan. The discovery of this fossil provides an interesting link between the early tertiary flora of Deccan and the modern flora of South America. A new genus of *Rubaceae* and other new specimens were also discovered. Thanks to Prof. E. D. Merrill, Director, Arnold Arboretum, Harvard University, U. S. A., a cinematographic and botanical expedition to the snowy wilds of Northern Sikkim was undertaken. A huge collection of living specimens for cultivation in the Lloyd Botanic Gardens, Darjeeling and several thousands of dry Himalayan plants for the herbarium was made later on.

In the Industrial Section, Indian Museum, the work also suffered but the department supplied neces-

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sary information relating to Pharmacopoeial drugs, insecticides, rubber-yielding plants, plants used in perfumery trade, etc., to the Government departments, the commercial public, the students, etc. Besides, the Department has discovered *Lobelia nicotianaefolia* Heyne, an Indian plant, which contains the alkaloid 3 times richer in active principles than the European species. In case of *Ipecac*, this section found that the crop should be harvested at the end of the 3rd year to get the maximum alkaloid. It is also recorded from several Indian species of *Aconitum* that the different species contain different proportions of alkaloid content. The most valuable report of Prof. A.V.Hill, F.R.S. on the "Scientific Research in India" has been published. He rightly says with regard to this survey thus: "The great natural resources of India are still inadequately known. Consequently the Geological Survey must be expanded, the Botanical survey restored and the Zoological survey extended." Will the National Government of India kindly look into this report carefully and try to tap the floristic wealth of the country by extending researches in all important branches of Botany? Surely the money spent will not be wasted.

R. M. DATTA

BENGALI

KAUTILIYA ARTHASASTRA (Part II): *Bengali translation by Dr. Radhagovinda Basak. Published by General Printers and Publishers Ltd., Calcutta 1950. Pp. 888.*

The present work happily brings to a conclusion an outstanding work of recent Bengali literature. This is the first complete Bengali translation of that masterpiece of the Ancient Indian Art of Government, the *Arthasastra* of Kautilya. In his short Preface, the author modestly craves the indulgence of his readers for probable deficiencies in his translation, but a perusal of his work has convinced us that it worthily maintains the high standard of the preceding part. It is, as we observed in the course of our review of the first part (*The Modern Review*, January 1951), a marvel of lucidity combined with scholarly accuracy of a high order. We are glad to find that in accordance with a suggestion made by us last time, the author has added in an Appendix a list of rare words (with their explanations) in the whole work. One could have wished that the list had been fuller by the inclusion of such items as *bali*, *udakabhaga*, and *vaidharana*, and more exact in rendering the meanings of words like *sila*, *samgha* and *hiranya*. But these are minor blemishes in a fine work on the completion of which the author deserves our warmest congratulations. We have no doubt that it will receive a most cordial welcome from all lovers of our ancient culture.

U. N. GHOSAL

HINDI

MARATHI SAHITYA KA ITIHASA : *By Narayan Gandev Godbole, M.A. Publishers: Gayaprasad and Sons, Agra, U.P. Price Rs. 3.*

India is a land of many languages which have developed rich and interesting literatures during the last one thousand years or so. These literatures in their early stages drew their inspiration principally from Sanskrit and latterly from English since this country came into contact with England about two hundred years back. Hence generally they followed similar lines of development, though of course there were occasional and none the less interesting variations. Besides containing much valuable information for the student of literature and history they attract the attention of the general reader to the amazing unity of culture underlying the apparent diversities in different parts of this vast land. Their contents therefore require to be popularised throughout the length and breadth of the country. It is, however, a matter of regret that even accounts of these literatures are little-known outside the places of their origin. Under these circumstances Messrs. Gayaprasad and Sons deserve to be congratulated for making accessible to the Hindi-reading public short popular accounts of two important literatures of India, *viz.*, Urdu and Marathi. We hope the enterprising publishers will not stop with what they have done but will complete the series with accounts of all the important literatures. We wish them every success and god-speed in their undertaking.

The work under review has a special value in that it has been compiled by a scholar who is himself a Marathi possessing intimate knowledge of the subject. We would be eagerly waiting for similar publications in other languages too.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

GUJARATI

KALAKARNI SANSKAR YATRA : *By Ravishankar Raval. Kumar Karyyalay Ltd., Ahmedabad. Pp. 340. Price Rs. 4-12.*

Ravishankar Raval, the distinguished artist of Gujarat, undertook a pilgrimage—an artist's pilgrimage to Japan, North India and Kulu, an account of which forms the content of the volume under notice. The descriptions are colourful, and they are accompanied or set off by sketches and photographs which give a fillip to the reader's imagination. The sections treating of the artist's visit to Japan, North India and Kulu are kept separate, and the atmosphere in each is distinct. Ravalji has enough of the spirit of reverence dwelling in him to make his account of the men and manners that he met something more than a mere human document. Mori San of Kisto and the various organisations of teaching, encouraging and conserving art products received his attention; Nandalal Babu and Sri Abanindranath Tagore had naturally an attraction for him, and he was closely observing what Sri O. C. Ganguli, Jamini Roy and Ramendra Chakravarti were doing in matters of art, while his enthusiasm for the Roerichs and for Prof. and Mrs. Cousins has been very well expressed.

A goodly portion of the second section is devoted to Bolepur and Calcutta, roughly speaking, more than one-fourth of the book.

How the World War II has changed some of the valuations of the artist! It is interesting to find that while Ravalji was full of admiration for Jamini Roy and his bold stand for the living village art, he was doubtful if Jamini Babu would get his due appreciation in his own life-time in spite of his 'immortal' courage and insight and sacrifice. Happily, this wished-for denouement is now an accomplished fact.

The book retains its interest from start to finish; it is not a travel diary, but an understanding appreciation of art in the countries visited—such as may open the eyes of the reader to the realities round about him.

P. R. SEN

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INDIAN PERIODICALS

Naming the Country

V. S. Agrawala observes in *The Aryan Path*:

It is of interest and value to know the history and traditions of the different names of our country. There are two distinct traditions behind these names, one of them foreign and the other indigenous. All the foreign traditions are rooted in the ancient word *Sindhu*, as exemplified in *Sindhu* (Sanskrit), *Hindu* (Persian), *Indus* (Greek), *In-tu* (Chinese).

In the *Rig-veda*, the earliest Indian document, at least 3,500 years old, *Sindhu* is the word for a river, but more specifically for that particular river which encircles the country to a very considerable length on its north-west. Besides being a river-name, Sindhu was also the name given to the region lying to the east of the river and coinciding with the extensive tract of land now known as the Sind-Sagar Doab. The name Sind as applied to the present province is not sanctioned by antiquity when Sind was called Sauvira, from which the Biblical Ophir was derived.

The confusion of names begins from the time of the Arab invasion of Sind. But Sindhu was a famous geographical designation by at least 1000 B.C.; by it North-west India was known to her neighbours.

The modern word "Hindu" dominating the word "Hindustan," "Land of the Hindus", is directly descended from the ancient name Sindhu.

It is a common mistake to think that the derivation has anything to do with the Muslims. There is evidence in the inscriptions of Darius I, the great Achaemenian Emperor of Iran in the last quarter of the 6th century B.C. that the word "Hindu" was known to the Iranians at that time. In the Charter of the Palace Foundation from Susa, there is mention of Indian ivory being imported for the royal palace from Hindu or India. The Greeks, coming here under Alexander in the 4th century B.C., followed the same tradition and, by omitting the aspirate sound called the river "Indus" and the country "India." The Chinese followed the Greeks and named it In-tu.

At the beginning of the 3rd century B.C. the Sassanians were masters of the Persian Empire and their language was Pahlavi, from which modern Persian is derived. In Pahlavi also the country was known as Hindu and from there the word passed into Arabic and into the modern Persian of the time of Firdausi and Alberuni. The Muslims naturally applied, when they came here, the name "Hind" to this country, following an old tradition. The European nations borrowed the name "India" from their classical predecessors.

Now to the indigenous tradition of the country's name, which is threefold. In the Buddhist literature it was called *Jambudvipa*, but this name did not obtain lasting usage. The second name was given by the Puranas: *Kumaridvipa*, which reflects the colonization of the whole country from the Himalayas to Kumari, *i.e.*, Cape Comorin, and also its unification under a single geographical system. But this name also did not find much favour and was perhaps ousted early by the much more poetic, facile and widely accepted designation *Bharata-varsha, i.e.*, Bharata, the land served by a single system of rainfall or monsoon winds (*varsha*).

Bharata as the name of the country is derived from the basic word *Bharata*, the former having a long and the latter a short initial syllable. Now it is one of the most interesting facts of ancient Sanskrit literature, though one little known, that there are three independent etymologies for Bharata as the name of the country. These three derivations are based upon the conception of (1) the state, (2) the people, and (3) their culture.

According to the first etymology the country was called Bharata because it was brought under a unified political system by King Bharata, son of Dushyanta and Sakuntala of classic fame. Bharata is a great name in the list of old *chakravartins* recorded in the Puranas. A *chakravarti* ruler was one who had established his authority over a *chakra, i.e.*, a realm brought under a single sovereignty. Bharata was such a sovereign ruler and the country unified under him derived its name from him. In the *Mahabharata* it is explicity stated that the conquering chariot wheels of Bharata measured the earth up to the encircling oceans, together with its deep forests and high mountains.

By the time Vyasa composed his great epic, the name Bharata had become established as the designation of the whole country.

The second etymology of Bharata is derived from the name of the people. According to Vedic tradition the Bharatas were a very old Aryan tribe or, rather, the leading and most important *jana* which, after crossing the Beas finally settled in the region of Kurukshetra, including the area around Delhi. This Bharata tribe became very powerful and widely distributed and its descendants found themselves the undisputed masters of Northern India. With the expansion of the Bharata tribe, the name *Bharati Praja, i.e.*, the people descended from that tribe, became a wider appellation and in course of time was applied to all the people settled in this land. There is evidence in the epic that the name had been generally so accepted, at least before the *Mahabharata* took its final form.

The third etymology of the name Bharata goes back to old Vedic literature. The authority of the latter on this particular point is repeated with notable emphasis by Vyasa in the *Mahabharata*. In the *Satapatha Brahmana* Bharata is the name of fire, which was so called because it was the mainstay of the whole community (*sarva-praja*). Culture was symbolized as *Agni Bharata*. Like a fountain it over-flowed into myriad streams, moving along the courses of rivers and valleys. It created on its march new fire-altars, *i.e.*, centres of civilization, until at last the Pilgrims' Progress covered the entire expanse of the country.—*Mahabharata, Vana parva*, 212.20.

This sublime conception of the unity of the country being brought about through the torch of culture aglow throughout the land, is of a beauty and sublimity unique in the whole range of Sanskrit literature. It would be

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hard to find another passage which, besides being as true to its ancient pattern is of greater significance to our modern life. In fact, the cultural unity thus envisaged at the very outset of Indian thought, became the lasting charter of that intellectual and religious synthesis which has distinguished the history of this nation. Gradually the stream of culture began to pour itself into the life-cup of the differing peoples settled on the land, and when the vase was full it over-flowed, saturating the country and welding the many elements into one harmonious whole.

Bharata Agni, as the great symbol of light implanted in the hearts of men, dominated this vast cultural drama and finally gave its own name to the country. This was the basis of the name Bharata, a name applied to the country of all those who accepted that cultural synthesis as the culmination of their own past history. Thus there are three mutually amicable derivations underlying the name Bharata, all rooted in common literary and religious traditions and accepted in one or another version by millions of people for more than 30 centuries. The name Bharat is verily sanctified by antiquity and has been glorified by the ancient seers and poets of this country.

Andre Gide's Place in Our Memories

Jacques Madaule writes in *Careers and Courses* :

When a great writer dies, it seems to us as though, having left the earth on which we all tread, he had gone to fill forever that niche in the Pantheon of Literature where posterity will always be able to find him. I know that for an Andre Gide the prospect of such stillness is rather cruel. And furthermore, his place has not yet been clearly decided. It will take an outline and precision only with the lapse of time and the passing of the generations. Only the greatest remain alive and continue to change their places in the eyes of the succeeding generations. That is in itself the mark of their greatness.

Is Gide, the elusive, easier for us to seize and to define now that his heart is still and he rests in the damp clay of Cuverville? We must, I think, resist the temptation to accept such a belief. He himself has enjoined us, at least in his latest writings, to trace a final view of him, a conception made up of the negation of what his fervour had long made him envisage. But why should we consider the old man worthier of acceptance than the young man or the man in the prime of Life? If we keep only to the constants, we shall, it seems to me, find two: one is a certain perfection of style; the other is the faithful and passionate pursuit of a sort of perfection of life.

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But a writer does not survive merely by reason of his style, and there perhaps lies Gide's secret weakness and at the same time the secret of his greatness. That he has contributed something to French prose, no one will in good faith, venture to deny. Of course, the lesson of symbolism was not lost upon him, and to the very end rhythms are to be found in his language that recall the end of the last century. But he never fell into the exaggerations and mannerisms of that period and quite early can be traced in his works, forms that reveal him as a true heir to eternal classicism, that is, a balanced alternation between equilibrium and movement. He reveals in particular a strict economy in his effects, an extreme restraint in his very brilliance to render his essentially inward intensity. It is for this quality, it must be admitted, that Frenchmen will never wish to deny Andre Gide; because of this quality, he will live as long as the French language which he played, as on a piano, to perfection. We find this perfection also in the composition of his "tales" such as *La Immoraliste* or *La Porte etroite* or *Le Retour de l'Enfant Prodigue*. Undoubtedly he was less happy with the novel proper, and if he took more trouble with *Les Fauk-monnayeurs* than with any other of his books, it is nevertheless not the most successful.

But Gide was above all a moralist. This was probably due to his Protestant upbringing from which he found it so difficult to free himself. Yet here too he belongs to a very French line that can be traced, through Port-Royal back to Montaigne. It is of little moment whether Gide sojourned long or not at Port-Royal. He belonged to that race that is at the same time fervent and somewhat austere, that cannot enjoy its pleasures without a certain asceticism. This statement may, at first view, appear extraordinary, since it seems that Gide's purpose was to throw all trammels away to attain the perfect sincerity of naked desire. But he never lost sight of the necessity for the heroic and he knew how to portray it in unforgetable pages, like those, for instasce, that he devoted to Saint-Exupery.

Above all, Gide had a horror of hypocrisy and conformity, the one implying the other, and that made him exalt in all things the virtue of sincerity, even when his own appeared at times to be tinged with affectation and pretentiousness.

It is the flexibility and freedom of this movement that account for Gide's influence over youth. He has been accused of corrupting youth, but it must be recalled that the same accusation had been levelled at Socrates. I do not deny that Gide's example may have been dangerous. The example of the great is always dangerous for the mediocre. But it is rather the mediocre who condemn themselves and not the examples by which they claim to have been inspired. I do not think Gide loved evil for evil's sake, even if at times he affected such a pose. He was too much of a humanitarian to be really wicked. All he had was a horror of smug virtue and if he happened, in a now famous book, to have sung the praises of vice, it was to prove that this particular vice was in actual fact no vice. The demonstration of this can be appreciated in various ways, it nevertheless remains true to say that vice and perversion were not enjoined for their own sakes.

For a long time also Gide revealed a horror of dogmatism; and then we saw him with difficulty give himself up to the narrowest and most rigid of dogmatisms, namely that of reason. He gives up Montaigne's heritage to accept Voltaire's. The reason is that he was not able to face the challenge of remaining absolutely free to the end, and attacked by the sclerosis of old age, he was

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unable to see that, dogmatism for dogmatism, that of reason is the straitest and narrowest. But, I repeat, there is no need to attach more importance to his latest works than to his earliest, and I do not think that *Feuillets d' automne* will ever supersede *Les Nourritures terrestres*.

Today, we must let those who were his friends weep and those who were his enemies wrap themselves in peevish silence and reproach Gide for not having fulfilled their hopes, as though a great writer did not first and foremost belong to himself. Man belongs to God and His judgement is kept from us. The author is left to us and we should be singularly ungrateful if, standing on the edge of his newly sealed tomb, we did not acknowledge the great debt we all owe him. In a way, he gave his life up to us, for most of his writings were of an autobiographical character. He knew that he risked the severest criticism and he suffered from it more than can be expressed as is proved, for example, by the sorrow he experienced in the face of the book by his friend Charles Du Bos, who had only spoken of him with utter sincerity.

But over and above all this, there remains the fact that Gide introduced into the French world of letters with a wisdom and restraint that do not preclude audacity, certain foreign values that enriched French letters prodigiously. Even if his book on Dostoievsky has since been superseded, there remains the fact that it was Gide who helped Frenchmen to understand the great Russian novelist, and certain aspects of Nietzsche would not be so familiar to them if, the latter had not provided Gide with some of the themes of *L'Immoraliste*. He even drove self-abnegation so far on several occasions as to force himself to do translations, and some of his most admirable works are actually these translations.

Singularly enough, at the end of a long life, Gide has only just entered the portals of Death and yet he does not seem to me to belong particularly to our times. I can see him continuing the line of Montaigne and Voltaire, enriching a tradition of prose and morals, dating several hundreds of years back. In time he will be classed altogether with his great forbears, one of whom at least lived, as did Gide, through one of the most terrible crises of his country without its ever turning him from the enquiry which he had set himself into Man's nature and his own. It is the asceticism rather than the hedonism of his work that will strike the reader and this work, led, through a thousand by-ways, has yet never changed its course. Perhaps Gide's final lesson is acceptance. It is said that he accepted death as he had accepted life. If you ponder on it, you will see that acceptance implies no less constraint than rejection. But was it necessary in order to accept oneself, to end up by denying God?

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The Resurrection of Somnath

K. Mukherjee writes in *The Indian Review*:

Somnath has always remained and will yet remain one of the most important land-marks in India's history.

The resurrection of Somnath is like the resurrection of India—showing that through all the vicissitudes in the field of politics, and despite the degradation of foreign domination continuing through several centuries, the heart of India has remained unconquered and unconquerable,—deeply and fundamentally religious with a spirit of toleration that will ever remain an ideal for all other countries, unruffled and serene like Mt. Everest towering over all the thousands of peaks in the Himalayan range.

SOMNATH THROUGH THE AGES

Somnath city with its seven temples has been like Delhi, the capital of seven kingdoms since the days of the Mahabharat.

Somnath, the Lord of the Moon, takes us even to prehistoric and legendary times. The legend says, that Daksha Prajapati (the creator) married all his twenty-seven daugthers to Som, the Moon God who loved best Rohini, the loveliest. This gave rise to jealousy in the minds of the other sisters who implored their father to take Som to task. The father in a rage punished Som who began to wane. All his penances were of no avail. The gods in a body persuaded Daksha to take pity on him. He agreed on condition that Som from that time loved all his wives equally well, and worshipped Siva after a purifying bath at Prabhasa. Som had to agree and according to his father-in-law's wishes he waxed every day for half the month to wane every day for the next half. It is believed that he bathes in the sea off the coast of Prabhasa every other day of the new moon to gain fresh beauty and lustre. Since then Prabhasa has remained a sacred spot; and Siva there has been known as Somnath or the Lord of the Moon.

Prabhasa, where Lord Krishna also built a temple of silver and cast off his mortal coil only two furlongs away from the temple of Somnath, has thus remained a place of pilgrimage even from before the time of the Buddha. But the first temple of the deity was built probably at the beginning of the Christian era. It sank into comparative oblivion during the days of the Guptas (320-500 A.D.) who were Vaishnavas: though the Gharshada and Vakatok kings of the west were Shaivites. Prabhasa, however, became a very prominent international port and remained so during the prime of Ballabi, the capital of Saurashtra. Its fall came with the fall of the capital which about 755 A.D. was ruined by the Arab hordes of the Governor of Sind.

Somnath rose again like the Phoenix from its ashes, when Nagabhatta II drove back the Arab hordes and visited the shrine. It was when the Third Temple of red stone was built—one of the largest of its kind in all India. Somnath now enjoyed the greatest glory from 880 to 950 A.D. kings and peasants—the rich and the poor—all flocked to pay homage to the deity from all over India; and showered presents which gave the temple its fabulous wealth.

But misfortune came a little later for the tale of its riches reached the ears of that soldier of fortune Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni. In 1024 or 1025 A.D. he directed his last expedition against the temple of Somnath, with a big and well-equipped army for he had heard that it was well-fortified. The King of Guzerat with the neighbouring chiefs came forward to defend the shrine and kept back the invader for eight days. On the last day, in a most bloody battle, 50,000 of the defenders sacrificed their lives in a vain attempt to save the shrine. The Sultan entered the fort and then the temple, and when about to get into the 'sanctum sanctorum,' was implored

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by the priests to save the image: but the image-breaker broke it with his own hands and burnt the temple whose burnt-up pillars can be seen to this day. Mahmud left the place within a month as he feared to face the great army with which Raja Param Deb was marching towards Somnath. The treasures which he secured at the place 'were incalculable and are said to have exceeded all his former captures.'

But after the retreat of Mahmud, the Star of Somnath was again in the ascendant. A succession of strong and enlightened Kings raised Guzerat to the front rank among Indian States: and the temple and the town were both rebuilt and entered into an era of great prosperity. The great emperor Kumarapala built a new temple on its ruins—larger than any on record,—with a court room, a reservoir, a pavilion in front of the deity, and a seat in the shape of a leaping frog for the deity itself. This was the fifth temple of Somnath which stood safe for at least one hundred years. With the decline of the fortunes of Guzerat, at the end of the 13th century—the temple was again attacked, this time by Alauddin Khiliji who defeated its gallant Rajput defenders, and broke the idol.

Better days came for Somnath only after Akbar came to the throne: and thence-forward the shrine remained untouched and undefiled for about two hundred years. Then came another iconoclast Aurangzeb who ordered the total annihilation of the temple so that it might for ever afterwards be beyond repair. The sudden and gradual rise of the Mahratta power, however, stood in the way of the fulfilment of his wishes and his Generals could not demolish the temple.

The Nawabs of Junagadh during British rule held sway over Prabhasa Pattan: but they could not put out the spiritual fervour that attracted pilgrims to Somnath. Now again after the end of British rule, the temple of Somnath is being rebuilt—its rebuilding coinciding with the rebuilding of the nation. In September 1947, the shrine was visited by the late Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel who announced before a huge assembly that the Government of India had decided to take up the reconstruction of the temple.

Since the time of Aurangzeb the temple ceased to contain the deity; in 1706 for a while it was used as a mosque even. Maharani Ahalya Bai of Indore tried to bring back the deity to the desecrated temple but her architects held that it was beyond repair: so, she built a new one near the Sixth Temple. The new temple —the Seventh properly speaking—is conjuring itself up again on the very site—and Somnath is about to emerge on a greater and more glorious chapter. The deity—one of the twelve Jyotirlingas—has been placed in the same spot where it was consecrated more than 2000 years ago.

Sri Chaitanya and Somnath

Lord Chaitanya (1485-1532) when he visited the ruin of the temple more than four hundred years ago (c. 1512), cried his heart out: and in paying his homage to the deity, prayed that Lord Somnath might re-arise in all his glory for the good of his devotees. He also said :

"Come, O Lord Somnath, come thou into my heart,
And allow me to see there thy divine image."

His wishes are now being fulfilled, thanks to the endeavours of the late Sardar Patel.

President Rajendra Prasad, while installing the 'Jyotirlingam' in the new shrine on May 11, was greeted by a hundred and one salutes of gun-fire. Addressing the mammoth gathering from all parts of India, he said, "In the days of yore the temple of Somnath was the centre of the faith and wealth of this country. The fame of its unparalleled glory and wealth had spread to distant regions and countries. Unfortunately during several centuries it had to suffer calamity after calamity. Again and again it was desecrated and demolished. But while the external symbols of a national faith may be destroyed, nothing can destroy the very foundations of that faith."

"It was for this reason that inspite of having had to face numerous calamities there always remained in the hearts of the Indian people an undying faith and respect for this temple of Lord Somnath; and it ever was their dream to build this temple again soon after its destruction, and they went on doing so time after time."

Then, as the head of our secular state, he very pertinently observed, "On this sacred and historic occasion it is desirable for all of us to realise the great secret to spiritual faith which is that to have a glimpse of God

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of Truth it is not necessary for all men to follow one and one path alone."

"This great truth had been perceived by our ancient seers and they had proclaimed it to mankind. They had consistently declared that though He is one, yet the wise describe Him in many ways and by many names. Similarly the Mahabharat says that all paths lead to God just as all rivers flow to the ocean. Unfortunately this great truth was not properly grasped by different people and in different ages, and so very destructive and terrible wars were waged between different countries and different peoples."

The Future of Somnath

The future of the temple of Somnath is very glorious —far more so than its historic past—for near it is being built the splendid Dehotsarga monument to commemorate the holy spot where Lord Krishna gave up his body, and also because, according to the wishes and plans of Sri K. M. Munshi, author of the novel *Jay Somnath*, it is going to have a Sanskrit University attached to it—in the midst of thousands of trees that are being planted there to give it the appearance of Sri Krishna's Nandanvan, because a temple is not worth the name which is not also a seat of learning.

The Ideal of Social Reconstruction

Prabuddha Bharata observes editorially :

Vedanta stands, above all, for universality, synthesis, and harmony. It is a most practical philosophy of infinite hope, strength, and life-affirmation. Vedanta, while recognizing inevitable differences between man and man on the relative plane proclaims the supreme equality and fraternity of all beings on a spiritual and divine (*paramartha*) basis. But this divinity has to be manifested sooner or later. And it is best that social leaders emphasize this great Vedantic ideal of not only spiritual liberty, equality, and fraternity but also inherent divinity and sacredness of human personality. This lesson of universal brotherhood, of loving one's neighbour as oneself, has been inculcated by all religions. The Vedanta lays down the surest path for the social, moral, and spiritual progress of man and enjoins the performance of duties by which he gradually transcends his lower self and lives a higher and purer life and advances onward till his self merges in the universal Self. The duties which Vedanta enjoins have reference to the relation in which man stands to himself, to his kith and kin, to his community, to his country, to the whole of mankind, nay, to the whole universe as part of one infinite existence. True salvation, or to use a more appropriate expression, *moksha* (liberation from ignorance and bondage), consists in the complete realization of this identity, this spiritual world view.

A doubt is often expressed, saying, 'Does not this spiritual (*ergo* non-material and otherworldly) outlook on life clog secular activity and thwart ambition and progress, thus disturbing practical relations between man and man in the ordinary workaday world?' This is a question which has been discussed and answered times without number since the dawn of life on earth. The Upanishads and the *Gita* have solved this momentous problem. The Tantras and the Puranas also have thrown considerable light on the subject, sufficient to disabuse the doubting mind of all such misconceptions and misjudgments regarding the supremacy of the spiritual ideal over all other ideals in life. Vedanta is far from being an abstraction merely meant for philosophical discourses and intellectual interpretation. It is intensely practical and can be most effectively carried out in everyday life, producing lasting harmony and satisfaction and giving the highest benefit to all—to the person who is bold enough to practice it as well as to others around him. Man understands the true significance of spiritual ideals only when he puts them into practical application in individual and collective life. Practical demonstration is the only condition for the establishment of a society on the basis of spiritual ideals.

The most outstanding feature of Indian civilization is its insistence on Dharma as the foundation of the social order. The principles that regulate and guide man's functions in daily life and in his social relations are constituted by what is called Dharma—a word of protean significance. As Dr. S. Radhakrishnan observes:

"The basic principle of Dharma is the realization of the dignity of the human spirit which is the dwelling-place of the Supreme. . . . It is truth's embodiment in life, and the power to refashion our nature. . . . The principle of Dharma rouses us to a recognition of spiritual realities not by abstention from the world but by bringing to its life, its business (*artha*) and its pleasures (kama), the controlling power of spiritual faith."—*Religion and Society.*

The ideal of social reconstruction should remind the builders of society, through its various aspects, that the ultimate Truth in man has to express itself in spiritual illumination and in extension of his syspathy across all barriers of caste and colour. And Vedanta can and does provide mankind with such an ideal which while it does not deprive man of the advantages of wholesome economic, social, and cultural institutions, enables him gradually to transcend his material limitations and realize his spiritual unity with the ultimate Reality in and through the brotherhood of man.

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FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Early Travellers in India

"Wanderlust" writes in the *Bulletin of Italian Cultural Information* as follows :

Strange lands have always held a singular fascination for the human mind. Most popular of all channels through which it has sought to reach an understanding of the unfamiliar and unknown is travel. Books come only second best. In many this thirst for travel developed into a "wander-lust" so intense that they braved the privations and perils which all too often, in early times, characterised travel in the remote regions of the earth. Travel has become comparatively safe and easy only in our own time. Rather than act as a deterrent, they added zest to travel and made of it an adventure which a few found irresistible.

Few lands have lured travellers more than India. Throughout history men have been drawn to her from both the East (the Far East) and the West. The records these early travellers have left of their observations contribute many colourful pieces to the mosaic of her history. To the travel-minded they hold an interest which has not staled with the passage of time.

From the West, perhaps, the earliest visitor to India was John of Monte Corvino, a Franciscan friar, who in 1200 travelled in a frail bark to the beautiful coasts of Malabar and Coromandel, of which Sarojini Naidu has sung. South India struck him as a land of great cities and wretched houses, few hills, beautiful rivers, many springs, where cattle were sacred and idolatry rampant. In that region of perennial summer, sowing, reaping and fruit-gathering were seen in all seasons. John speaks particularly of the aromatic spices, of trees which yielded honey, sugar and a liquor like wine and the wonderful "Indian nuts" as big as melons and as green as gourds growing on trees like date-palms. The people were olive-skinned, with well-formed but hairy bodies, scrupulously clean, feeding on milk and rice, eating no meat and drinking no wine.

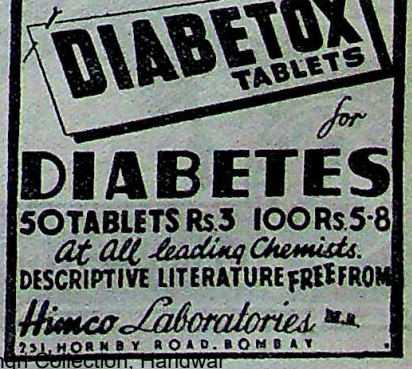
Odoric of Pordenone was another Franciscan missionary who touched the Western coast of India on his way to China in 1316. He describes at length the Fire-worship of the Parsis, the Hindu veneration of the cow, trees and serpents, the 'monstrous' idols by which their gods were represented, of golden roofs and marble pavements of their temples, their burning of widows, their pilgrimages, religious 'starvation' and cruel penances.

Jordanus, a French Dominican monk from Rome, was probably the first to come to India on a proselytising mission. He settled down at Kulam in Travancore in 1328. He has left a remarkable treatise on the fruits, the 'flora' and the 'fauna' of India. He talks of the cocoanut, the jack-fruit, the sugar cane and ginger root; of the one-horned Indian rhinoceros, the docile beast of burden and transport, the elephant; the big bandicoot rats, the white ants which destroy timber, the large 'mason' wasps; the bold kites, the white russet fishing-eagles, the many, the wonderful and the beautiful birds of the Indian islands. Of the people themselves Jordanus contrasts the civilised Hindus and Moslems with the savage forest tribes of the interior and of the mountains, living in caves, wearing no clothing and 'of brutish aspect'. Though the size of India is great and its population enormous, he observes, the Indian people were but children in the art of war or even seamanship. But the land was fairer than any other, its food more savoury, its people more honest and much more moral than the Christians of Europe.

Jordanus was followed by Bishop Giovanni dei Marignolli of Florence who settled down in Kulam for 16 months. His departure from India in 1350 was followed by a lull for three centuries during which few travellers ventured to come to India, as the country was almost continuously convulsed with fierce Meslem invasion from the north, of intolerant and fanatical Turks, Afghans and Mongols. The only part of the land which was comparatively accessible to Europeans was the Southern region under the sway of the Hindu rajas.

The next record of travel in India is the annals of Nicolo dei Conti, a Venetian merchant, who first touched at Cambay which he describes as a flourishing port from where he subsequently reached the kingdom of Vijaynagar. His description of the Ganges Delta, the charming villas and gardens, and plantations of delicious bananas, is lively and touched with romance by an occasional 'traveller's tale', as when he speaks of reeds or riverside bamboos 'so lofty and of such enormous girth that one section between the nodes or knots of the stem made a serviceable fishing boat'.

An outstanding traveller was Ludovico di Varthema, an Italian, who succumbed to wanderlust in his twenty-fourth year. From Venice his ship touched at Alexandria, next at Cairo and passed on to Syria. From Damascus he travelled to the holy cities of Mecca and Medina, touched Aden and finally reached India in 1505. He voyaged round the Peninsula of Gujerat, halting at Cambay. He describes the Jains of Kathiawar who when in going through their repositories of grain, found weevils or any other kind of beetle, instead of killing them removed them to the domed insect-houses in which places were also kept ants who were fed on meat! Cambay he described as famed for its spices and perfumes, agates, cornelians and onyxes, and even diamonds! His account of the Muhammadan Sultan of the region is realistic and



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vivid, but is occasionally touched with incredulity, as when he describes him as 'having been habituated to consume poison or poisonous drugs from childhood in the hope that he might thus never lose his life by treacherous attendants or enemies who might seek to put poison into his food!' Varthema also speaks at great length of the life of a Hindu Chieftain who whenever he travelled, was accompanied 'by his wife and children, four or five riding horses, tame monkeys, parrots, civet cats, chitas and falcons.' Passing through the Colaba District on to Goa and Bijapur, Varthema describes the magnificant palace of Adil Shah at the latter place. At the ports along the Coast of Kanara, Varthema is specially struck by the abundance of domestic buffaloes, oxen, sheep and goats, the absence of horses, mules and asses; the quantities of rice eaten by people; the numbers of peacocks, parrots, wild boars, deer, wolves and even lions, of roses and other flowers and fruits. Kannanore (Cannanore) he describes as a port which kept up a great trade with the Persian Gulf, had lots of Arabs in the city and grew cucumbers and melons, cocoanuts, rice, pepper, ginger, cardamoms, and other spices, besides the mango fruit. As beasts of burden and draught elephants were used.

Varthema's next halt was at Vijaynagar, the capital of the ancient Hindu Kingdom of Karkatak, which 'occupied a most beautiful site on the side of a mountain and had a triple circle of walls.' It contained immense parks for hunting and fowling, and appeared to him a second paradise with the best air, great fertility, wealth of merchandise and abundance of all possible delicacies. Varthema describes the great army of Vijaynagar which had among other things four hundred elephants. Kalicut (Calicut) is described as a very noble city, 'the converging port of Portuguese and European trade fleets.' Calicut was then ruled by the Zamorin family. Varthema gives an extensive and intimate account of the six classes of the city's inhabitants, their customs of dress, diet and vocation; of their harvest festival and devil dances; of the magnificent palace and regal temple, of the ships built out of native wood from the forests, which grew as many as a hundred and twenty different varieties of fine timber. Varthema greatly admired the orderliness of the people and the strict manner in which justice was dispensed. Nearly all the travellers who visited this part of India between the 13th and the 16th centuries, agree on the honesty and sense of justice of non-Muhammadan natives. Varthema's sojourn in India coincided with a period of intense commercial and military activity, from Vasco da Gama's arrival at Calicut in May 1498 to the establishment of Albuquerque as the first Portuguese Viceroy over Portuguese trading stations on the Malabar Coast.

The next remarkable account comes from Barbosa, Magellan's cousin, whose descriptions of the people—the Brahmans and the Banyans (Banias), the potters and the workers of clay, the workmen, the weavers, the agricultural labourers, the mariners and fishermen, the makers of hats and shields, the astrologers, fortune-tellers and weather prophets, the quarrymen, carpenters, blacksmiths and silversmiths, the salt-makers and rice-growers, the hunters, the practisers of low witchcraft and finally the miserable, naked, negroid bush tribes living on roots and wild fruits and such beasts and birds as they could kill in the woods, the merchant communities of Bengal and Eastern India, Calicut, Cambay or Gujerat, the Parsis, the Arabs and the Moplas—are singularly instructive and full of sociological interest.—'Come to India' Special Supplement, *United Asia*, 1950.

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"Fourscore and Seven Years Ago"

America Honors 87th Anniversary of Abraham Lincoln's Gettysburg Address

Fourscore and seven years ago, on November 19, 1863, Abraham Lincoln, the sixteenth President of the United States, began his famous speech at the dedication of the National Cemetery on the battlefield of Gettysburg with the words:

"Fourscore and seven years ago our fathers brought forth on this continent, a new nation, conceived in liberty, and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal."

Today, Lincoln's Gettysburg address represents a mid-point between the founding of the American republic and the present. The young republic, which had emerged from the cocoon of its colonial status with the American war of independence, grew in that first fourscore and seven years into a nation. As Lincoln spoke, his nation was torn and twisted in that most bitter of struggles, a civil war. Then, as in the years of the war of independence, there were those who could not see beyond the perils and strife of the present into the growth, development and prosperity that was to come, unparalleled in degree and extent.

In the second fourscore and seven years, which began with Lincoln's Gettysburg speech and extend up to the present, the American republic has grown in power and prosperity beyond even the wildest anticipations of the brightest prophets of that mid-term year. Yet, as in 1863, the American republic today faces a conflict and a struggle, a struggle in which the principle that "government of the people, by the people, for the people shall not perish from the earth" is again at stake.

For the people of the United States, the life of Abraham Lincoln, storekeeper, soldier, lawyer, orator and President, has symbolized the right and the opportunity of the humblest citizen of a democracy to follow a path from a frontier settlement to the highest position in the land. Born in a log cabin in a cleared patch in the forests of the frontier state of Kentucky, Abraham Lincoln began life as poor, as unheralded and as devoid of immediate opportunity as any child born today in the humbler villages of India. Yet, within the years of his life, he came to occupy the presidential mansion in his country's capital and, in the years since, to occupy an almost unparalleled position in the hearts of the American people and the pages of American history.

The life of Abraham Lincoln exemplifies the opportunities open to the citizens of a free country, a country in which the right of every citizen to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness is both recognized and championed. That right and that opportunity, however, did not come to Abraham Lincoln as a gift of fortune. They came as a direct result of both the struggle for freedom and the continuing struggle to make freedom real, a struggle which continued through the fourscore and seven years of American history before Lincoln's Gettysburg speech, and has continued through the fourscore and seven years that have passed since that day.

The United States of that mid-term year in its history and the United States of 1950 are as different as the rude frontier of Lincoln's youth and the urban New York of today. Yet, the continuing necessity of the struggle for the rights of freedom, as presented by Lincoln in his battlefield speech in 1863, remains dominant today in the thinking of the American people. Today, as then, this truth remains. Freedom, if it is not to die, must be reborn and reborn again in the hearts of a people who would remain free, a truth that led Lincoln, in this same Gettysburg speech, to resolve that his nation "under God, shall have a new birth of freedom."

For Lincoln in 1863, as for the American people today, the rights of the individual, and the equality of opportunity that can make those rights effective, are worth defending. The American foreign policy in 1950 no less than the domestic policy of Lincoln's day, is "dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal" and that "government of the people, by the people, for the people shall not perish from the earth."

Within those simple phrases has been caught much of the American philosophy of political existence. By government *of* the people, the American people mean a government that derives its authority, its right to continued existence and its support from within the people themselves, not from any small selected group or by imposition from any individual or self-designated band. By government *by* the people, the American people mean a government in which the people play the roles and fill the seats of the mighty, a government that is "of" not "over" the people, that is a part of, not a lid on, the people. By government *for* the people, the American people mean a government that works for the people, not the reverse; they mean a government that derives its right to continued existence from the will of the people, not a people who derive their right to continued existence from the will of the government.

The American people believe today, as did Abraham Lincoln, that men are created equal, not with the equality of the slave labor camp, but with the equality that can bring a poor child of the frontier to the presidency of a great land. They know that this equality is an ideal. They make no pretense that it is a full reality, for themselves or for any other nation. With all humility, the American people of today can say with Abraham Lincoln, "It is for us, the living, ... to be dedicated to the great task remaining before us."

In this year of alarm and crisis, the people of America

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and the other freedom-loving nations of the world can take a measure of strength from a look back through fourscore years and seven to that day in 1863 when a President of the United States, caught in a struggle as bitter and as brutal as any ever fought, seeing son fighting against father and brother against brother, facing a future as cloudy and uncertain as any the world faces today, could, with calm determination and certain equanimity, restate in these words the basic American belief in the rights of man, the eternity of freedom and the certainty of a brighter future:

"Fourscore and seven years ago our fathers brought forth on this continent, a new nation, conceived in liberty and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal.

"Now we are engaged in a great civil war, testing whether that nation, or any nation so conceived and so dedicated, can long endure. We are met on a great battle-field of that war. We have come to dedicate a portion of that field, as a final resting-place for those who here gave their lives that that nation might live. It is altogether fitting and proper that we should do this.

"But, in a larger sense, we cannot dedicate—we cannot consecrate—we cannot hallow—this ground. The brave men, living and dead, who struggled here, have consecrated it, far above our poor power to add or detract. The world will little note, nor long remember, what we say here, but it can never forget what they did here. It is for us the living, rather, to be dedicated here to the unfinished work which they who fought here have thus far so nobly advanced. It is rather for us to be here dedicated to the great task remaining before us—that from these honored dead we take increased devotion to that cause for which they gave the last full measure of devotion—that we here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain—that this nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom—and that government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth."—*USIS*. November, 18, 1950.



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The Principle of Indeterminacy

Under the heading, "Aspects of Modern Science," writes Ira M. Freeman in *Unesco Courier*:

All naturtl science is based on observation. Whether our knowledge of any segment of the external world remains at the level of a mere cataloguing of facts, or soars to the heights of Relativity or of Quantum Theory, observation of Nature as she really is constitutes the foundation of science, and all else is secondary.

There is one aspect of the business of making observations that is usually taken for granted, and that is the faith (for this is all it amounts to) that any observation made here and now may be expected again on any other occasion when the same conditions prevail. This proposition is sometimes called "*The Uniformity of Nature*" or the "*Constancy of the Universe.*" But whether mere faith or something else, it works. It is science's answer to the ancient beliefs in capricious demons and deities.

Despite the bewildering differences between one science and another, all of them advance largely by the same general tactics: observations are made, quantities are measured (where possible), results are correlated, theories are set up and general conclusions are drawn in the form of natural laws. The great scientific conquests of Galileo and Newton, of Darwin and Pasteur, were made according to this kind of campaign plan.

A Miscellaneous Approach

What we call classical physics attained a high state of perfection toward the end of the last century. Evolving largely from ordinary mechanics, it went forward on the assumption that all the events taking place in space and time have the objective character that we associate with common mechanical phenomena such as the falling of a stone or the swinging of a pendulum.

Early in the nineteenth century the great French mathematician and physicist Laplace made the much-quoted statement that an omniscient mind, knowing the momentary location and speed of every atom in the universe, could deduce the entire course of events in the cosmos, both past and future. The universe was thus viewed as a machine, with all the parts rigorously interlocked. Every event was held to be strictly determined by the preceding one; every effect was ascribed to a definite cause.

Later, this mechanistic approach began to be challenged when scientists learned to break up the physical world into its basic constituents. The ubiquitous quantum aspect of nature (*see "What is the Quantum Theory" in the Courier for November, 1950*) began to assert itself once more, and in several places.

In 1927, a brilliant young theoretical physicist, Werner Heisenberg, was able to state a highly significant generalization relative to the observation and measurement of elementary processes. It is called the Principle of Indeterminacy. In one way of phrasing it, the rule asserts that the more closely we determine the location of a particle, the less accurately are we able to specify its motion, and *vice versa*. Heisenberg contends that the underlying cause of this puzzling situation is the fact that every process of measurement or observation actually *interferes* with what is being measured or observed.

The Evasive Electron

For example, if we should wish to "see" directly a single electron, it turns out that it would be necessary to use light of very short wavelength for the purpose. But light of this kind is highly energetic, and if thrown at an electron would knock it completely out of its original position, thus defeating what we are trying to accomplish!

In the same way, there is a fundamental inexactness, an uncontrollable or indefinable element, inherent in *all* measurements relating to elementary processes. Of course,



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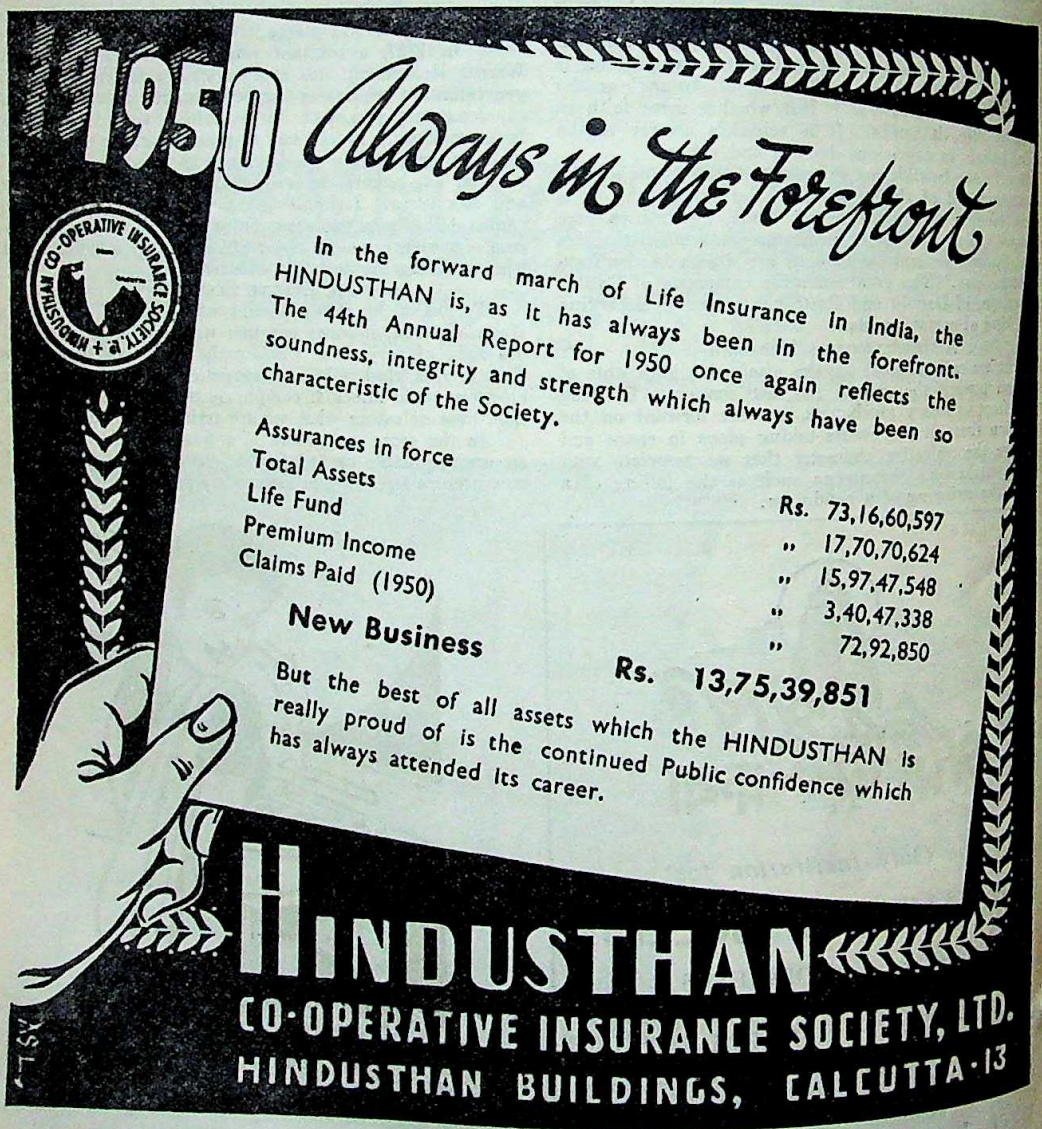
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in dealing with ordinary large-scale objects, the interaction between object and observer becomes vanishingly small, and things seem to behave in their accustomed way, but on the sub-atomic scale, the obvious connection between cause and effect is no longer in evidence.

After all, nature does seem to be governed by order and regularity, and so if strict causality is not valid in the submicroscopic realm, what takes its place? The answer is that what we observe in coarse-grained experience is a statistical orderliness—the average behaviour of a multitude of individual entities—and such an average is accurately predictable. It is predictable in the same way that the death rate in a given population group may be computed in advance by a life-insurance company, although there is no way of forecasting when a given individual is going to die.

Chance rules the activity of the individual sub-atomic particles of physics, but their *"cultural"* or *"crowd"* behaviour, as mirrored by the large-scale world of ordinary experience, turns out to be completely in accord with expectation. The recognition of this fact has been of vast importance to the development of modern science, and has had profound and far-reaching effects on philosophical thinking as well.



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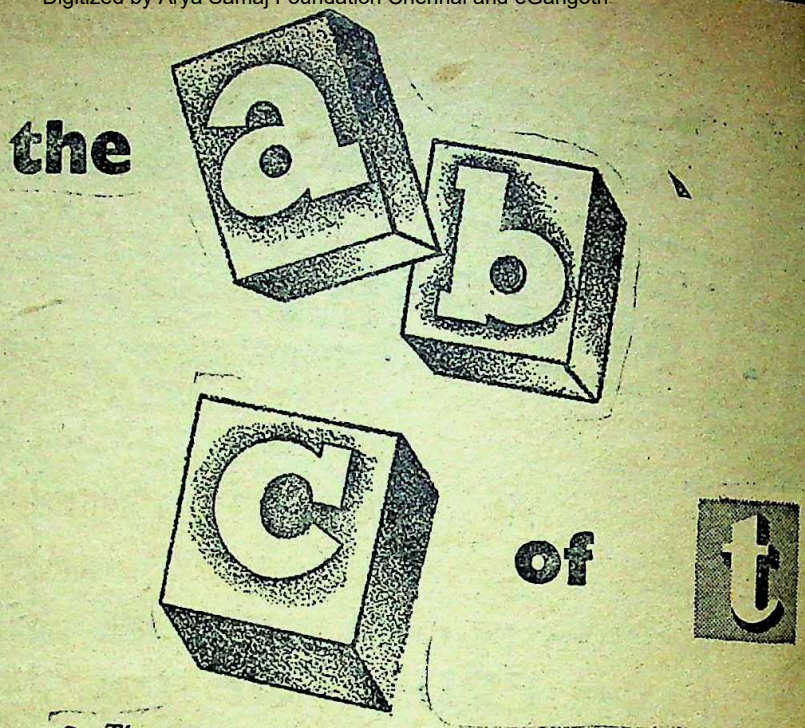
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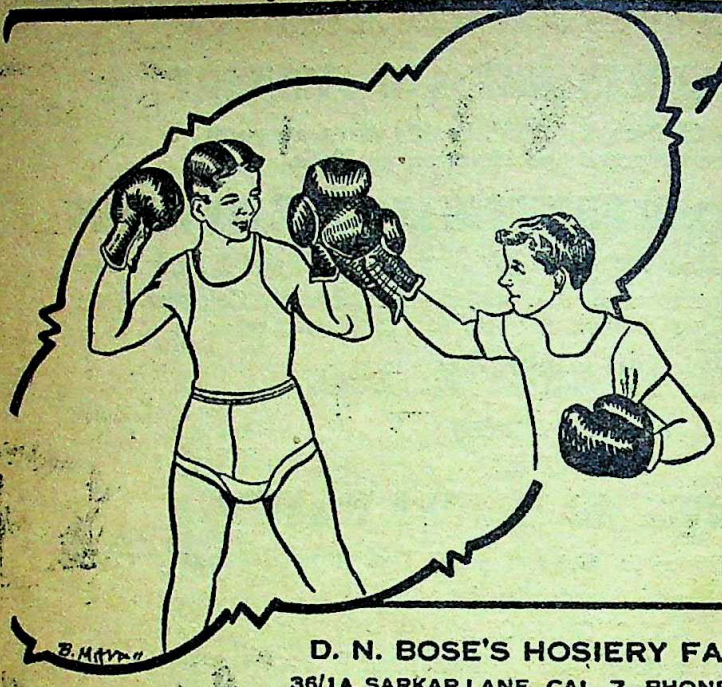
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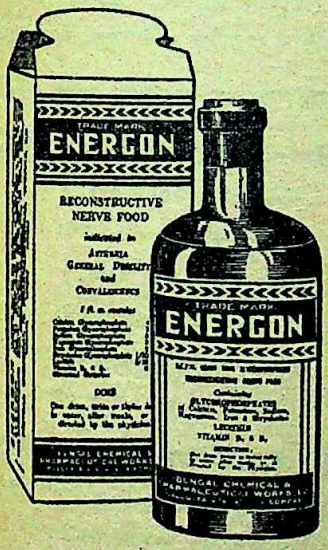
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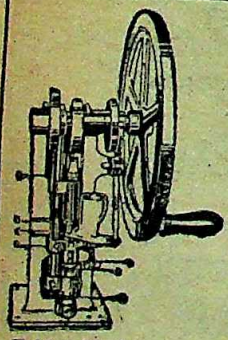
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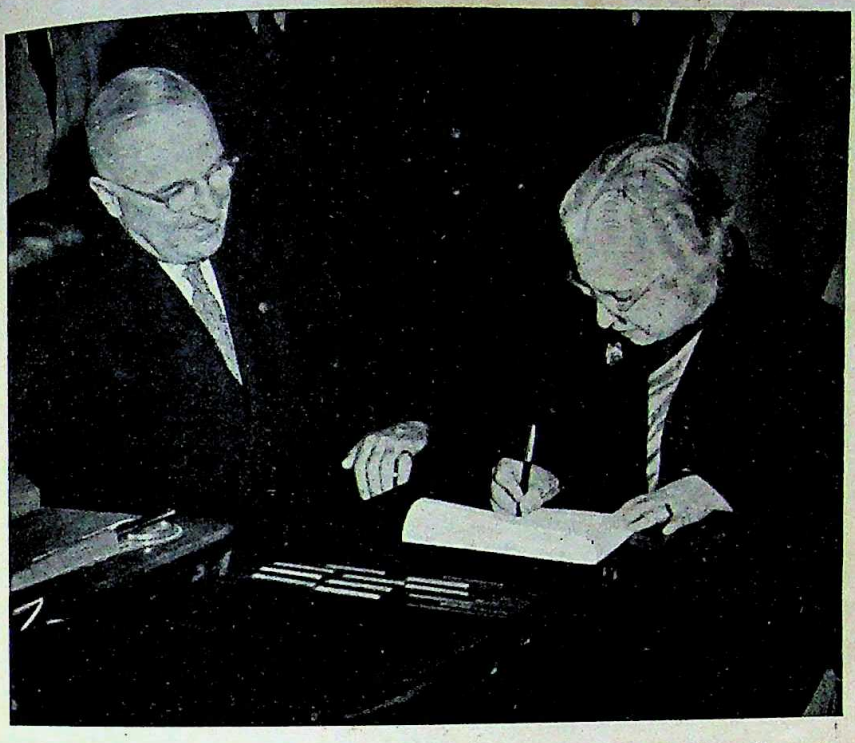
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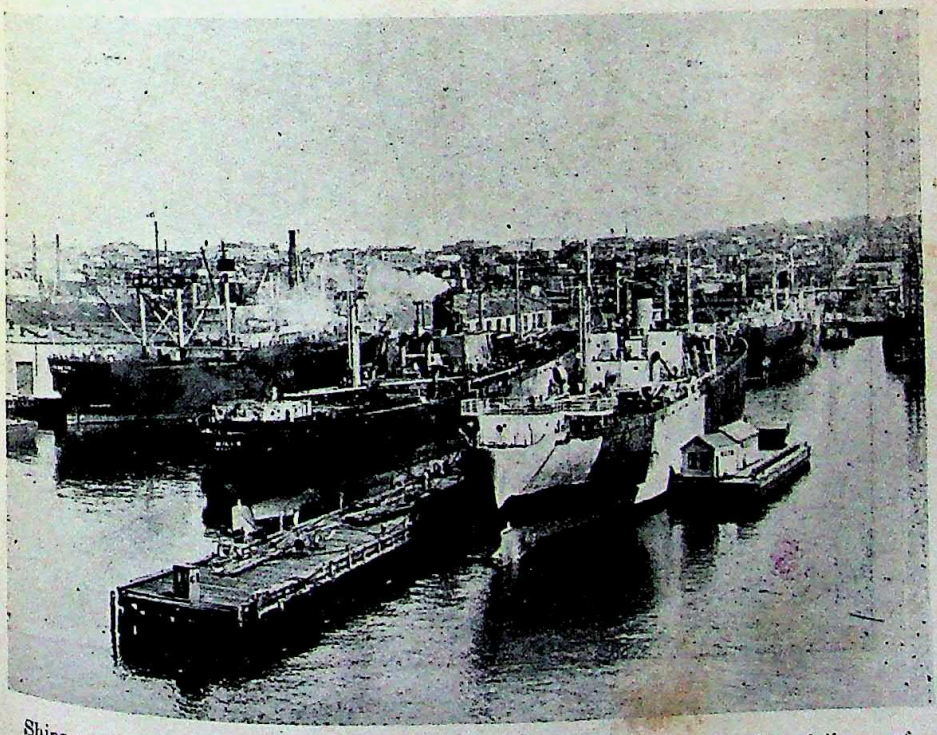
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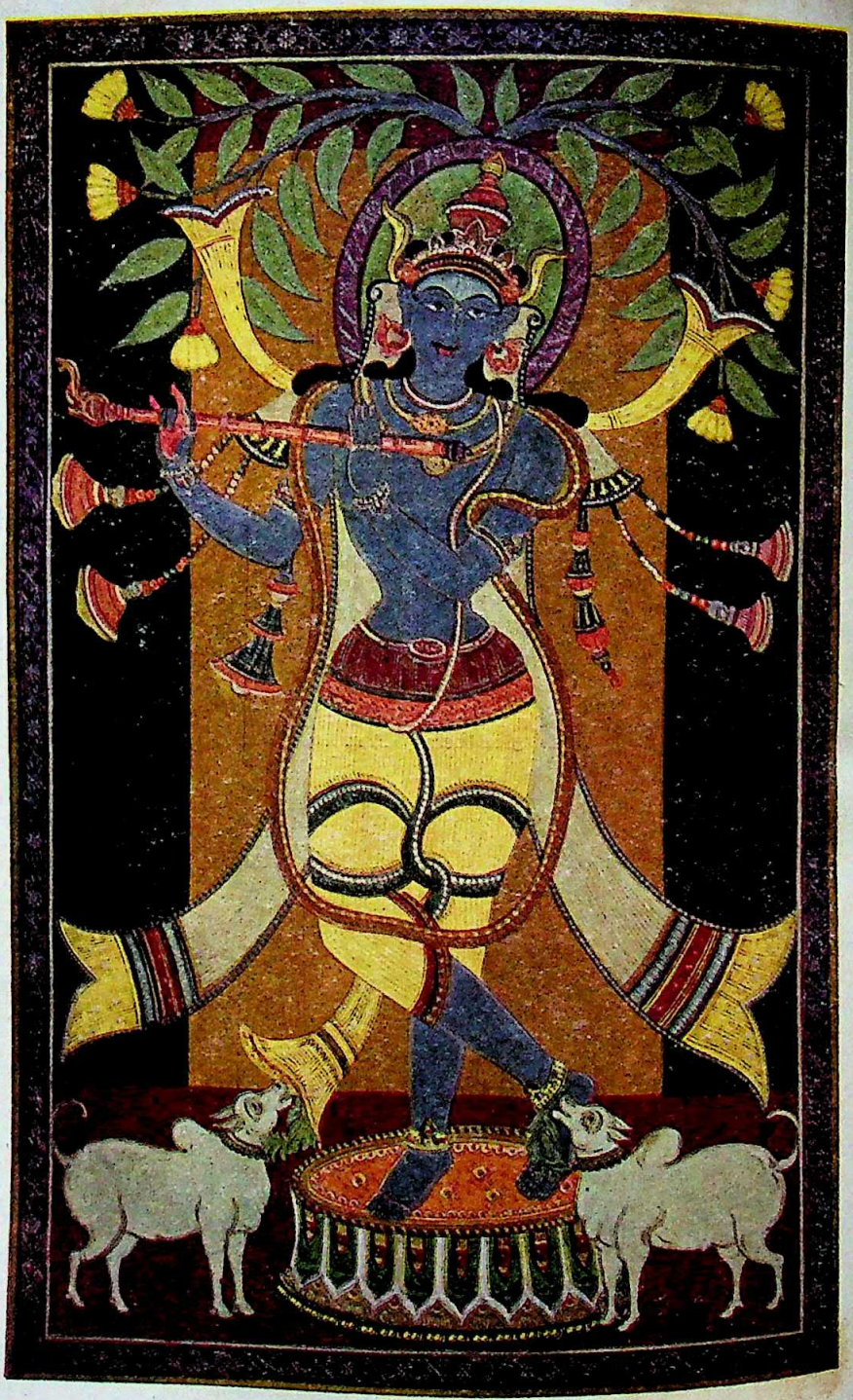
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THE MODERN REVIEW

SEPTEMBER 1951

VOL. LXXXX, No. 3 WHOLE No. 537

NOTES

The Congress Crisis

There is a storm brewing over the control of the Congress and the Congress Government as well. The two camps are being led by the Premier of the Indian Union and the President of the Congress. The former is an international figure, deeply beloved by a very large section of his people for his spartan spirit of sacrifice and unchallenged integrity, the latter is an austere purist, highly respected by all who know him for his ascetic outlook on life and his sincerity and integrity is beyond doubt. Both are poor judges of men, specially where friends and satellites are concerned, and both have vulnerable spots, one due to an emotional temperament and the other due to his fanatic regard for Congress tenets. These have been exploited in the past by the more unscrupulous party agents of both, and in the end it has led to this present *impasse*.

Pandit Nehru has put forward his opinions on the situation in a Press Conference. He refuted the view that this crisis was caused by the schism in the U. P. Congress and insisted that the matter in question was far more vital.

He further said that the A.-I.C.C. and the plenary session of the Congress should state clearly what the Congress really stood for. Somehow there had been a lack of reality in the passing of the Congress resolutions. They did not attach much importance to them. Sometimes almost contrary things have been said and done.

The time had now come to infuse that reality. His resignation was meant to bring about that reality and force people to think. Congressmen should know what really they stood for.

There was a good deal of discussion in the Press and elsewhere about the conflict between the Congress President and the Prime Minister and how far the Congress Executive should control the Ministry. It was a very interesting question which would be settled only in the long run through conventions. Obviously the position of the Congress President and the Prime Minister after independence could not be the same.

The Prime Minister, he said, could not in a strict way be controlled by the party executive. But he must carry out the major policies that had been laid down by the party. "I do not think that the Congress Executive should interfere in my works except in broad matters of policy."

"If I belong to a party," he said, "obviously I must follow the broad policies which that party holds. Either I accept it or, if I feel I cannot do so, I have to tell them that I cannot do so and give my reasons. If, nevertheless, they say I must do so, then I get out and somebody else comes in who can do it.

"That has nothing to do with Parliament. If the Congress Executive told me to resign from my Prime Ministership, I resign immediately, but I do not think the Congress Executive should interfere in my work."

"All those questions," Sri Nehru emphasised, "were purely theoretical and his resignation from the Working Committee had nothing to do with them. Therefore, the question before the A.-I.C.C. was whether such policies as I stand for are to be Congress policies or some other policies. It has nothing to do for the moment with Parliament or my being Prime Minister."

Asked whether he subscribed to the view that the only way to solve the present deadlock in the Congress was the amalgamation of the two offices of Prime Minister and Congress President, Sri Nehru said, "As a general proposition that has no meaning. It can only mean the suppression of one function, practically speaking. That may occur during a crisis for a temporary period, but it should be avoided as far as possible unless circumstances are such that for the moment one does something which is normally not desirable but the compulsion of events brings it about."

Asked whether he wanted only reconstitution of the Working Committee or also changes in the Provincial set-up at some stage or other, Sri Nehru said, "Reconstitution of the Working Committee is to be a symbol of a change in outlook and direction. I feel that the Congress, in spite of the many good things that

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it has done and the right resolutions it has adopted, is drifting in the wrong direction. I should like it to take a turn. As a symbol of that turn, the resolutions having failed, a reconstitution of its executive would be effective. If the reconstitution or a partial reconstitution takes place without producing that sensation of a change, it has failed regardless of the individuals coming or going. I am always thinking in terms of the effect on the masses of people."

"I am anxious," Sri Nehru said, "to produce an atmosphere in the country of a certain united, concerted effort towards prescribed ends, of a certain unity of effort, of a certain wholehearted appreciation of what we call a secular State, of non-communalism, etc., because I think that if that is not done, the disruptive forces in India come into play and weaken us and prevent progress. Reaction comes in under the cloak sometimes of even nationalism as it calls itself. I want to fight that and in order to do that, I want the vast masses of people to feel that way."

He would, he said, like the Congress to think in terms of the Bangalore Resolution, which left its doors open to those who had left it and he would like the Congress to repeat that not only formally by resolution but warmly. "It did not matter who came back as a result of that invitation. It was not the individual but rather the approach which was important."

Sri Tandon has been much more taciturn and has in the main preserved an inflexible attitude. He seems less aware of the malady in the body politic of the Congress than Pandit Nehru.

But the main question remains unanswered before the Man in the Street and Man in the Field. What that question is, has been put in a more or less correct fashion by Dr. Jyotsna and Harin Shah in the *People* of August 11. The *People* being an organ of the Congress, this article has some significance and therefore we append the following extracts from therein:

"Must the Congress be wound up now that we have attained our political freedom? Gandhiji, with his remarkable foresight, saw dangers of the delicate fibre of our liberated nationhood being ravaged by early outbursts of party strife and power-politics in the absence of sound political morality.

He was driven at one time to the conclusion that the Congress may be 'folded up' implying thereby that the glorious chapter of freedom's fight should not be allowed to be besmirched by party strife and that a fresh beginning should be made by Congressmen from a new platform.

At any rate, he wished to pull out the band of constructive workers from the organization so that even if the Congress indulged in power-politics and gravitated too much towards Parliamentary politics, undoing its glorious past, the country would still have constructive workers to fall back upon.

Three years after Bapu's death, the question still worries his successor. Must the Congress be liquidated? Some of the closest advisers and associates of Shri Nehru are dinning this in his ears. Despite his strong love for the organization even Panditji, it appears, sometimes leans towards the view that the Congress must be peacefully liquidated after the General Elections.

If so, the question can be really considered after the general elections. For the elections do offer an opportunity for stock-taking, for setting the house in order, for enlisting new blood and talent and for overcoming frustration."

Needless to say we do not share this escapism of the authors. The question is of such vital importance that it cannot brook further delay. It must be considered now, before, during and after the elections. It is this procrastination and escapism that has discredited the Congress most in the eyes of the public. Further on the authors say:

"The immediate question, therefore, is, what is wrong with the Congress? What must it do to recapture the nation's love. Demagogic analyses and sermons cannot carry us very far.

We have seen the once-revolutionary party of the Chinese people, Kuomintang, crash so suddenly. Vulgarised by the power it acquired at the birth of the Chinese Freedom it is responsible for its own extinction. On the other side, the motley crowd that started surging forth from Canton and Hankow became by 1949 one of the biggest political and military powers of the world. The party after coming in power, fought vigilantly the inner contradictions, and its weaknesses. We are not concerned with its ideology or policy here.

Let us take the question of food. The Central Government, which is led and controlled by the Congress, had to decide to impose a further cut in the foodgrains ration and to make it simultaneously more expensive. While a big campaign should have preceded and followed this decision from the hundreds of branches of the ruling party, preparing public opinion to receive with equanimity the unpleasant but inevitable measure, we found no important leader or Congress Committee, even holding public meetings or issuing literature explaining how the measure was inevitable in the circumstances though of a short duration. The opposition parties, of course, could not be expected to be more charitable.

Let us size up the issue—the change that has visited us. From the point of view of the 'Supreme National Front,' we are now only one of the many political parties. The Press was by the side of the Congress. Today, the Congress can claim no such privileged support. The Congress should build up good relations with the Press and win over its sympathy.

Then again commerce and industry stood for the Congress. Today, their approach is halting for they are diffident about their future."

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Here again we differ. Commerce and Industry, ever since its invasion by speculative Big Business, has kept faith with none. They have most treacherously betrayed the very people whose staunch support for Swadeshi kept them guarded against extinction. The authors then go on to say:

"The students continue to be largely ignored and unorganised; all the more regrettable when we are passing through such gigantic national projects.

We have not properly understood the great mental revolution that is going on in the mind of our Kisans. Aspirations for leadership are now developing among the few educated youths from amongst Kisans, and if the Congress fails to utilize them, they could hug other parties, eagerly awaiting them.

We seem to be blissfully undermining the morale and enthusiasm of the huge army of Government servants. Need not the Congress bring home to Government servants the golden opportunity that their service offers them in serving their country."

Despite our differences we agree with the authors inasmuch as they have pointed out the staring, glaring fact that Congress leaders are unwilling to face, that they have lost touch with all and sundry, the rank and file, of all those on whom they counted in the past. True, the Congress is not dead yet, but that is no credit to the hybrid leadership it has had since the passing of Bapu. So it is about time a sincere attempt was made to resuscitate it.

A great deal of hope has been based on these political schisms by the enemies of India, and Pakistan in particular. That however is another story. The Shia Conference must have been a rude shock to those who hoped otherwise, despite all the clumsy utterances of Fazlulla Khan and others of that ilk. The Nawab of Rampur, who presided at that conference, clearly stated his stand and that of his community.

Referring to Pakistan, he said: "We should realize that the destiny of the Muslims of India and our community in particular is indissolubly linked with the fate of India and its people. We in this country are no enemies of Pakistan or of any other nation, but let it be clearly understood that we have made India our home of our own free will, that we stand solidly behind India in its struggle for peace and progress. My advice to Muslims is to support our own secular democracy and to call upon our Muslim brethren in Pakistan to give their minorities a fair and square deal."

The Japanese Treaty and India

India's refusal to attend the San Francisco Conference, where the Japanese Treaty will be finalised, is an event of major consequence. This refusal, together with India's expression of unwillingness to accept any operations from Japan, has given a new turn in international politics. Sri Nehru's decision has been generally hailed in Tokyo and Commonwealth countries. But a few of the American commentators have defended Sri Nehru and have been nearer the truth. May Lerner writes in the *New York Post*:

> "If Mr. Nehru did not exist, it would be necessary for us to invent someone like him to fill the vacuum in Asia between a Russia the Asiatics fear and an America they still distrust. What remains of non-Communist Asia will not yet accept American leadership. If America is not to be the leader-symbol as against Russia, who is? The only possible answer is: Nehru's India. It can make a bid for Asia's leadership only if it speaks as an Asiatic people which is what it is doing. If it lines up solidly with our policies, it loses Asia—which means that the hope of any democratic life anywhere in Asia will be gone for generations. Since we cannot lead Asia ourselves, the next best course is to recognise Mr. Nehru's chances of leading it and to accept him as the last, next to best, hope."

The daily *Boston Herald* writes:

> "We are failing India. It is hopeless to defend the East against Russian Communism if the East does not want to be defended by us. We cannot command. We must persuade."

The appointment of Mr. Bowles, a Liberal Democrat, as U.S.A.'s Ambassador to India represents another gesture towards better understanding with this country but the American Note on India's unwillingness to attend the San Francisco Conference has not been quite happy. It has been suggested that the Conference would be attended by 48 nations. Mere number of representatives, some from the Central and South American States of lesser importance and some from Asian countries of doubtful sovereignty, cannot lend sufficient weight to a decision affecting Asia with India and China as abstainers. It is unfortunate that U. S. diplomacy has failed to appreciate this position.

The following is the text of the Prime Minister's statement on the Japanese Peace Treaty :

"The House will be interested to know of the latest developments in regard to the proposed peace treaty with Japan and the Government of India's decision thereon.

"The war against Japan ended six years ago. This was followed by a military occupation of Japan which has continued till now. India, in common with other Powers, was interested in putting an end to this unsatisfactory state of affairs and terminating it by a treaty of peace. Owing to difference in the approach to this question between different Powers, little progress could be made.

"The Government of the United States of America and the United Kingdom thereupon took the lead in drafting a peace treaty with Japan. There were originally two separate drafts which differed materially from each other. Finally some minor changes were incorporated in the United States draft, and the Government of the United Kingdom accepted it. The United States and the United Kingdom then became joint sponsors of the revised draft treaty and this was communicated to us on July 20, 1951.

"The Government gave careful consideration to this revised draft and communicated their views on July 28 to the U. S. Government in regard to it. In this reply it was stated that the Government of India were in full sym-

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pathy with the underlying object of terminating war with Japan as soon as possible and admitting her to the community of free foreign nations. It was pointed out that the other objective of the peace treaty with Japan should be to lessen the existing tension in the Far East and help towards a peaceful settlement of the problems affecting that area. In order to satisfy these objectives, attention was drawn to some provisions in the draft treaty and certain proposals were made on behalf of the Government of India."

On August 12, 1951, the Government of India received the reply of the U. S. Government to their comments. Some minor variations were made in the original draft, but none of the major suggestions put forward by the Government of India were accepted. The Government thereupon, after careful consideration, came to the conclusion that India should not sign the Peace Treaty or participate in the San Francisco Conference. It was further decided that immediately after Japan attained independent status, the Government of India would make a declaration terminating the state of war between India and Japan and, later, a simple bilateral treaty with Japan should be negotiated.

In accordance with this decision, the following communication was sent on August 23, 1951, to the Government of United States, through our Embassy in Washington :

"The Government of India have, after most careful thought, come to the conclusion that the Treaty does not, in material respects, satisfy either of these two criteria.

(*a*) It is only natural to expect that Japan should desire the restoration, in full, of her sovereignty, over territory of which the inhabitants have a historical affinity with her own people and which she has not acquired by aggression from any other country. The Ryuku and the Bonin islands fully satisfy this description. Nevertheless, the Treaty proposes that until the U. S. Government seek and obtain trusteeship over these islands, they should continue to be subject to the legislative and administrative control of the U. S. It is apparent to the Government of India that such an arrangement cannot but be a source of dissatisfaction to the large sections of the Japanese people and must carry the seed of future dispute and possibly, conflict in the Far East.

(*b*) The Government of India recognise that, as a sovereign nation, Japan should have the right to make arrangements for her defence as provided in Article 5 of the Treaty. If, in exercise of this right, Japan should decide to enter into defensive agreements with a friendly Power, no one could reasonably object to this. But the right should be exercised by the Government of Japan when Japan has become truly sovereign. A provision in the Treaty which suggests that the present occupation forces may stay on in Japan as part of such a defensive agreement is bound to give rise to the impression that the agreement does not represent a decision taken by Japan in the full enjoyment of her freedom as a sovereign nation. The effect of this not only on the people of Japan but upon large sections of people in Asia is bound to be most unfortunate.

"As already stated the Government of India attach the greatest importance to the treaty providing that the island of Formosa should be returned to China. *The time and manner of such return might be the subject of separate negotiations* but to leave the future of the island undetermined, in spite of past international agreements, in a document which attempts to regulate the relations of Japan with all Governments that were engaged in the last war against her does not appear to the Government of India to be either just or expedient. Mutatis mutandis the same argument applies to the Kurile islands and to S. Sakhalin.

"For the foregoing reasons, the Government of India have decided, with regret, that they cannot be parties to this treaty. It is their sincere hope that lasting peace will prevail in the Far East and, to that end, they will continue to co-operate with the U. S. and other Governments in such manner as may be open to them, consistently with the principles on which their foreign policy is based. As a first step, it is their intention, as soon as this may be practicable, to put an end to the state of war between them and Japan, and to establish full diplomatic relations with that country.

"It has already been announced that the Conference convened at San Francisco to consider the Draft Peace Treaty with Japan will not be open to negotiation, though attending Governments will be free to state their views on the Treaty. The Government of India feel that the statement of their views on the Treaty contained in this reply, should be adequate to clarify their own position to the Conference. It is their intention, if the U. S. Government have no objection, to communicate this reply to their own Parliament, which is now in session, on August 27. Once the document has been published, it will be available for the information of the Conference, and the Government of India will be glad if the Government of the United States, which will act as host to the Conference, will have this reply circulated to its members. As, for the reasons already stated, the Government of India will be unable to sign the Treaty, they think that it is not necessary for them to send representation to it."

American Note on India's Decision

The United States State Department announced that India had served formal notice that it would abstain from the Japanese Peace Treaty Conference at San Francisco next month.

India was taking this action principally because it objected to provisions which permitted American Defence Forces to remain in Japan, the announcement said.

An American reply made public at the same time as the communication from India said :

"It would be quite impracticable and totally unwelcome for the United States to help to defend Japan if that were not wanted by the Japanese people."

In a 1,500-word note, the State Department expressed regret at India's decision not to sign the treaty at

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conference in San Francisco opening on September 4.

In its reply the United States deplored India's decision to make a separate peace, and said :

"There can never be united action for peace unless the nations are willing to accept what, to each, may seem imperfections.

"The Government of the United States believes that the peace will be more stable if it is founded on united action, just as victory involved united actions and the occupation involved united action."

The American answer expressed surprise at India's claim that the proposed treaty would not restore the Japanese to a "position of honour, equality and contentment among the community of free nations."

It quoted the Japanese Prime Minister, Shigeru Yoshida, as saying in a letter dated July 13 : "The treaty as it stands, reflects abundantly American fairness, magnanimity and idealism."

The United States Note began by saying the American Government replied "in the same spirit of frankness and friendship" which animated the Indian Note of August 23.

Welcoming India's expressed intention to end its state of war with Japan and establish diplomatic relations, it said :

"The overriding desire of the Government of the United States is peace in Asia. The Government of the United States believes that the peace will be more stable if it is founded on united action just as victory involved united action and the occupation involved united action.

"However, the people of the United States will not feel their efforts and sacrifices for victory in the Pacific have been in vain if they have made it possible for the Government of India to make peace with a Japan, which is no longer a military and aggressive threat.

"The Government of the United States regrets that the Government of India feels that the pending treaty of peace has such imperfections that the Government of India prefers to make a separate peace. There can never be united action for peace unless the nations are willing to accept what, to each, may seem imperfections.

"In its specifications of imperfections the Government of India suggests that the treaty of peace will not provide Japan with a position of honour, equality and contentment among the community of free nations.

"This suggestion greatly surprises the Government of the United States. From the beginning the announced goal of the United States has been to restore Japan to just such a position.

"It is the belief of the Government of the United States, shared by the Government and people of Japan, and of many other States that the pending treaty, to an unprecedented degree, achieves the goal.

"For example, the Prime Minister of Japan in a letter of July 13 to Mr. John Foster Dulles written on the occasion of calling the San Francisco Conference said: "I am grateful that we have been consulted and given a full opportunity to submit our views and desires and moreover that these have been in a large measure incorporated in the draft treaty. The Treaty as it stands reflects abundantly American fairness, magnanimity and idealism.

"The Government of the United States doubts that the Government of India had fully understood and taken into account the views of the Government and people of Japan."

The American reply said : "The treaty makes provision for multilateral signature now and obligates Japan to conclude similar treaties with all countries not now signatory who are parties to the United Nations declaration of January 1, 1942.

"The Governments of the United Kingdom and of the United States, sponsors of the present text, and the many other Allied powers which have co-operated to produce that text, have gone to great pains to assure that the treaty will be such as to enable all of the Allies to subscribe to it."

"The Government of India suggests that the treaty should restore in full Japan's sovereignty over territory of which the inhabitants have an historical affinity with her (Japan's) own peoples and which she has not acquired by aggression from any other country," the reply continued.

"This principle would involve a major departure from the Potsdam surrender terms, which specified categorically that the Japanese sovereignty should be limited to the four home islands and to such minor islands as the parties to the surrender proclamation might determine.

"The Government of India has never questioned these terms during the five and one half years during which India had served as a member of the Far Eastern Commission, which was established to ensure the fulfilment of those terms.

"The principle now put forward by the Government of India would require the retention by Japan of full sovereignty over the Kurile Islands and over the Ryuku Islands.

"Yet, the Government of India criticises the treaty provisions with reference to the Kurile Islands because it does not explicitly transfer full sovereignty to the Soviet Union, and criticises the provision with reference to the Ryukyus because, although it leaves sovereignty in Japan, it permits of a United Nations Trusteeship with the United States as administering authority.

"The Government of the United States finds it difficult to understand how the Government of India can be confident that future arrangements regarding the Ryukyu and Bonin Islands, the terms of which are not yet formulated, will hereafter be a source of dissatisfaction to large sections of the Japanese people.

"Nor does the Government of the United States understand why the Government of India applies such different tests as between the Kuriles and the Ryukyus."

Continuing, the American reply said : "The Government of India objects because the treaty gives Japan the right to prevent its becoming an indefensive nation between the date of the coming into force of the treaty of peace and the coming into force of some voluntary collective security arrangements.

"The Government of India suggests that the only way to prove that such a security arrangement is in fact voluntary, is to subject Japan to the grave risk incident

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to a period of total defenselessness in close proximity to proved aggressors.

"There is no reason to believe that this is desired by the people of Japan or that it would promote the welfare of Japan for the treaty of peace to impose that grave hazard upon Japan.

"The Government of the United States has gone to great lengths to ascertain that and security agreement which Japan seeks shall, in fact, be responsive to the will of the Japanese people. It would be quite impracticable and totally unwelcome for the United States to help defend Japan if that were not wanted by the Japanese people.

"The statements of the Japanese Government and of the political leaders of Diet, and manifold expressions of public opinion, all demonstrate that the Japanese do not want Japan to become a defenceless nation upon the coming into force of the treaty of peace.

"No less than 32 of the Allied powers all members of the United Nations have freely made or are making collective security arrangements to which the United States is a party.

"It would indeed be surprising if the sentiment which has animated so many free peoples did not manifest itself also in Japan.

"The Government of India states that the future of Formosa should not be left "undertermined." It suggests that the treaty should provide for the return of Formosa to China but that the time and manner of such return might be the object of separate negotiations.

"It would seem to the United States that a future disposition is "undermined" if it depends upon future negotiations as to time and manner.

"The Government of India must be fully aware that there cannot at the present time be any final agreement among the Allied powers with respect to the future of Formosa.

"To insist that a Japanese Peace Treaty be deferred until there is such agreement, is in fact, to postpone indefinitely the restoration of Japan to 'honour, equality and contentment among the community of free nations' which the Government of India agrees is an urgent requirement.

"Furthermore, the Government of the United States observes that the Government of India apparently does not intend itself to defer ending its state of war with Japan until the future of Formosa has been definitely dealt with."

The reply continued: "We the Government of the United States do not claim that the prospective treaty of peace is in every respect perfect. It involves adjustments such as are the inevitable accompaniment of any concerted human effort.

"The essential thing is that the treaty is a peace treaty and is drawn in terms which do not contain within themselves the seeds of another war.

"Delay would cost a price which makes petty all the sacrifices incident to present action. It would perpetuate the surrender terms which subject the Japanese Government to the military rule of the Allied powers.

"If that subjection is continued after the Occupation has served its legitimate and valid purposes, the result is indistinguishable from colonialism and imperialism in vicious form.

"The United States does not want to be a party to colonialism or imperialism. That is why it strives so earnestly to achieve the best possible peace as promptly as possible.

"That is why it contributes so liberally to the rehabilitation of our former enemies as well as of our friends.

"The Government of the United States regrets that the Government of India is not disposed to join this united offer for peace.

"However, the Government of the United States welcomes the assurances of the Government of India that, in so far as consistent with the principles on which its foreign policies are based, it will continue to co-operate with the United States Government and other Governments to the end that lasting peace will prevail in the Far East.

"The Government of the United States hopes that these principles to which the Government of India alludes, will permit of co-operation which is practical and fruitful of peace," the American note concluded.

The Indian Note, sent by the Indian Charge d'Affaires in Washington, Sri M. K. Kripalani, to Mr. John Foster Dulles, President Truman's special adviser on the Japanese Peace Treaty, said that India's present reply was conceived in a spirit of frankness and sincere friendship for the Government and people of the United States.

The Government of India throughout the negotiations had laid emphasis on two fundamental objectives:

1. The terms of the treaty should concede to Japan "a position of honour, equality and contentment among the community of free nations" and

2. "They should be so framed as to enable all countries specially interested in the maintenance of a stable peace in the Far East to subscribe to the treaty sooner or later."

"The Government of India have, after the most careful thought, come to the conclusion that the treaty does not in material respects satisfy either of these two criteria," the Indian Note stated. After clarifying its stand, as given in the note quoted by Pandit Nehru in Parliament, the Indian Note concluded:

"The Government of India would be glad to know if the United States Government have any objection to their informing our Parliament of this reply on Monday August 27, 1951," the Indian Note concluded.

India's Reply to America's Note

The following are the main points of India's reply to the last communication from the U.S. Government on the Japanese peace treaty:

"The Government of India welcome the assurance that the overriding desire of the Government of the U.S.A. is peace in Asia. The Government and people of India have striven to this end to the best of their ability, because they consider peace of paramount importance to the world

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and, more especially, to the countries of Asia, which have suffered for many generations under alien domination.

"The Government of India also welcome the assurance of the U.S. Government that they do not want to be a party to colonialism or imperialism. Opposition to colonialism and imperialism has been the basis of India's struggle. Having experienced the burden and the injury that flow from both, the people of India are convinced that continuance of them in any form and in any part of the world cannot lead to peace or progress or to the happiness of the people concerned.

"Turning to certain specific points relating to the treaty which arise out of the reply of the U.S. Government, the Government of India wish to make the following observations :

(1) "The U.S. Government have expressed the belief that their view of the proposed treaty is shared by the Government and the people of Japan. The Government of India regret that their appreciation of the situation does not tally with that of the U.S. Government.

(2) "In suggesting the return of the Ryukyu and the Bonin groups of islands to Japanese sovereignty, the Government of India are not challenging the Potsdam terms of surrender. As the U.S. Government have themselves pointed out, those terms left room for the addition, by agreement, of some minor islands to the islands of Honshu, Hokkaidu, Kyushu and Shikoku, over which Japan was to be allowed to exercise sovereignty.

"Nor have the Government of India any intention whatsoever of applying dissimilar principles to different parts of territories which have a historical affinity with Japan and which Japan did not wrest from any of its neighbours. If they excluded the Kurile islands from the scope of their suggestion, it was because the Yalta agreement provided, without any reservation, that the Kurile islands shall be handed over to the Soviet Union. The Government of India cannot be held responsible for any inconsistency, which is the result of the Yalta agreement.

(3) "In discussing the Government of India's views regarding defensive arrangements to be made by Japan, the Government of the United States describe them as tantamount to leaving Japan defenceless against proved aggressors. The Government of India fail to find any warrant for such a conclusion from anything that they have said. The draft treaty recognizes that Japan as a sovereign nation possesses the inherent right of individual or collective self-defence and that Japan may voluntarily enter into collective security arrangements. Adequate provision is thus made for Japan independently to make whatever arrangements she considers necessary for her self-defence as soon as she has signed the peace treaty, and it is not clear to the Government of India why there should be any 'period of total defencelessness' for Japan.

(4) "In regard to Formosa, the Government of India have suggested that, in keeping with international obligations, it should be stated clearly in the treaty that it would be returned to China. That would determine the future of Formosa leaving the time and manner of such return to be settled at a future date. The Government of India have been and are of opinion that a declaration that Formosa shall be returned to China will help in creating conditions for a settlement in the Far East. But the Government of India have at no time insisted or even suggested that a Japanese peace treaty should be deferred until there is final agreement with respect to the future of Formosa.

(5) "The Government of India have been anxious that a peace treaty with Japan should be signed and the military occupation of Japan terminated at the earliest possible moment.

"The Government of India do not wish to come in the way of any nation which is satisfied with the terms of the present treaty and is prepared to sign it. They only claim for themselves their inherent and unquestionable right not to sign a treaty with the terms of which they are not fully satisfied.

(6) "The Government of India have no intention of proposing to Japan a treaty of peace which would in any way be controversial or which would run counter to the provisions of the draft treaty of peace. Their action is not being represented at the San Francisco conference and in making a separate treaty of peace with Japan, should not, therefore, adversely affect either the friendly relations that exist between the Government of India and the Government of the United States or the co-operation of the two Governments in everything 'which is practical and fruitful for peace.'

(7) "The Government of India hope that the observations made in the foregoing paragraphs reveal a unity of outlook between them and the Government of the United States in many vital matters that affect the future of the people of Asia and of humanity in general.

"The differences that exist between them are differences of method and approach. Such divergencies of opinion are bound to occur even amongst the friendliest nations and should not be allowed to cause resentment that might come in the way of mutual understanding and community of effect."

Korea

Negotiations have broken down in Korea. There was a fusillade of accusations against the U.N. forces, concerning the breach of armistice terms in regard to the neutral zone at Kaesong. The Commander of the U.N. forces, General Ridgway had the whole incident thoroughly investigated and as a result of which the following reply was sent to the Commander of the Communist forces :

"Your message of August 24 pertaining to alleged incidents by elements of the U.N. Command is so utterly false and so preposterous and so obviously manufactured for your own questionable purposes, it does not in its own right merit a reply.

"Nor do other incidents you have cited as intentional violations by the U.N. Command of the neutral zone at Kaesong.

"When not fabricated by you for your own propa-

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ganda needs, these incidents have proven to be actions of irregular groups without the slightest connexion, overtly or covertly, with any forces or agencies under my control.

"In spite of this I have consistently required my senior delegate, and commanders of forces under my Command, to grant you the courtesy of a full inspection and report on every alleged incident, regardless of its manifest falsity.

"Evidence in this most recent alleged violation was even more palpably compounded for your insidious propaganda purposes than your earlier efforts.

"In line, however, with our constant adherence to the ethics of decency, I have in this case, as in all others, fully investigated your charges.

"My senior Army, Navy and Air Force Commanders have individually certified to me in writing that none of their elements have violated, or could possibly have violated, the Kaesong neutral zone in this or any other instance of alleged violations reported by you.

"I have caused the result of the investigation into this most recent allegation to be widely published so that the entire world will be fully cognizant of your quite evident intent to use a manufactured incident in order to evade your responsibility for having suspended the negotiations.

"Allegations made in your several recent communications concerning alleged firing at Pan Mun Jon; the alleged ambush of August 19 by U.N. forces; and alleged bombing and strafing of Wednesday night (August 22), are rejected without qualification as malicious falsehoods totally without foundation in fact.

"When you are prepared to terminate the suspension of armistice negotiations which you declared on August 23, I will direct my representatives to meet with yours with a view to seeking a reasonable armistice agreement."

The reply speaks for itself. But the affair is so astounding that one wonders as to what its significance really is. It is evident that it is not to the interest of some party—whether directly involved in the struggle as yet or not—that the war should end.

Linguistic Provinces

The question of linguistic provinces has again come to the forefront. A General Secretary of the Congress has declared on two occasions in two different places that the Congress is committed to the principle of the formation of linguistic provinces. During the Bangalore Session of the A.I.C.C., the Working Committee re-iterated this principle when it was agreed that claims for the formation of Andhra and Karnatak provinces would be favourably taken up.

Prime Minister Nehru has introduced a new factor of expediency and general agreement in the question of linguistic provinces. On August 22, Prime Minister Nehru told Parliament that *when there was a broad agreement between the parties concerned in the matter of creation of linguistic provinces, the Government on their part would gladly take every step possible and needed for the fulfilment of that demand.*

The occasion for this statement of Government's policy was provided by an adjournment motion tabled by Prof. Ranga. The motion was disallowed.

The adjournment motion wanted the House to discuss the fast unto death taken by over 15 well-known Andhra members of the Congress, including Swamy Sita Ram, Sri Bulusu Sambarmoorthy, Sri and Srimati Basavayya and others in connection with the failure of the Government to take effective and urgent steps towards the formation of the Andhra province.

The Prime Minister explaining the Government's policy stated that although this was a matter of the utmost concern to the House, the matter could hardly be the subject of an adjournment motion. "We are certainly anxious that well-known public men should not indulge in hunger-strikes with regard to any such matter."

He confessed the matter of the creation of the linguistic provinces was a matter of great interest to the Government, but so far as the Government was concerned, Sri Nehru added, they had always held the view and expressed it on numerous occasions that before any proposal for a linguistic province was considered, all the parties concerned should come to some broad agreement on the question. He admitted, however, that some measure of agreement was there over this matter in the case of Andhra. But the question was not one of agreement on the boundaries alone. There should be agreement on the finances, services and many other things. And the Government having gone through the question very carefully had concluded that this would create many difficulties.

After all, Sri Nehru added, at no time did the Government like the word "partition" in another context. But inner partition was bound to create difficulties, which would be faced of course, but one had to deal with the question carefully.

If, therefore, there was this broad agreement forthcoming from the parties concerned, the Prime Minister assured the House, "So far as the Government are concerned, I must declare this policy that the Government would take all steps needed for the fulfilment of that demand."

It might be possible for the Government, he said, that the preliminary step of setting up a Commission for the purpose might be taken even now. But in the absence of any broad agreement between the parties concerned there was the danger of the Commission reporting back that there was no agreement between the parties. Therefore, instead of furthering the cause, the report of the Commission might delay matters.

"*So far as we are concerned,*" Sri Nehru went on, "*we are prepared to go ahead with the question of linguistic provinces on the basis of a large measure of agreement.*" But he was sure that the hunger-strike, particularly by eminent public men, was hardly the way to achieve the object.

But next day, a different note was struck by Sri Rajagopalachari when, during a Bengal-Bihar boundary

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controversy in Parliament, he said that the boundary question was an administrative problem and that it should not be lifted to the level of a sentimental or language or nationality problem.

Now the question is whether the demand for linguistic provinces is looked upon as a matter of principle, or as an administrative problem. The Prime Minister, the Home Minister and the Supreme Executive of the Party they represent seem to differ on this issue rather widely. If it is a question of principle, expediency is a secondary matter and the principle cannot be accepted for particular areas in the country and denied to the rest. If principle has to be adhered to, dissident voices must be overcome by the Party which should throw its entire weight on the side of the principle. If the unwillingness of Bihar to part with the Bengali-speaking areas is considered to be against the agreed principle, it is for the Party to overcome it. Bengal cannot be blamed for raising the issue. From the administrative side as well, Bengal's claim on these lost districts is irresistible. West Bengal is a maimed province which has suffered most due to partition and it is only fair to help her rebuild the house by altering her boundary so as to include these Bengali-speaking tracts. The case is of urgency because of the distinctly undemocratic—indeed inhuman—attitude of the Bihar administration towards the Bengali speaking peoples who are in a large majority in the areas concerned. We have before now spoken of the cowardly attitude of the Congress with regard to this question. Shri Rajgopalachari was never troubled with principles and so his statements are of no consequence in this matter.

Corruption in Office and in Industry

The Government of India appointed two Enquiry Committees to get track of the corruption in officialdom and amongst India's industrialists. Reports have been published, exposing a state of affairs that is staggering. The Shroff Committee uses the word "outrageous" in characterizing the "over-stocking and deterioration of Railway Stores" in India. A summary of this part of the report says:

"While the country was being starved of essential materials, such as iron and steel and copper wire, the Committee discovered in the excessive stocks of stores of the Railways, items such as steel bars, rounds, galvanized sheets and copper and enamelled wire. It discovered that the present stock of fire bricks on the Assam Railway would meet its requirements for 272 years, that of carriage body finishing enamel for 105 years and of asbestos for 66 years. The stock of cutter, for wood-working machinery, on the B. B. and C. I. Railway would last for 192 years, of bolts for 126 years, and of snap head rivets for 55 years. The stock of the tin plates on the E. P. Railway would last for 222 years, of steel transverse keys on the M. and S. M. Railway for 139 years; of brown paper on the South Indian Railway for 304 years, of rope and steel spring wire for 867 years and of wooden keys for 195 years."

About corruption and its cause, the Committee's verdict is as follows:

"We have had no opportunity of investigating any cases of corruption or embezzlement in the stores organization. We feel, however, there is considerable scope for leakage because of the very unsatisfactory state of store-keeping at several depots, lack of inspection at receiving ends, very extensive direct purchases made by the Controllers of Stores under emergency powers of the General Managers, and the enormous and almost incredible quantities of stocks of certain items of stores, unavoidably resulting in serious deterioration and obsolescence with artificially created necessity of forced disposal."

The Ganga Nath Enquiry Committee has also submitted its report on Sugar racket of 1949. Its findings are:

"The Sugar Syndicate moved out stocks *far in excess* of agreed quantities. These stocks were cornered by hoarders who raised prices. The surprising thing is that the U. P. Government endorsed, and the Central Government accepted, the Sugar Syndicate's request for extra wagons without bothering to inquire why extra wagons were wanted. These wagons were used to move sugar in excess of agreed quantity.

"Wagons were allotted in the belief that they had a uniform capacity of 10 tons when actually very many of them could, and did, carry 20 tons! Huge quantities were moved to the border towns of Punjab from where sugar was smuggled to Pakistan. Nobody stopped the scandal at *any* stage! The Government allowed the Syndicate to export 30,000 tons of sugar to Pakistan at a time when the stock position was already weak!

"Earlier the Syndicate tried to sell sugar in Pakistan at 'cut' prices and, imposed a levy of four annas per maund on all home consumption! More than 75 per cent of the mills charged a premium—at times as high as Rs. 10-12-4 per maund—on their sugar stock releases!"

These things were the talk of the people in the autumn of 1949. Since then they have had no occasion to thank either the Government or their Birlas, Dalmias, Singhanias and their legal advisers for making sugar less costly to them. The thing that irritates and rankles is that during the war, sugar was cheaper and that under Wavell, and now with a Rajendra Prasad, we are worse off in this and other kindred matters. This state of affairs will continue until the Parliament contains a majority of persons who feel for the agony of the suffering masses in reality. The present coterie of sycophants, drawn from the party-caucus, are responsible for all this corruption. They have fooled the people long enough with their lip-sympathy. It is about time they were purged.

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Bhakrā-Nangal Project and Damodar Valley

The courtesy of East Punjab's Publicity Department enables us to publish the following:

"As a result of the construction of Bhakra and Nangal Projects, I can see that vision of a Punjab not far distant from now, a new Punjab with a network of canals, with electric railway trains, tramways, with towns humming with industrial activity and with villages full of flourishing fields. The construction of this project will provide great opportunities to the people of Punjab for the exercise of their initiative and skill in the planning, construction and industrial fields. New ideas will spring up to make the border State one of the richest in India," observed Dr. Gopichand Bhargava, Chief Minister, Punjab, on the occasion of the commencement of Bhakra Dam Works on the 29th April, 1951.

"The fruits of this project would become manifest even earlier," he added. "The Nangal Hydel Canal and Power house would be completed by 1953 which would enable them to supply electricity to Delhi and also provide a certain amount of non-perennial irrigation in certain parts which are at present without any irrigation facilities.

"He regarded Bhakra and Nangal Projects as the symbol of the New Punjab, a Punjab which has risen during the last 3½ years on the ruins of the old.

"We had numerous problems to face after partition. Not only had we to rebuild the shattered economy of this mutilated and truncated State but had to rehabilitate millions of our unfortunate brethren, who had been driven away from their ancestral homes by communal fanaticism. Starting from scratch we have reached a stage in the development of this State when there is no looking back. It is heartening to find this project has kept pace with the growth of our State. We look forward now to an era of peace and prosperity, of growth and development, in which Bhakra and Nangal would play a most significant role."

We wish god-speed to our brethren of East Punjab in this scheme. On our side the Damodar Valley is hanging fire due to prolonged obstructions from New Delhi on one side and hesitation on the other. One particular little Tin-God is blatantly following this "denial policy" in safety because of the ignorance of the Chief Executive of India, who has lost sight of his duties to the people of West Bengal.

Rajasthan's Water Resources

Rajasthan's people, and the Indian Union also, have been building high hopes on the Multi-Purpose Irrigation Schemes that both the Governments have been sponsoring. The story told below is really heartening. And it is good to hear that it is not all failure and futility, though a section of our politicians have been doing their best or worst to kill the people's confidence in their own ability to solve their own problems.

"A Multi-Purpose Development Project costing nearly rupees 14 crores and capable of generating 7,75,000 K.W. of electrical energy and yielding over one lakh tons of food-grains every year is under construction in Rajasthan.

"The scheme known as the Chambal Valley Project consists of three power dams and a barrage with canals on either side of the river Chambal which takes its origin in the northern slopes of the Vindhyan range and flows through Madhya Bharat and Rajasthan for a length of about six hundred miles before joining the Jamuna in U.P. The total catchment area of the river is about 55,000 square miles out of which the main river and its tributaries drain about 11,000 square miles.

"The uppermost dam, known as the Gandhi Sagar Dam will be in Madhya Bharat State, the next two dams—the Rawatbhata (Bhopal Power Project) Dam and the Kotah Dam and the Kotah Barrage, the lowermost, being in Rajasthan State.

"The Rawatbhata Dam will be built about 20 miles downstream of the Gandhi Sagar Dam and at a distance of about 32 miles from Kotah City in Rajasthan.

"A colony near the dam site has been laid out and the construction of road from Kotah City to the site are in progress.

"The Kotah barrage will be built about 15 miles downstream of the Kotah dam and about six miles below Kotah City.

"The water from the turbines at the Kotah Dam passing into the river will be picked up at the barrage and utilized for irrigation."

Tube-Wells

We have been depending on foreign experts for our river-control activities. We were not aware, however, that even for sinking tube-wells, we have to depend on U.S.A. for their machineries, pipes, etc. The Food Minister in Lord Linlithgow's Executive has rubbed in this dependence in a statement made in New York. He has advised the Indian Government to indent largely for materials required to sink 5,000 tube-wells, as the river-control activities will take years to show results. He thinks that these would prove of more value than the 2-million tons of food-grains which will carry us through 12 months only. What does India's Food Minister think of this brain-wave of Jwala Prasad Srivastava?

India's Food "Bill"

The enactment by the U.S.A. Congress of what is popularly known as India's Food Bill has put an end to a sorry business, the memory of which will rankle in Indian hearts for a long time to come. There has been bitterness in this argument as a section of the Congress

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had attempted to exploit India's necessity for food-grains for extracting political advantages. Their attempts have been foiled, we hope; and it should teach rulers of States that there are limits to political meanness.

Today however, we desire to forget this episode, and try to realize what the cost of this food "bill" will remain for our descendants. The following indicates it in certain details :

The loan of 190 million dollars will carry interest at two and a half per cent per annum. The period for the first instalment of the interest begins on December 31, 1952. The loan is repayable in 35 years and the first instalment of the payment part of the principal is due in June 1957, whereafter semiannual instalments, including the principal and the interest, became payable in accordance with a fixed scale and schedule.

An amount of seven million dollars per annum become payable from 1957 to 1966, ten million dollars per annum become payable from 1967 to 1976 and twelve million dollars from 1977 to 1986.

Thus, posterity will pay for meeting the famine conditions now prevalent in Bihar and Madras and other parts of India and maintaining the twelve-ounce ration a head in the rationed areas for the next 35 years. While the scale and schedule of repayment of the principal and the interest have already been fixed, negotiations will start shortly for agreement on the details of raw materials and other goods, which may form part payment on behalf of India, as from December next year.

While two million tons of additional food-grains are coming from the United States of America more than about four million tons are coming from other countries —a considerable part thereof is again coming from America, Canada, Argentine, Australia—and from Russia and China commitments have gone down after a signing of trade agreements with the two countries. For the information, of those who have been shouting down "capitalist" America and boosting the "Peoples' States" of China and Russia we give the following facts :

Russia offered half-a-million tons of wheat, but when it came to negotiations India was evidently unable to supply goods in return for wheat for more than 100,000 tons. Russia wanted shellac, tea and jute from India. China offered one million tons of food-grains but the actual agreement related only to about four lakhs of tons. Of this rice is only about 16,500 tons and the balance consists mainly of milo or grain sorghums, a variety of jowar, red in colour but which is the nearest substitute for food in the rice-eating areas. India will supply 14,000 tons of jute bags in return. These cost more than Rs. 5,00,00,000 as against the total value of Chinese food-grains of Rs. 13,00,00,000 the balance being payable in cash. In the matter of wheat, there has been considerable annoyance in public over what was taken to be jowar adulterated with wheat. We find that was Russian wheat (of 2nd quality).

Central Food Technological Research Institute, Mysore

The report of the progress up to 1st March, 1951, of this Institute gives an idea of its value:

General: The 'Cheluvamba Mansion' in which the Institute is located was formally received by the Hon'ble Prime Minister on 29th December, 1948. The Institute office in Mysore commenced work in the beginning of February, 1949, and the first laboratories were fitted up and work started towards the end of July of the same year. By about the beginning of October, 1950, most of the laboratories had been fitted up and the Institute was formally opened by the Hon'ble Sri C. Rajagopalachari on 21st October 1950.

An important development was the decision of the Government of India, through the Ministry of Agriculture, to merge the Indian Institute of Fruit Technology with this Institute. The transfer was with effect from 1st March 1950 and the staff joined at Mysore between April and June, 1950.

Utilisation of Tubers and Production of Synthetic Grains : The immediate programme is mainly directed towards studies which have a bearing on the urgent food problems of the country. One of the important findings relate to the replacement of 25 to 50 per cent of cereals by tuber flours (particularly tapioca and sweet potato) and other processed tuber products. It was found that, in addition to maintaining growth, the tubers actually exercise a supplementary action because of their higher calcium content. This finding is of considerable practical value. The Institute has also succeeded in fortifying and then converting tapioca into grains which could be cooked and consumed the same way as rice. This work has already attracted considerable amount of attention and the Travancore-Cochin Government arranged for a pilot plant demonstration of the process at the All-India Exhibition organised under the auspices of the Trivandrum Municipal Corporation.

Mixed Farming in Uttar Pradesh

Mr. S. Ibne Ali's article reprinted from *Indian Farming* of August, 1950, should inspire farmers:

"The Department of Agriculture, Uttar Pradesh, aims at improving the economic plight of the cultivator. It can be achieved only by getting the maximum turn-out from a minimum investment and also by encouraging such means as may supplement their income.

"Although mixed farming is an old practice in our country, due to several reasons there has been a gradual deterioration in this type of farming and the domesticated animals' health and breed. The same has resulted in an all-round deficiency of good bullocks, cows, buffaloes and consequently, milk and milk-products, manure, and above all in the fertility of our land—the national wealth of the country.

"India being primarily an agricultural country,

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the sole occupation of the rural population is connected with agricultural pursuits. It has been observed that in our country agriculture has become more or less a gamble against nature. If there are timely rains and the weather is favourable the cultivator is able to earn his living without resorting to loans, otherwise, he is entangled in untold miseries inflicted upon him by the usurious money-lender. It is, therefore, imperative that he should adopt mixed farming not only as an extra source of income but also as a means for ensuring good breeds of domesticated animals. These days when prices of bullocks have gone very high, it is beyond the means of an average cultivator to buy them. But if cows of good breed are kept, the difficulty can be overcome to a great extent. Apart from this, the cultivator and his family get plenty of better and nourishing food comprising of milk and milk-products.

"Today, Western agriculture is based mostly on mixed farming practices and is very well organized. This has enabled America, Canada, Australia, and other advanced countries to achieve peak productions in agriculture and they are thus, in a position even to supply food-grains to the deficit countries.

"Sir John Russel, a well-known agricultural expert of Great Britain, after making extensive tour of our country in 1938 had very strongly felt, and rightly too, that the farmers of this great sub-continent did not keep good milch animals and hence their children got very poor nourishment and their land remained low in fertility.

"It is true that from a pair of bullocks or cows we can, if we wish, get 25 cart-loads of manure which is sufficient to provide humus and a large part of the fertilizing elements to four acres of wheat or paddy. For two cows, one acre of land is necessary for growing green fodder, *viz.*, jowar in *kharif* and berseem in *rabi*. The manure thus obtained from the animals, if applied to four acres of land under wheat or paddy, will give an yield equal to the produce from six to seven acres of unmanured land. It is therefore incorrect to think that by growing fodder in one or two acres, the acreage under food-grains will go down and the output will be lowered. In fact, a cultivator having a pair of bullocks, can actually produce more from a smaller area if he keeps two cows also, than otherwise because in that case he can manure his fields better.

"In the Uttar Pradesh the Department of Agriculture selected six districts representing diverse soils and climatic conditions for undertaking experiments on mixed farming. The districts selected were Meerut, Bareilly, Lucknow, Barabanki, Gorakhpur and Deoria. In each district a village was selected for this purpose. In each village six cultivators who possessed eight to ten acres of land were selected. Out of these six cultivators two were picked out to practise mixed farming and they were asked to keep two or three well-bred cows and buffaloes. They were advised to maintain them on improved lines. They also grew some fruits and vegetables, wherever possible. The remaining four cultivators were left to go on without adopting mixed farming. An account of their daily expenditure and income was regularly maintained. It was proved after five years of experimentation, that mixed farming was much more profitable than ordinary farming. By keeping a few milch animals an additional income is derived from the milk and milk-products and the progeny of the cattle. In addition, the manure produced from these cattle increases the fertility of the soil thereby increasing the turn-out per acre. In practising mixed farming, the rotation of the crops is so adjusted as to have fodder also from the same holding without affecting production of food crops. This is possible because, with the help of additional manure, intensive farming is possible without minimizing the fertility of the soil.

"It has been further observed from these experiments that in the western districts of the Uttar Pradesh a culitvator with a holding of eight to ten acres could easily maintain three cows and buffaloes and a pair of bullocks, while in the eastern districts only two cows or buffaloes besides a pair of bullocks could be kept. Such holdings were enough to provide sufficient fodder for the livestock to yield good produce and also to increase soil fertility.

"It is thus clear from the results of the experiments that in the case of mixed farming the cultivator's income per acre is Rs. 100 more than that derived by ordinary farming. Moreover, he gets ample supply of milk, milk-products, fruits and vegetables. Besides, he is able to raise his own bullocks and milch cattle and grow fodder crops like berseem, lucerne, *jowar, guar*, etc.; the animals help to increase the fertility of his land. Naturally, his overall income is gratly increased. It is also necessary to point out here that if the milch animals that are kept are of a poor breed, the sole purpose of the scheme of mixed farming will be defeated."

Side by side of work for the improvement of livestock, there is an incipient prejudice against it noticeable amongst officialdom.

Mineral Resources of the DVC Area

The Damodar Valley Corporation has published a very valuable report on the mineral resources of this region. The report has been prepared by Mr. V. R. Khedker who has already earned a high reputation as a geologist. It will be a mistake to accept it as a mere summary of all available data in the possession of the Geological Survey of India obtained during the past 100 years. The author has not only given a full account of the occurrences and reserves of mineral resources of this region, but at the same time, he has indicated the various industrial uses of these minerals and the pattern of integrated industry that can be developed with them. The potentiality of our mineral

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industries against our present foreign trade has been assessed. This will serve as a guide to the future industrialists. Mr. Khedker has taken special care to warn about the danger of wastage in the extraction of important minerals. For example, he has pointed out that although the Foley Committee (1920) had said that Indian coal is not inexhaustible and scientific mining methods are needed for its conservation and economic extraction," practically no action had been taken by the authorities. Not only nothing has been done to stop wastage, the direct result of the Coal Grading Board's recommendation in 1925 has been to encourage methods of further wastage due to partial extraction involving sections of a seam. The author says that this has proved to be responsible for the loss of future recovery from many other seams or parts of the same seam and that this grading of sections of seams must stop immediately. The conditions brought about by these processes of mining have, during the last 20 years, caused a disastrous series of fires, explosions and collapses in the Damodar Valley coal fields. He has indicated the need for the formation of a National Coal Commission as suggested by the Indian Coalfields Committee (1946). Mr. Khedker has studied our mineral problems from the standpoint of national interest. About the utilisation of bye-products he says, "The Indian Union is deficient in petrol. In other countries most of the Benzole recovered as a bye-product is used for preparing a motor spirit which has decided advantages because of its knock-suppression quality in high combustion engines. As something like 3 to 4 million tons of coal is coked in bye-product ovens in India, it may be asked why so little Benzole is made here. The Bararee Coke Company Ltd. were pioneers in 1920, and they were succeeded a few years later by the East India Railway plant at Giridih. The total output of the two plants does not exceed two lakhs of gallons per annum while the potential output of existing coke plants is about 3 to 4 million gallons per annum. Up to now this deficiency on the part of the industry has been ascribed to the Central Excise taxation on petrol and the resulting mechanics of price variation." In the present threatening petrol crisis, this suggestion should be given the closest attention by the Department of Industries of the G.S.I. Mr. Khedker says that the Central Government may consider extending some form of suitable protection to the manufacture of Benzole spirit.

Discussing India's high bargaining position in respect of manganese ore. Mr. Khedker says, "The reserves of manganese ores within India have a strategic value. Besides, India is perhaps the most important producer of certain high grade metallurgical ore. Consequently, the exporting ore should yield adequate benefits and may perhaps be utilised for securing essential commodities in which she is deficient, e.g., petrol, copper, zinc, etc." Great Britain, U.S.A., Germany, France and Japan produce about 70 per cent of world's steel but their manganese output is a little over 1 per cent. India is exhausting this very important mineral in the crude state and at a very low value. In its wide applications, manganese is perhaps only second to iron ore. In the section on mica, the author has shown that the royalty charged for mica is 5 per cent of the pit's mouth value and the dead rent in the new leases has been fixed at Rs. 12 per acre in the Kodarma Reserved Forest. These rates are ridiculously low and had been fixed to suit foreign interests. The number of important mica companies is about 12, and most of them are foreigners. There is no reason why the royalty and dead rents should not be reasonably enhanced and the mining lease rules suitably changed. The case with manganese is also the same. Mr. Khedker has focussed attention on the question of mining lease. In the section on silica, Mr. Khedker has indicated the potentiality of a new line in glass industry, *viz.*, the use of glass in electrical installations specially in high voltage transmission lines. In Western countries, glass as insulator has come to be known as the Miracle Maker and is rapidly replacing porcelain. Mr. Khedker has revealed that besides the pyrites deposits near Sahabad, much sulphur can be recovered from zinc concentrates and from oil purification, galvanising and tinning plants. The de Lattre process for the recovery of acid from spent pickling liquors deserves examination. He believes that the resources of sulphur, which India is in desperate need today, in the Damodar Valley Area are encouraging, if a scientifically planned effort is directed towards mobilising them. In the last section, Mr. Khedker has given a very valuable study of an integrated mineral industry in the Damodar Valley clearly indicating the basic and subsidiary industries that can be developed there. The Report, to say the least, will prove extremely helpful to the future industrialists of the country. But meanwhile it will be profitable for the Government of India to consider seriously the problems of wastage of valuable minerals, utilisation of bye-products and a reorientation of the mineral lease policy on the lines pointed out in this report. The question of nationalisation of mines in this connection may be seriously considered. The report would have been of greater value, had the author been permitted to be a little more outspoken.

Indian Coal

A recent news announced to the world that India's coal has been able to re-capture certain of the markets in "four continents," Asia, Australia, Africa and Europe. There may be an element of exaggeration in this claim, and it would be foolish to depend on these outside markets. We should bend our efforts to reorganize the home market and be freer from the ups and downs, the whims and caprices of people who are not ruled of the soil. We would be satisfied if the

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following facts and their appreciation are borne out by experience:

"There is a popular misconception that because there is believed to be a shortage of metallurgical coal, which belief is now being examined by an Expert Committee, it necessarily follows that there is a shortage of other high grade coals. There is no shortage of high grade coal either in production or in reserves for ordinary industrial use.

"Non-coking high grade coal suitable for steam raising is produced in the required quantities and the output can be stepped up to meet any foreseeable increase in demand at a very short notice. Reserves of good quality non-coking coal are very great in India, and in four Fields only, they are:

	Millions of tons
Jharia Field	1,625
Raniganj Field	1,660
Karanpura Field	3,740
Bokaro Field	1,300

(The figures for Karanpura and Bokaro Fields are proved reserves and large areas remain unprospected.)

"It is conservatively estimated that the supplies in these Fields alone would be more than sufficient to last for over 350 years."

Trickery in Jute Trade

On more than one occasion we have tried to expose the trickery that prevails in the jute trade. The letter of Sri Satish Chandra Das Gupta of Khadi Pratisthan, in *Harijan* of July 28 last, will go a long way in supporting us. But New Delhi authority has chosen to turn the blind eye to the moral and material lapses of this trade, on which Satish Babu can speak in more detail, if authority cares to look into the various factors that have been fostering this disease. The editor of this weekly appears to suggest that Satish Babu approached authority, but there has been "no response" to his request for investigation.

> "For sometime past the Indian Jute Mills Association prices or market prices of jute twine have been less than the price of raw jute, *e.g.*, on 30-5-51, the prices of raw jute and twine were as follows: Raw jute Rs. 105 per md.; Twine Rs. 83 per md. This is adversely affecting what is left of cottage spinning of jute . . . The jute cultivator now finds it more paying to sell out the little jute stock he has for household purpose. . . This is to explain how the lower price of jute twine *vis-a-vis* the raw jute affects employment in cottages."

After this, who will believe that the Rajendra Prasad-Nehru Government are anxious to promote the Gandhi Plan?

Bengal South-Eastern Border

Bengal's South-Eastern border, in spite of its strategic and economic importance, has been a neglected zone. The recent strike lasting over months together has resulted in at least this much good that the attention of the Central Government has been drawn towards it. Although inadequate, one may say that let there be a beginning. The Minister of State for Railways has, on August 25 last, introduced a Bill in the Indian Parliament which seeks to replace the Ordinance promulgated recently which seeks to make provision for the proper management and administration of certain narrow-gauge light railway still managed by private companies. The Ordinance was made applicable to the Barasat-Basirhat Railway, owning a narrow gauge line about 52 miles long in West Bengal. The Ordinance was of a general nature and provided for the application thereof to a delinquent privately run railway company by a notified order. Such a notification would enable the Government to appoint a new Board of Directors and any contract of management between the railway company and any managing agent would be automatically terminated. The intention underlying these provisions, it is explained, is that the company should be put back in its normal position when it would be possible to restore the management of the company to its old board of directors or to a new board of directors appointed in pursuance of a resolution passed by the shareholders of the company. Powers to administer the affair of the Barasat-Basirhat Railway have been delegated to the Government of West Bengal.

This Railway is of strategic importance and is in an extremely unsatisfactory state; it has stations which are not worth the name, the running of the trains is clumsy and above all it continues to be one of a narrow gauge. The railway connects Calcutta with Basirhat, a very important town on the south-eastern border. This railway by now ought to have been converted to a metre gauge one and run on a full-fledged railway service. We hope some of the Parliamentarians, specially the Bengal contingent, should take up this matter when discussion of the Bill comes up. The appropriate Ministry of the Central Government in charge of road construction should also make an immediate survey of the communication of this area and link up by road places that ought to be connected with one another and finally with Calcutta. The serious attention of the West Bengal Government should be drawn to the maintenance of the embankments of this locality which are of utmost importance in the matter of food production. These embankments protect the paddy fields from the onrush of saline water. Breaches in the embankments not only destroy standing crops by letting in saline water, but it brings in its trail endless misery for the local people. Cattle mortality becomes heavy due to foot and mouth diseases. Drinking water is spoiled. Paddy fields go out of cultivation for a few years due to salinity of the soil. The morale of the people goes down. This state of affairs is highly unsatisfactory and is grossly detrimental in frontier strategy. The morale of the people inhabiting the first line of defence is essential in the proper maintenance of a border area.

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"The Dividing Britisher"

Under this heading appeared a letter in the *People* of Delhi, dated July 28 last in which the writer quoted a "complete paragraph" from the book entitled *While Memory Serves* by Lt.-General Sir Francis Tucker who had been G.O.C. in Eastern Command during the last 18 months of British rule in India and for about 3 months after August, 1947. The point that the writer brings out in this quotation was that the Britisher had a larger hand in dividing India.

While there generally is such an impression in India we are constrained to say that the Britisher could not have done this mischief if the Muslims of India had been able to accept India as their own as they do Arabia or Pakistan. It is this separatist conceit that the Britisher exploited for his own purposes and which the Quaid-e-Azam lashed into a fury. All the same Sri Ram Kumar Leithra has done well to draw attention to this phase of British policy in its Kashmir context:

"There was much therefore to be said for the introduction of a new Muslim power supported by the science of Britain. If such a power could be produced and if we could orient the Muslim strip from North Africa through Islamia Deserts, Persia and Afghanistan to the Himalayas, upon such a Muslim power in Northern India, then it had some chance of halting the filtration of Russia through the Persian Gulf. These Islamic countries, even including Turkey, were not a very great strength in themselves. But with a Northern Indian Islamic State of several millions it would be reasonable to expect that Russia would not care to provoke them too far . . . . It seemed to some of us very necessary to place Islam between Russian Communism and Hindustan."

Indian Interests in Burma

The news of a new treaty of mutual advantage to India and Burma revives speculations about the present position of economico-financial interests built up by the labour, skill and intelligence of India's national in this neighbour of ours. The occasion should be taken advantage of to recall the many factors involved that have taken a not friendly form for some time, from before the last Great War.

Sometime ago a Madras weekly devoted to trade and allied subjects indicated these:

"The part played by South Indians, particularly Nattu Kottai Chettiars, in the development of land in Burma is by no means insignificant. They started as financiers and advanced considerable sums of money as loans to Burmese peasants. There was, naturally enough, a steady transference of land into their hands as the peasants found themselves unable to repay the loans and mortgages were foreclosed. While in 1930 the Indian community owned hardly half a million acres, in 1938 they had acquired about 2½ million acres out of a total of about 12 million acres of cultivable land. The total value of all lands and other immovable properties, owned by Indians in Burma, according to a spokesman of the External Affairs Ministry of the Government of India, is about Rs. 90 crores.

"In accordance with the provisions of the Burma Land Nationalization Act, owners of cultivable land, whether Burmese, Indian or European, will get 12 times the annual land revenue as compensation, the average annual revenue per acre being Rs. 3. The Act was enacted on the basis of Section 30 of the Constitution of Burma Act stating that "the State is the ultimate owner of all lands and it shall have the right to regulate, alter, and abolish land tenures or resume possession of any land and distribute the same for collective or co-operative farming to agriculturists, and that there can be no large holding on any basis whatsoever, and that the normal size of such private holdings shall, as soon as circumstances permit, be determined by a Commission. Though the said Commission has so far not submitted its recommendations regarding the normal size of a private holding, an agriculturist is allowed to have a holding of not more than 10 acres, and only in exceptional cases a joint family in which not less than 5 persons till the soil is given a holding of 50 acres. It is thus seen that the Act was meant, not as an anti-Indian measure as supposed in some quarters, but as a socialistic law to effect badly needed land reforms in a predominantly agricultural country. The charge of discrimination cannot thus be technically brought forward, though in reality its effect will be discriminatory.

"Whether the terms of compensation now arrived at between the Burmese Government and the Indian Delegation are equitable to both the Burmese Government and the Indian nationals cannot be decided with any degree of finality in view of the wildly contradictory views of the interested parties.

"The compensation that is likely to be offered, according to one estimate, comes to about Rs. 30 per acre for average land, and on this basis the total cost of acquisition of foreign-owned land in Burma will be only about Rs. 10 crores. No one can say what exactly will be the total amount that Burma will have to pay as compensation, but if it is to be only a paltry figure of Rs. 10 crores, it is certainly a meagre amount considering the value of the holdings. It should be borne in mind that between 1880 and the present day, the total acreage under rice in Lower Burma has increased something like 300 per cent, thanks mainly to Indian enterprise.

"One distinct gain, however, of the visit of the Indian Delegation is the new spirit of friendliness and cordiality that has developed between Burma and India. As for the immediate present, the offer by India to take Burma rice in lieu of cash payment of compensation for nationalised lands of Indians may meet with ready approval by the Burmese Government, though this question was beyond the brief of the Reddi Delegation. . . ."

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We are glad that the old enmity between the Indian and the Burmese is being forgotten. Apart from British Imperialist policy, the most responsible factor in this enmity of the past was the greed of those very same money-lenders whose cause is being espoused by our Madras contemporary. The transference of land, which is assumed to be "naturally enough" was mostly a rapacious land-grabbing process, as we saw for ourselves in Burma when we visited that country after the first anti-Indian riots.

Malaya's Independence

In the first week of June last, Mr. Dato Onn Bin Jalafar, President of the United Malaya National Organisation (U.M.N.O.) and Home Member in the Malayan Federal Government, has come out with the statement that his ideal is achievement of an "Independent Malaya" within a period of seven years. It has been hailed as "bold and courageous" by Mr. C. C. Tan, leader of the Singapore Progressive Party, and welcomed by Mr. K. Ramnathan, President of the Malayan Indian Congress and Mr. Dato Tan Cheng Lock, President of the Malayan Chinese Association. Thus, all the three most important races in Malaya, the Malayan, the Chinese and the Indian, have jointly discarded their previous demand of "dominion status" under the Crown and agreed to fight for complete independence.

Malaya is rich in rubber and other important raw materials, so essential to British trade and industry in these days of acute shortage of raw materials. The British have therefore held fast to this peninsula ever since they came there in 1874 to "assist" the local population. But pursuing the policy of "divide and rule" between the Indian, Chinese, and Malayan communities, the British have been exploiting this rich peninsula, bleeding the country white.

After the defeat of Japan and reoccupation of Malaya by the British, the revolutionary changes in India, Burma, Pakistan, Ceylon, and Indonesia have had their repercussions in Malaya as well. The people raised the cry of "dominion status" under the Crown, but the British instead created a new Federation of nine States ruled by the Sultans with British advisers. Penang and Malaya were created as settlements, and Singapore was put under a separate Administration, the whole peninsula being governed by a British High Commissioner.

To meet the popular agitation, the British recently introduced some kind of constitutional reforms, which provide for a Legislative Council with members nominated by the High Commissioner and not elected by the people. The "ministerial system of Government" also provides for the appointment of six non-officials and five officials by the High Commissioner to take charge of the various Departments of the Government. This dyarchical form of government, without any popular representation, failed to meet the demands of the people of Malaya. They thus continued to agitate for transference of real power.

Mr. Dato Onn's statement has created a stir in Malaya. The fear that the Malayans may not like to share political power with other communities is offset by Mr. Onn's declaration that if the U.M.N.O. did not open its gates to non-Malayans at the annual meeting in August he would form a new party to be called "Independence of Malaya Party." The thing does not appear to be as simple as that. In Mr. Dato's household there is opposition. His son, Captain Hussein who happens to be the Secretary-General of United Malayas National Organization is opposed to his father's idea, though it indicates no deviation from U.M.N.O.'s objectives. We must wait for further light to appreciate the Malaya situation.

Malayan Federal Citizenship Bill

There is a large volume of opinion among Indians and Chinese in Malaya, that the provisions of the Malayan Federal Citizenship Bill must be considerably changed before they can be acceptable.

The Bill was referred to a Select Committee of the Malayan Federal Legislative Council last week with little debate. That does not, however, mean that its provisions are not controversial. It only signifies that all discussion has been postponed to the Select Committee stage.

Legal experts have emphasised that if the Bill becomes law, no longer will an Indian or Chinese be able to enjoy dual citizenship rights in this country—that is rights of citizenship of his own country and of Malaya. The Bill requires that a citizen of the Federation of Malaya must abjure all other loyalties and must undertake not to exercise the rights and privileges of any other nationality or citizenship. Under the present law, such dual citizenship rights are permitted though the applicant for Malayan Federal Citizenship has to make a declaration that he is permanently settled in the Federation.

Under the Bill all Malayans born in Malaya States become citizens by birth. In the case of locally-born Indians, Chinese and other non-Malayas there are exceptional provisions. For citizens of the United Kingdom and colonies the first generation will be eligible for citizenship by registration. Only the second generation will be citizens by operation of law.

Persons who have lived for not less than ten years in Malaya in the preceding twelve-year period, are able to speak Malay or English with reasonable proficiency, and undertake to settle permanently in Malaya, can acquire Federal citizenship under the Bill by first enrolling themselves as subjects of the ruler of the Malaya State where they reside.

Certain facilities which British subjects now enjoy in respect of citizenship will be withdrawn from them under the Bill, and these privileges will be confined to citizens of the United Kingdom and colonies. According to prominent Indian lawyers, this will affect a large number of Indians in this country who are British subjects but not subjects of U.K. or colonies. They add that the tendency in Malayan politics has lately been to confine to U.K. and colonies nationals the special rights and privileges hitherto enjoyed by British subjects.

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During the debate on the Select Committee motion in Federal Legislative Council, a Chinese member said that the Bill sought to impose several new conditions for citizenship which were not present under the existing law. Thus, the first generation born in the settlements of Malacca and Penang would be deprived of the right by operation of law to be Federal citizens.

On the morning of the day the Bill came up for consideration in the Council, the influential Chinese-owned Singapore *Tiger Standard* urged that the Bill should be "killed." This new Bill is not an improvement on the present situation, the paper said. "On the contrary, it seeks to make even more rigid the lines of distinction between the various communities. It places new legal and constitutional barriers which would result in the intensification of communal fears and suspicions."

The Malayan Indian Congress, at its annual session, held last month, asked that Federal citizenship should be granted on standard and uniform qualifications, namely, five years' residence in Malaya, good character and ability to speak colloquial Malaya or English.

The above news was sent from Malaya on July 19 last.

Indians in Ceylon

Recent events in Ceylon has created a certain amount of tension in India. The people then in their new consciousness are apt to forget that Indians have made contributions to the island's enrichment. These people, about 8 lakhs of men, women and children, are being denied citizenship rights; and the policy of "Ceylonization" is being pursued with a certain amount of injustice.

We do not generally quote British observers in connection with our efficiency as compared to other Asian peoples. But in Ceylon's context we are tempted to quote the late Commander-in-Chief of the island's forces, Admiral Geoffrey Layton who, irritated perhaps by the threat of "Ceylonization" now directed against Indian-born Ceylonese but ultimately adversely effective against all foreigners, is reported to have said that Indians worked twice as hard as Ceylonese. There must be something in this gibe. The same is heard of in Burma, in Fizi, in the West Indies, in Mauritius, in South Africa's sugarcane lands to the credit side of our people—about 40 lakhs spread all over the world.

Indians in Ceylon, organized in their Congress, have been at the forefront of Ceylon's fight for freedom. And they have not been able to ignore the Sennanyke-and-Bandarnayke discrimination. They have fought it to a stand-still in the law-court. A news-item from Colombo has sent the information that "recently a judgment was delivered by the District Judge of Kegalla. The Kegalla judgment delivered in favour of one Mr. Kodakan Pillai in his petition for restoring his name on Ceylon's electoral rolls held the Citizenship Act of 1948 and the Electoral Amendment Act of 1949 *ultra vires* of section 29 (2) of Ceylon's Constitution. This section provided that no law enacted by Parliament should make persons of any community liable to restrictions to which persons of other community were not made liable or confer on persons of any community any privilege or advantage which was not conferred on persons of other communities. The logical step for the Ceylon Government arising out of this judgment would be to restore all deleted names in the Electoral Rolls or to set about amending the Constitution."

This will not, however, stand in the way of the Ceylon Ministers having their way. Law-courts do not command that respect from the controllers of State policy as these used to do. This is a universal phenomenon. The resignation of Mr. Bandarnayake is a pointer which should warn us of coming events. It is about time that our Foreign office made it clear to all and sundry that any country that deliberately sets out to cheat and deprive the children of India who have gone abroad, would get "reciprocity" with a vengeance. Ceylon is a pointer, like South Africa, of the boons of the "Commonwealth."

Modern Amenities in Rural Ceylon

The United Nations Economic, Scientific, Cultural Organization has been sponsoring centres of modern amenities in various parts of the world, specially in Asia. One of these is at Minneriya in Ceylon in her Northern Central Province now reduced to a "dry zone." This is being re-converted to its former plenty. This story was told by Dr. Spencer Hatch, once U.N.E.S.C.O. adviser in rural education to the Government of India and now director of the Ceylon Project, in *Courier*, U.N.E.S.C.O's organ. We make no apology in quoting certain parts of it.

"Minneriya is the centre of a colonization experiment begun by the Ceylon Government as part of its resettlement programme, in which special emphasis has been laid on improved agricultural methods. The opening of the fundamental education demonstration centre there means the beginning of a new march forward—educational, cultural and scientific—which will not only help the people of that area, but will also be an example to other parts of Ceylon as well as to other countries with similar problems.

The Minneriya Colony, where the new Fundamental Education Centre has been set up, is a symbol of new hope for such people, for it has shown in recent years how practical ideas and strenuous efforts can work a "miracle" in the jungle. In this once dangerous malaria-infested area, the jungle has been cleared by the Government, the ancient irrigation system based on copious "tanks" which are the size of small lakes has been restored, and colonists, formerly displaced persons, have been settled on the land.

The Ceylon project is also providing a significant demonstration of co-operation and co-ordination, the Centre being staffed by experts in literacy training, agricultural education, sanitation, rural industries and home economics in co-operation with Unesco and three other UN Specialized Agencies—the World Health Organization, the International Labour Organization and the Food and

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Agricultural Organization. Representatives of different related departments of the Ceylon Government will also join the staff. All the bodies as well as voluntary non-official agencies will work together in a common programme.

The Ceylon Centre will also be co-ordinated with the new Unesco Pilot-Project in Delhi State, India."

The Suez Canal

The Middle East's resentment against Western domination is symbolized by Egyptian anger against British diplomacy. It is, therefore, necessary that we should get hold of the main facts of this dispute. It was the genius —the capacity to take infinite pains and the power of endurance—of a Frenchman, De Lesepps, which made possible the opening of what is known as the Suez Canal today.

The La Compagnie Universelle du Canal Maritime de Suez is French-controlled with the British Government holding 44 per cent of the shares. Until March 1949, only two of the directors were Egyptian (out of 32), but according to an agreement arrived at that month, five more Egyptians were to be appointed as and when vacancies occurred. According to the Company report of 1950, extracts of which were published in some of the leading English newspapers, the Canal earned 16 million pounds sterling for its shareholders that year. Out of this, Egypt's share was a little over a million pounds. These two facts plus the obvious one—the canal is part of Egyptian territorial waters—gives the background to the rising dispute between Great Britain and the Government of King Farouk. Egypt can do nothing about this state of affairs until 1968—when the 99-year canal lease ends. At the same time, she has usurped powers of traffic control and utilises the immunity given to her coastal trade to interfere and upset the principles that have hitherto guided the passage through what are international waters.

It must be recalled, however, that the then British Prime Minister, Benjamin Disraeli took advantage of Khedive Ismail's extravagance to get hold of the 44 per cent of Suez Canal shares that Britain holds today. Very soon followed Arabi Pasha's revolt, and Liberal Gladstone's virtual occupation of State power in Egypt. His adviser in this matter was the "Radical" John Morley whose informant on empire concerns was the equally Radical Charles Dilke who lost his chance for Britain's Premiership owing to Queen Victoria's old world prejudices against sexual laxity. These are the facts of the 70-years' imbroglio that waits a solution even today.

Security Pact for the Pacific Area

On the 13th July last the United States, Australia and New Zealand signed this Pact at Washington. It consists of 11 articles and is expected to go into effect when the peace treaty with Japan is concluded and continue indefinitely. The Japanese treaty is due to be signed in September in San Francisco.

The Pacific Pact provides for the establishment of a council of the three nations' foreign ministers or their deputies to implement it.

In the preamble to the treaty the parties declare their "sense of unity."

The preamble reaffirms the faith of the three parties in the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter and their desire to strengthen the fabric of peace in the Pacific.

It notes that the United States, on the coming into force of the Japanese peace treaty, may station armed forces in and around Japan, to assist in the preservation of peace and security in that area.

It recognises that Australia and New Zealand as members of the Commonwealth have military obligations outside as well as within the Pacific area.

The treaty provisions follow :

Article 1 : The parties undertake to settle any international disputes in which they may become involved in a manner consistent with the principles of the U.N. Charter.

Article 2 : The parties shall maintain and develop their individual and collective capacity to resist armed attack.

Article 3 : The parties shall hold mutual consultation in the event of aggression in the Pacific.

Article 4 : Each party shall recognise that an armed attack in the Pacific area on any of the parties would be dangerous to its own peace and safety and shall act to meet the common danger in accordance with its constitutional processes.

Such an armed attack and resulting measures taken to meet it shall be immediately reported to the United Nations Security Council.

Article 5 : For purposes of Article 4 an armed attack includes an attack on any island possession of any of the parties in the Pacific.

Article 6 : The treaty does not affect the parties' rights and obligations under the U.N. Charter.

Article 7 : A council of foreign ministers or their deputies of the parties shall be established to consider matters concerning the implementation of the treaty.

Article 8 : The council of foreign ministers is authorised to maintain consultative relationship with other authorities in the Pacific area.

Article 9 : Relates to ratification of the treaty.

Article 10 : The treaty shall remain in force indefinitely. Any party may withdraw from the council of foreign ministers one year after notifying the Australian Government which shall inform the other party.

Article 11 : The treaty, in the English language, shall be deposited in the Australian Government's archives.

It was made plain throughout the draft that Australia and New Zealand's commitments to the United States are limited strictly to the Pacific area including the Pacific coast of the continental United States. American involvement in the European area, for instance, would not obli-

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gate the two dominions to come to their ally's aid. The U.S.A. signatory, Mr. Dulles, reiterated America's hope that the pact would be only the first step in the building of a comprehensive regional security system in the Pacific area. This declaration explains the significance of the projected treaty with Japan. For, without her, the security of the area cannot be secured.

Canada's Culture

Since the days of the second world war, there has been an integration of Canadian defence arrangements with the U.S.A.'s. Canada's Defence Minister publicly indicated the lines in which the armed forces of the two neighbours have been co-operating. This arrangement "makes sense," he said; and one of the reasons "for sending the bulk of the Canadian Army's special force to Fort Lewis, Washington, to complete training was because the force 'may have to fight side by side with United States Forces.'

"He did not elaborate on either point in a political broadcast but raised the prospect of Canadian Forces being moulded into higher American rather than British formations."

This collaboration has, however, been having other consequences which were brought out in a 500-page report of the Commission on national development in the arts, letters, and sciences appointed by the Prime Minister, Mr. Louis St. Laurents. The report appears to be worrying the Canadians. As one of them put it, "The gist of Commission's findings is that Canada is losing her soul to the United States.

"Culturally Canada is "anaemic" because of "easy dependence on a huge and generous neighbour." Some American contributions, such as Rockefeller and Carnegie awards, have done much for the Dominion's cultural progress, but at the same time a heavy price has been paid; Canada has no national theatre, film industry or literature worth talking about.

"The five-man Commission was headed by Mr. Vincent Massey, Chancellor of Toronto University, and spent two years on its investigations. One of the recommendations of the commission to combat "soap opera" Americanism is State control and development of the arts and entertainment."

We have our doubts about the efficacy of "State Control" over culture. Canada happens to have a uniform language and literature except for the French Canadians. And it is they who will supply the marks and notes of an independent culture.

Denmark's Fisheries

The Royal Danish Legation's Commercial Section released on July 1 last the following: "The annual octput of the fisheries in Denmark amounts to more than 450,000,000 lbs. at a value of Rs. 150,000,000 when sold by the fishing industry. Exports of fish and fish-products in 1950 amounted to more than Rs. 100,000,000 (1949: 130,000,000).

The North Sea is the main fishing ground of the Danish fishing industry. The fishing vessels working in the North Sea range in size from about 20 to about 40 tons gross. The fishing is carried out with the Danish seine and trawl. In contrast with the trawl the Danish seine is no dragging implement but is heaved in to an anchored vessel.

The Danish fishing vessels are,, in the great majority of cases, owned by the masters of the vessels, whereas owners of more than one vessel are a rare occurrence. Generally the crew on the fishing vessels work for shares.

The catch is partly sold at public fish auctions partly through private exporters, and partly through the so-called co-operative fish selling associations, of which there are about 50 in the country. The part of the catch sold by the fish auctions amount to about 50 per cent of the total catch, the sales through private exporters to about 40 per cent, and the sales through the co-operative fish selling associations to about 10 per cent.

The Government offers various forms of support for the fishermen, partly in the form of Government loans, partly in the form of subsidies for the construction of new fishing vessels, etc. The Government loans are granted through the Fisheries Bank of the Kingdom of Denmark "Kongeriget Danmarks Fiskeribank."

West Bengal's Premier has staked his reputation on two Danish trawlers. In view of this experiment, the facts are worth knowing.

Nuffield Foundation

In addition to its programme of fellowships and scholarships, the Nuffield Foundation, during the year that ended on March 31 last, made grants in support of research schemes in Commonwealth countries. Among these grants was one of £1,500 (Rs. 20,000) to the Christian Medical College, Vellore, for special equipment needed in the neuro-anatomy research department.

Since the last report, India, Pakistan and Ceylon have accepted the Foundation's offer of travelling fellowships similar to those already in existence for Australia, Canada, New Zealand and South Africa. Five fellowships for study in Britain are available for India each year (two in medicine, one in engineering, one in the natural sciences and one in social sciences); three for Pakistan, and one for Ceylon.

Capital in the West makes itself pleasant by devoting part of its earnings to public education and relief. In India except the Tatas there is hardly any one that deserves mention in this connection. The few other instances that there are, are those of self-aggrandizement and show of opulence at the home-towns of the capitalists, away from where the money has been earned, and where the money could be spent with the greatest utility.

An Assamese Scholar Honoured

The news that the University of London has conferred the title of D.Litt. on Srijut Surya Kumar

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Bhuiya, the Director of Archeology and Ancient History to the Government of Assam, will be welcomed by lovers of knowledge all over India. In his own Province, Doctor Bhuiya has the well-deserved reputation as a historian of Assam proper; he had long been recognized as an authority on men and things Assamese. His appointment was a recognition by the State of a popular verdict. Today it has won recognition in wider circles beyond India.

Commemorating Sister Nivedita

The Ramakrishna Mahamandal has realized a dream and aspiration of Swami Vivekananda's—to establish a Centre of Ramakrishna culture in the garden-house of Jadu Mullick where Swamiji had received initiation from Paramahamsa Dev, and where a revelation of Jesus Christ had flowed into the Master's consciousness. The Mahamandal has been able to secure most of this garden-house land through the help of the West Bengal Government from the East Indian Railway which had acquired it for building the Willingdon Bridge. For this thanks are due to an old-time Agent of the Railway, Mr. N. C. Ghose.

The old garden-house is being renovated. And a new idea appears to be taking shape there—an International Guest House has come into being, and the Committee of Management with Deputy Commissioner of Calcutta Police, Sri Satyendra Nath Mukherjee, have vast schemes of extension and improvement that would justify the title of the House. We are glad to notice that the House has signalized its advent by organizing a memorial meeting of Sister Nivedita—the first of its kind after the few since her departure from this world (1911). The meeting is to be held on the 9th September, 1951, and we have no doubt that as the years pass on, the House will be able to organize study into the life and work of Sister Nivedita which are being forgotten.

To the success of this noble endeavour the editors of the *Prabuddha Bharat*, English monthly and the *Udbodhan*, Bengali monthly, can contribute the most by making available to the world the many unpublished letters and writings of this noble daughter of Eire who had devoted her superb powers to the service of India, the land of her *Guru*.

Venereal Disease

The Second World War has left the scourge of venereal disease widespread all over India. Arrangements for fact-finding about this disease in our country are so poor that no correct idea of this curse can be made. During the last war, not only the cities and towns but even villages have been contaminated. Attempts so far made to fight this menace in Bengal have been far from satisfactory and have been done on entirely wrong lines. Too much attention had been laid on its propaganda side and too little attention had been given to educate the medical practitioners and medical students in modern methods of treatment of the disease. About 1943 a Director of Social Hygiene was appointed and some 17 lakhs of rupees were spent on propaganda. Proposals were later made for the appointment of Visiting Surgeons in Medical Colleges but these posts had been held in abeyance. Arrangement for specialist lectures in the Medical Colleges was made but in a country where knowledge of treatment of the disease is meagre, such lectures were ineffective. Recently it had been decided to attach three professors of Venereal Disease in the three Medical Colleges of the City, but, it is understood, only one of them will be filled. Applications have been invited from F.R.C.S. men for this post. But again a mistake is going to be committed. This disease is essentially a case for medical and not surgical treatment. In England, venereal disease is a subject of study under the Medical Group and M.D. or M.R.C.P. with V.D. as a special group can be taken up. Surgical manifestations in this disease are only some 10 per cent as compared to the medical manifestations of this disease. It will be good if means can be found to appoint all the three professors as originally proposed.

Rana Hiranya Shamshere

Death occurred on August 8 in Calcutta of this scion of Nepal's ruling class. Father of Rana Subarna Shamshere, at present Finance Minister of the State, he was different from his class, and "lost caste" with them for his progressive views. His son inherited the same traditions and was driven to tread the dangerous path at the end of which shines equality in the various relations of human life. During last year's developments in Nepal, he was a tower of strength to the popular cause. He lived to see the back of autocracy broken in his motherland, and must have died happy.

Rukmini Lakshmipathi

In the death of Dr. Rukmini Lakshmipathi, India has lost one of the leaders of the Women's Movement. She was, however, not left long to follow this rather narrow path; and from an inner urge was found to stand shoulder to shoulder with men in our common fight against British rule. During the Salt Satyagraha which formed part of the wider Civil Disobedience Movement of 1939, she was the first woman in Madras to defy this law and court imprisonment. Then came the acceptance of Ministry by the Congress and Rukmini Lakshmipathi was chosen Deputy Speaker of the Council, the Upper House of the Legislature. We remember her specially for her work for women's uplift in her own Province; and for the eager interest she took in the activities of the Nari Siksha Samiti of Calcutta as and when she happened to visit our city. She died in her 67th year, May her soul rest in peace.

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TENSIONS IN THE MIDDLE EAST

By Prof. TARAKNATH DAS, Ph.D.

In the area between Egypt and India—as we may define the Middle East—the causes of tension are many. Besides the over-all problem of Soviet efforts to penetrate into the area and the present intense conflict over Iranian oil, we must list Anglo-Egyptian disputes over the Sudan and the Suez Canal, the problem of Arab-Israeli relations, including the vexed Arab refugee problem, the Egyptian blockade of Israel-bound vessels passing through Suez, Syrian opposition to Israel's drainage project in the Huleh swamps, the permanent status of Arab Palestine. In addition, India's foreign policies affect the whole of Asia, while additional sources of conflict are Pakistan's relations with her two neighbours, Afghanistan and India, and subversive Communist agitation in Pakistan.

Let us examine these issues briefly. The British desire to create an independent Sudanese State is bitterly opposed by the Egyptians who wish to give the Sudanese full local autonomy while federating the Sudan with Egypt. To one who has studied British procedure and arguments in partitioning other countries, British concern for minority rights and self-determination in the Sudan becomes suspect. One reaches the conclusion that a Sudanese program which will intensify existing anti-British feeling in Egypt must be avoided. For rapprochement between Britain and Egypt is of utmost importance to the entire free world.

Ever since, through the far-sighted statesmanship of Disraeli, Britain managed to get control of the Suez Canal, domination of the lands around the Canal has been the crux of British policy. There is nothing in international law to prevent Egypt from nationalizing the Canal when the 99-year lease of the Suez Canal Company expires. But an Egypt in control of Suez and allied with Soviet Russia would be highly prejudicial to the Atlantic Pact powers and the forces friendly to them in the Middle East. Hence, it is of the utmost importance that American, British, French and Egyptian statesmen devise a formula which will be satisfactory to Egyptian national interests, as well as to the needs of the free peoples.

It would clearly be to the advantage of Egypt, in this tense situation, to come to terms with Israel, so that those two advanced Middle East States might co-operate towards greater security and progress. I sometimes hear vague talk of the possibility of such a settlement, but at the same time Egyptian and Israeli spokesmen continue to exacerbate matters by making public statements to the effect that the breach between the two countries cannot be healed. Certainly, as long as Egypt blockades Israel, there is no possibility of a peace settlement. The blockade has been strongly protested by the United States, Great Britain, Australia, Norway, for since it involves oil which might otherwise be refined at Haifa, it touches Western interests to the quick.

It is of immeasurable importance to the future of the Middle East that the Arab League powers recognize that Israel is a fact which cannot be wished out of existence or destroyed by a new Arab invasion. Once Israel's existence is recognized, Arab hostility would, with inevitable logic, have to give way gradually to collaboration with Israel. This is not so impossible as it may sound. It was the program of the late Emir Feisal who welcomed Zionism to the Middle East as a future aid to the Arabs in the development of their territories.

In the framework of over-all collaboration, Israeli swamp reclamation would come to be seen as being what it really is—beneficial to the Arabs as well. Such projects would then cease to be sources of conflict and become factors towards cementing friendlier relations.

Essentially neither the Jews nor the Arabs can or should pursue a pre-Russian policy. Their friendship to the West will be strengthened if the Anglo-American powers and their friends in the United Nations encouraged Arab-Israeli co-operation. This will be possible if powerful forces in Great Britain and the United States foreswear their present sympathy for anti-Semitic thinking, on the one hand, or political Pan-Islamism, on the other.

Racial or religious exclusiveness of the Pan-Islamic or anti-Semitic types lead to intolerance of minorities and ultimately to refugee problems, as we see in the sad cases of the Arab refugees from Palestine or the vastly more numerous Hindu refugees from Pakistan. In the special case of the Arab refugees, it is beginning to appear that they might be best readjusted by making their homes in under-populated Arab countries, with the aid of internationally administered funds to which Israel would contribute for compensation. The approach of combined re-settlement and development work suggested by the Clapp Commission remains valid and should be the foundation-stone of aid to the Arab refugees.

Certainly no area of the world needs large-scale

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development more urgently than the Middle East.

Students of world affairs cannot ignore the fact that international tensions are caused not merely by international rivalry, but are often the direct result of internal conditions affecting the well-being of the masses. Poverty and depressed conditions lead to national disunity, civil wars and revolutions, resulting in serious national weakness which invites aggressive action from expanding imperialist powers.

The Near and Middle East today are characterized fundamentally by abject poverty of the masses and workers, due primarily to the feudal land system. Whenever there are expressions of unrest among the masses of the Middle East, we are at once told that this is due to Soviet Russian plots and intrigues. To be sure, Soviet Russian governmental agents—Russian and native—are always alert to opportunities for spreading disaffection among the masses, but their propaganda alone cannot bring men to riot and revolt. Ordinary human beings are extremely conservative and do not wish to risk their lives to bring about a change in the social order unless they have reached the point of desperation. Full recognition must be given to the fact that the masses of the Middle East are reaching that stage.

The newspapers daily print items about unrest in the Middle East—attempts by peasants to take over the properties of landlords in Egypt, Iraq, Iran, Pakistan and India. We read of the growing strength of Left Wing political groups in country after country.

It is often said that Islam immunizes the Moslem peoples against Communist propaganda. The Moslem countries are regarded as the bulwark against Soviet Russian imperialism trying to penetrate into the Middle East. Pakistan, in particular, is considered a dependable ally of the Anglo-American Powers against Communism. But the fact is that it was a Communist plot, headed by the Chief of the General Staffs of Pakistan and others, that recently almost overthrew the present government of Pakistan. The rise of the Tudeh Party in Iran, too, disproves the assertion that Islam is the best antidote to Communism.

It is equally true that Hindu India has Communist parties of various brands, while the tension due to internal social inequalities and economic oppression is so grave that the Nehru Government has imprisoned several thousand Indians—Hindus, Moslems, Christians —without trial on charge of subversive activities. The Nehru Government has even restricted the freedom of press in India by a constitutional amendment.

Social revolution in the Middle East cannot be checked by wishful thinking. The standard of living of hundreds of millions in the region must be raised by internal reforms, sponsored by the local Governments and aided by the Government and people of the United States. It is here that Point Four Program can play a great and crucial role, welding together diverse parts of the world towards freedom.

The case of Iranian oil is an aggravated example of the social tensions affecting the Middle East. Persia has been a pawn ever since Tsarist Russia and Britain tried to partition it between them as part of the attempt by the Triple Entente to check Germany and her Berlin-Baghdad Railway and German-Turkish collaboration in world politics. Persia is still a pawn and Persian nationalists and every self-respecting Persian resents this.

One of the most revealing items regarding Persian oil came out of the recent hearings regarding the ouster of General MacArthur. It was the information given by General Hurley to the late President Roosevelt that continued exploitation of Persian oil by the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company (which is controlled by the British Government which owns more than 60 per cent of its stocks) will result in serious discontent in Persia which will be used by Soviet Russia. He suggested that Anglo-Iranian Oil Company and other Middle Eastern oil concerns should take the initiative to make more equitable arrangements regarding royalties, etc. Heeding this suggestion, American oil concerns have made greater concessions to the Arab States regarding royalties. Had the British Government followed this precedent, there might not have arisen the present crisis.

To look at the present crisis realistically, one will have to acknowledge that Iran, like Mexico and other countries, can, by exercising the sovereign authority of the State, cancel a concession and nationalize an industry. This is not contrary to the practices of International Law. The Labour Government in Britain which has nationalized its coal industries cannot very well take exception to Iran's right to nationalize the oil industry. But it must be understood that Iran must not expropriate private property without just compensation. Adjustment of compensation should be arrived at between Britain and Iran, and the Government of the United States should use its influence to bring about a peaceful solution of the issues involved. The Government of the U.S. should, however, be careful not to take any action which may give the impression that the Anglo-American powers are in concert against Iran. Landing British forces in Iran might well have serious repercussions in the *whole* of the Middle East and even lead to World War III.

The possibility of Iranian nationalists who are not pro-Soviet, seeking Soviet support, must not be ruled out. This can be clearly understood if we take into consideration certain developments in the situation in China after World War I. To my personal knowledge the late Dr. Sun Yat-sen, after World War I, tried to enlist the co-operation and support of America, Britain and also Japan toward abolition of extra-territorial jurisdiction in China, but the statesmen of

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those nations, largely through British influence, completely ignored Dr. Sun's legitimate pleas, while the Government of Soviet Russia formally gave up all extra-territorial rights and concessions in China. This situation forced Dr. Sun, who was pro-American and pro-Japanese and had always been suspicious of British and Russian imperialism in Asia, to seek Soviet Russian aid. Then came the importation of Soviet experts into the Republic of China under the Knomintang regime. And we know what has happened in China, step by step, leading to complete Communist control.

In the present Anglo-Iranian crisis, American statesmanship should be directed towards the preservation of American interests, not following the British anti-Iranian program blindly. It cannot be overemphasized that if the conduct of the American Government in relation to the present Anglo-Iranian dispute is anti-Iranian, there will be very serious effects all over Asia, even in Egypt and Turkey. Today all Asian statesmen of any consequence must think and act in terms of Asian independence and sovereignty, and all of the Middle and Far East countries are in full sympathy with the present Iranian efforts to divest the country of British control. Any false step on the part of American statesmen will rouse Asian antagonism and raise louder cries of American imperialism siding with the British. Let us hope that American statesmanship, seeking to co-operate with the British, will be successful in solving the present crisis in Iran and solidifying the common interests of the Anglo-American and Asian peoples to uphold world freedom, rather than playing into the hands of Soviet Russia.

If we move further east to Pakistan, India and Afghanistan, we find that tension between India and Pakistan and Pakistan and Afghanistan may have most far-reaching and disastrous consequences to the whole world. This is not understood by the majority of Americans, even American experts on the subject, who have tended to make the British point of view their own.

The very creation of Pakistan by partition of India is an indictment of British rule. In pursuance of the policy of "divide and rule," the British authorities deliberately led up to partition.

Lest there be any misunderstanding, let me acknowledge the fact that there was a very small group of Pan-Islamists in India during the latter part of the nineteenth century and the early days of the twentieth century, but not until 1940 did the demand for partition of India come from the Moslem League. It came then under the leadership of Jinnah, who in his early days had prided himself on being "an Indian first and a Moslem afterwards." The seed of this idea that Moslems and Hindus are different nations was sown by British officials who in 1905 introduced Communal representation into Indian political life in the Morley-Minto Reform scheme. The Moslem League and the British authorities nurtured the seed of dissension for 35 years, and in 1940 the demand for partition of India came to the fore in Indian politics.

In 1947 when the British found that they could not remain in India as rulers, they decided to leave India in partitioned, not united form. Mr. Churchill agreed to support Indian independence, provided that the Moslems of India were given a separate State —Pakistan, which would have territories in the North-western part of India adjoining the Persian Gulf and Afghanistan and Western India (Punjab) and in North-eastern India (Eastern Bengal) adjoining Tibet, Burma. This was a monstrous scheme from the political and economic points of view, and unfortunately the leaders of India, such as Mr. Nehru, did not have the vision or courage to oppose partition effectively because they held that after the British got out, Pakistan and India would become a United India.

In supporting the Moslems of India, the British hoped to use the Moslem blocs of Western Asia as an obstacle on the part of the Soviet march towards the Persian Gulf and the Middle East, while in the East they anticipated using Eastern Pakistan, Burma and Malaya to check the Russians and Chinese.

The Indian people cannot help feeling that any nation that supports the cause of partition of India cannot be a friend of India. This is one of the facts in the Indian attitude of non-hostility to Soviet Russia and China. They feel that the Anglo-American Powers are for Pakistan and against India, as has been demonstrated in their attitude on the issue of Kashmir. The Anglo-American powers seem anxious to appease the Moslem world even to the extent of hurting the vital interests of 340,000,000 Indians.

The reflex of this is the growth in India of a trend towards Russo-Chinese-Indian collaboration in world politics which is dangerous for America and the people of India and the world at large. The only way for the free powers to counteract this is to adopt a positive policy which will lead to Indo-Pakistan co-operation, not at India's expense, but in terms of the development of federalism in India and Pakistan so that Pakistan would be analogous to the province of Quebec in Canada. Today more than 35 to 40 millions of Moslems live in India and enjoy equal rights. Just as Catholic and French-speaking Canadians in Quebec are Canadian citizens and Quebec is an integral part of the dominion, so Pakistan must in the course of time be reunited with India in a new United India which will pursue a policy of collaboration with America.

Playing Pakistan against India, to check the possi-

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bility of the development of a strong united India, is as dangerous as it was to play Japan against China to avert what was called "Yellow Peril." That policy, originated by the British, Germans and Russians, did not serve to maintain western or White supremacy in Asia. If a similar policy is adopted by America now, it will also fail and ultimately help the cause of Soviet Russia.

American scholars tend to think exclusively in terms of Europe, and of Asia incidentally; but I venture to predict that Asia is the key to the future destiny of mankind and that co-operation between Asia and America is the most important factor in the field of world politics and one of the best hopes for the future peace of the world.*

* This is a summary of views expressed by the author, as one of the participants in a panel discussion on "Tensions in the Middle East" on July 9, 1951, in one of the sessions of the Institute of Public Affairs, at the University of Virginia.

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THE FIVE-YEAR PLAN

By Principal S. N. AGARWAL

The Planning Commission has recently published the Draft Outline of the First Five-Year Plan involving a total outlay of Rs. 1793 crores on various sectors of national development. The Plan is, evidently, a valuable document containing a fund of data and statistics regarding the different phases of reconstruction in India. It is the first attempt of its kind in this country and cannot be dealt with lightly in a spirit of indifference. The Draft Outline contains several hopeful and sound features of economic development and social evolution. Its emphasis on agriculture, rural uplift, small-scale and cottage industries, basic education, decentralisation of political, economic and administrative power is, indeed, to be welcomed. But there are several other features of the plan which cannot be called satisfactory from the standpoint of India's national reconstruction.

The basic defect of the Five-Year Plan is its failure to present a clear-cut picture of future economic development. This is partly understandable because the Planning Commission has tried to follow the present economic policy of the Government of India. But I have always strongly maintained that our Planning Commission should be, more or less, a non-party organisation consisting of experts who ought to be above party politics and whose policies should not be easily changed with a change in the Government. We, therefore, expected that the Commission would try to present a bold and definite Plan for Free India, a Plan that would be in conformity with India's indigenous culture and traditions and, thus, catch the imagination of the people. The ideal of "mixed" economy has become almost synonymous with the maintenance of the *status quo;* it is not capable of making the masses feel the glow of freedom and Swaraj. Mixed economy is bound to be a "hotch-poch" of several principles of economic reconstruction, often contradictory and, therefore, making for confusion. In the modern world there are two main economic ideologies, namely, capitalism and communism. These two ideologies are at war with each other and threaten the very existence of humanity. In India, Gandhiji had shown a third ideology which beautifully combined the good points of the other two. It is now recognised by eminent thinkers that the only alternative to Communism can be Gandhism. The Gandhian way of life is not a "fad" but a sound and scientific pattern of socio-economic re-orientation. If the Plan had been able to envisage such a new order in our country it might have been possible to present an attractive but practical picture not only for India but for the whole world.

The other chief drawback of the Plan is its rejection of the aim of "Full Employment" which is the ideal of all modern economic planning. The Constitution of India also guarantees to every citizen the "right to work" and "the right to an adequate means of livelihood." I, therefore, honestly feel that the Planning Commission in laying more emphasis on greater production rather than on full employment has gone against the fundamental directive of the Indian Constitution. In fact, any Plan which does not try to provide employment for all citizens as the topmost priority cannot be called a Plan at all. In order to achieve the objective of Full Employment in India, it is essential to organise decentralized cottage industries on the widest possible scale and as the very basis of economic planning. With the exception of basic industries which ought to be owned and managed by the State, all the consumer goods industries including cloth, oil, sugar, paper, rice and match have to be organized on a small scale in the rural areas so that the nation may have "fields, factories and workshops" for solving the problem of employment, and what is even more, under-employment. Obviously, the Plan has not been able to face this basic fact with courage and boldness.

As regards the details of expenditure in different sectors of national economy, the Plan has attached too much importance to "grandiose" schemes of multipurpose River Projects and development of Transport and Commu-

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nications. Out of the total outlay of 1493 crores of rupees in the first part of the Five-Year Plan, the Power and Irrigation projects will consume Rs. 450.26 crores. While the importance of irrigational facilities and cheap power supply cannot be under-rated in any plan of economic development, the fact remains that the nation cannot afford to rely on long-term and centralized projects which might ultimately prove to be "white elephants" for the poor cultivator and artisan in India. A decentralized plan of irrigation with a country-wide network of village wells, tube-wells, small canals, tanks, reservoirs and similar other devices would have been more practical and useful. Improvement of railways, roads, shipping and civil aviation, according to the Plan, will involve an expenditure of Rs. 388.20 crores. This huge amount could also be reduced by about Rs. 100 crores which could, instead, be more profitably spent for providing better social services.

Rs. 100.99 crores have been earmarked for the development of large-scale, small-scale and cottage industries. Out of this amount, only Rs. 16 crores are to be utilised for village and cottage industries. Moreover, the Commission maintains that "programmes for cottage and small-scale industries cannot be viewed in isolation from programmes relating to the corresponding large-scale industries." The Plan, therefore, recommends "common production programmes." This clearly shows that the Planners do not visualise a decentralised type of economy for its own sake; they favour cottage industries only for the sake of certain immediate advantages and expediencies, particularly relating to capital and investment.

Social services, including education, health, housing and social welfare, have been allotted Rs. 254.08 crores in the first part of the Plan. This is, surely, inadequate in a country which is proverbially poor and which desires to grow into a Welfare State. The chapter on Education, is, unfortunately, the least satisfactory. No lasting socio-economic reconstruction is possible without a radical change in the educational system. It is, therefore, surprising that the Planning Commission should have dismissed the vital problem of education in such general terms. It is necessary that the country should be given a comprehensive picture of the future educational structure in the Five-Year Plan.

The sources of Finance envisaged in the Plan are by no means very certain. The Plan also admits that the terms of public loans, small savings and additional revenue due to fresh taxation are "a matter of speculation." Under the prevailing money market conditions it is very doubtful whether the expectations of the Commission are reasonable. Even if these expectations are realised, there will still be a gap of Rs. 375 crores over five years. The Commission indicates the possibility of "deficit financing" to the extent of Rs. 290 crores. This would "impose a definite strain on the economy" of India by setting into motion the inflationary tendencies. The Plan further mentions that "if foreign aid is available for financing development expenditure, the sterling balances can be used for importing consumption goods and thus bringing down domestic prices." The use of sterling balances in the manner mentioned above appears to be highly unsatisfactory.

The Plan does not present the problem of Controls in a convincing manner. Curiously enough, the Commission think that if—and this is a big 'if'—the controls are efficiently worked, they can "raise the moral standards of the community." Can we expect any such miracle from the existing administrative machinery: In regard to the Food policy, the Commission urges that during the next few years annual imports of foodgrains to the tune of 3 million tons should be planned for, and adds that in exceptional years imports may have to be larger. So, this is the brilliant picture of the much-boosted national self-sufficiency programme!

There are several other aspects of the Plan which could be discussed here in detail. But considerations of space in these columns prevent me from dealing with them. There is, however, one basic question that must be answered. What is the future of the Plan? The Commission have so far been able to publish one Draft Outline which is to be finalised only after "further consultations" with the Central Ministries, State Governments and its own Advisory Board and Panels, and the members of Parliament. This procedure will easily take several months. By that time, the country will be in the grip of election fever. After the general elections the altered strength of different political parties at the Centre and in the States might necessitate a change in the personnel of the Commission. This would mean a further revision of the Plan and a fresh chain of consultations. So, unfortunately, the Plan bids fair to remain only a paper Plan for endless discussions. It would have made a world of difference if the Plan, after receiving final touches, had been launched in all seriousness on the 15th August, the fourth Anniversary of India's Independence.

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THE REPUBLIC OF INDIA—PROMISE AND PERFORMANCE

By Dr. HARIDAS T. MAZUMDAR

I consider it a special privilege to be invited to deliver the second annual lecture for the Sudhindra Bose Memorial Foundation here in Iowa City on the great campus of the State University of Iowa. I am especially happy because I had the pleasure and privilege of knowing Dr. Bose and because I am thoroughly convinced of the utility of the work that he was doing.

Dr. Sudhindra Bose was a noble son of Mother India, a fine American citizen, a great teacher, and a worthy citizen of the world. The trail he blazed some of us are trying to follow in our own humble fashion. In his rich remarkable career Dr. Sudhindra Bose taught various generations of students in the field of political science. But, more than that, he taught them a better appreciation of the cultural heritage of half the population of the world who inhabit the continent of Asia. This pioneering work needs to be done more today than ever before. The inventions of science and technology have practically annihilated distances in time and space, and the world as a result has become a small neighborhood. Orient and Occident are no longer far apart. Indeed, the problems of the Orient today become crucial considerations in the formulation of our American foreign policy.

The officers and friends of the Sudhindra Bose Memorial Foundation deserve to be congratulated on their vision to keep alive the memory of the remarkable work that Dr. Bose did on this great campus.

In my own humble fashion I have been interested in doing the same sort of thing that Dr. Bose had dedicated his life to achieving: namely, bringing about a better understanding between the peoples of the Orient and the peoples of the Occident. Perhaps, a word about my background might be in order. During ten years of my stay in this country as a student, I undertook to present Mahatma Gandhi's cause, and the cause of India's freedom, to the American people as an extra-curricular activity. Then, after finishing my studies at the University of Wisconsin, I returned to India during the Christmas week of 1929 when I attended the famous Lahore Session of the All-India National Congress. It was at this Congress that the resolution on independence was passed by the acclamation of the people gathered together. Then, I was a guest of Mahatma Gandhi's at his Satyagraha Ashram, Sabarmati, for three months, and at his invitation became a member of the Dandi Salt Party. This Dandi Salt Party of Mahatma Gandhi's was very much like the Boston Tea Party. Just as the Boston Tea Party was the starting point of the American Revolution for freedom so Gandhi's Salt Party was the prelude to India's non-violent revolution. Then, in the fall of 1930 at the suggestion of Pandit Motilal Nehru, father of the present Prime Minister of India, I returned to this country to interpret the inside story of India's non-violent revolution and to present Mahatma Gandhi's teachings of non-violence and soul force. For well-nigh fifteen years I busied myself with the self-imposed task of interpreting Gandhi and India to the American people as a twenty-four-hour job. Thus, you can see that I am tremendously interested in the present topic that has been assigned to me, "The Republic of India—Promise and Performance."

Before I take up the subject of the evening, may I say a word about the reasons that brought me to this country for my higher education. It was the fashion in those days in the twenties for young men from India to go to England for their studies to earn English degrees, to return to India and get fat government jobs. You may wonder why I chose to come to America instead of going to India. Well, the reason is simple. It can be traced back to a very important experience I had in my grade school in the State of Baroda. In my second grade reader in the Gujarati language I came across a lesson about a boy from this land. I knew he was not from India because he had a different type of costume on and because he had an unpronounceable name. A name such as Haridas Thakordas Mazumdar is easy and simple. Anybody can say it—in India. This boy's name was George Washington, quite a difficult name. To judge from the contents of the lesson, it seemed to me the people would like to talk about George Washington, but I was afraid that because of his unpronounceable name, people might shy away from talking about him. The lesson dealt with the story familiar to all American children, the story of the famous cherry tree. The lesson had a great many interesting meanings for me. In the first place, of course, it is not unusual for a boy in India to receive a gift. It is unusual for a boy in India to try out actually how sharp the little gift might be, the hatchet that George received, for instance. As a boy, one grows up in India having a great many cultural inhibitions, and here

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George had the temerity and the audacity actually to try out how sharp his little hatchet might be. The result was a little disastrous. The cherry tree was crest-fallen, shall I say? And, as a boy, I said to myself while I in India could not very well try out, even though I might have longed to do it under the same circumstances, I felt very happy that George did it. And, I said, "Hurray, for George!" Secondly, I discovered that George was willing to talk to his father—I think it would be appropriate to say to 'talk back to his father.' In India, the little boys do not talk back to their parents. I was later to learn after a stay of some time in this country that in George Washington's country people magnificiently disregard the old world saying that children are to be seen but not to be heard. In this country, on the other hand, if you have children in your family and if friends come to visit you, it is the children who do the talking—nobody else. Thirdly, I discovered that George's father, instead of meting out punishment to the boy for his offence, congratulated him that he told the truth and let it go at that. I said to myself, "They seem to have very pleasant ways of dealing with some situations in George Washington's country." Finally, the lesson ended up by saying, "And, the truth-telling George Washington became the Father of his country." I said to myself, "If George were so good and truth-telling and if he became the father of his country, perhaps, all of his children must be equally good and truth-telling. Some day I ought to go and pay a visit to George Washington's children." Thus, it came about that everytime I came across a lesson on America or any reference to America, I thought back and reminded myself of that first introduction of mine to George Washington's country, and my desire to come to this country became ever more firm. Hence, when in 1920 I was in a position to make a decision for study abroad, I decided in favor of coming to this country rather than going to England. Perhaps, you may be interested to know whether or not my boyhood impressions of George Washington's children have been borne out as a result of my visit to this country. Well, on the whole I should say, and I speak with considerable experience and research behind this statement, on the whole I can say that my boyhood impressions of George Washington's children were correct. On the whole, the American people are good and truth-telling, and I would advise anybody to take his chances with them. One would not be going wrong. But I must also report to you one qualification that I feel ought to be made: namely, that when George Washington's children are engaged in the national pastime of a political election campaign, I do not give two cents for their truthfulness. (Laughter!). Even so, let me say, ladies and gentlemen, I think enough of George Washington's children, think highly enough of them, to have cast my lot in with you and I became an American citizen four years ago. This means that I have a twofold responsibility —one responsibility to Mahatma Gandhi's children, another responsibility to George Washington's children. And I am trying my humble best to promote better understanding between the people of India and the people of America.

I

As you can readily see, having spent over twenty-five years of my life in the promotion of India's cause for freedom in this country, in England, and in India, I am especially interested in assessing the results of that non-violent revolution for freedom. What, for instance, was the promise of the free India? What are the accomplishments of the free India? These are legitimate questions, and I wish to address myself to these questions this evening.

At the very outset, let me make it clear that we are thinking of India as a free nation not for one year only, though technically India became a Republic only last year, to be precise on January 26, 1950. Actually, India became free on August 15, 1947. It was on that historic day that the British Empire in India was liquidated with the creation of two autonomous dominions, the Dominion of Pakistan and the Dominion of India. Thus, we have a period of four to five years of India's career as a free nation, and I shall attempt to evaluate the results of this freedom of India. We shall attempt to look into the promises of freedom and the actual accomplishments of free India during the last four or five years.

The best way to start this discussion is by reminding ourselves of the vision of free India as described by Mahatma Gandhi. During his voyage to England on board the S. S. *Rajputana* in the year 1931, Mahatma Gandhi gave an interview to newspaper reporters. In this interview he in a magnificent manner embodied his hopes and aspirations for the free India of his dreams. I was privileged to spend a month with Mahatma Gandhi in London at the time of the second round table conference, and I can assure you that this vision of a free India literally and faithfully sets forth Gandhi's dreams and hopes and aspirations for his dearly beloved Motherland. Let me quote this statement verbatim. It is a short statement. Just one paragraph. But it is important not only because it is Gandhi's vision of his free India, but because it has also served as a guide-post to his co-workers and his followers in the rebuilding of the free nation—in the fashioning of the free India. Here is Gandhi's vision of the Free India:

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"I shall strive for a constitution which shall release India from all thraldom and patronage and give her, if need be, the right to err. I shall work for an India in which the poorest shall feel that it is their country in whose making they have an effective voice—an India in which there shall be no high class and no low class of people—an India in which all communities shall live in perfect harmony. There can be no room in such an India for the curse of untouchability, or the curse of intoxicating drinks or drugs. Women shall enjoy equal rights with men. Since we shall be at peace with all the rest of the world, neither exploiting nor being exploited, we should have the smallest army imaginable." (Please note: The apostle of non-violence, the embodiment of soul force, still makes room for the existence of an armed force for the State of the Free India!) "All interests not in conflict with the interests of the dumb millions will be scrupulously respected whether foreign or indigenous." (May I parenthetically add that the word 'dumb' used by Gandhi really means inarticulate). To continue Gandhi's statement, "Personally, I hate distinction between foreign and indigenous. This is the India of my dreams."

Here in this statement you will notice one dominant note, namely, the supreme concern with the well-being of the masses, the under-privileged millions of India, that they would have an effective voice in the making of the new India; that their well-being would be the supreme concern of the government of the free India. Now, we may ask of ourselves the question, "Is this promise of the Free India being realized?" And, my answer is a very emphatic "Yes." Yes, indeed, the well-being of the masses of India is being today translated into reality not only as part of the government policy but it is also being realized in the actual lives of these millions of people. For instance, the concern, the master concern, of the Nehru Government is the increasing of the purchasing power of the masses and raising the standard of living of the vast millions of India. By improving methods of agriculture, and by promoting industrialization, the Government of India is at present successfully implementing Mahatma Gandhi's point regarding the conserving and the safeguarding of the well-being of the masses. Yes, in the making of the new nation the under-privileged will have an effective voice! One special project of the Government of India has promise of tremendous good to the whole nation. I refer to the projected construction, projected and actual construction, of at least ten to twelve hydro-electric projects on the TVA model. These TVA-type multi-purpose projects are expected to be finished within less than ten years. It is gratifying for us in America to know that some of our best engineers and technicians are helping the Government of India in the building of these hydro-electric projects. When finished, these projects would serve a number of purposes, all aiming at the improvement of the standard of living of the people. For instance, these hydro-electric projects will, in the first place, mean flood controls. Secondly, they would bring about irrigation and thus bring under cultivation many millions of acres of land which today remain uncultivated. Thirdly, these hydro-electric projects will facilitate internal navigation, and, fourthly, they will generate tremendous electric power which will be made available to the people at large whether in the huts in the villages, or in the dwellings in the towns, or in the factories in the cities. They would make available to all these citizens of India electric power at low cost. Thus, we may well see that these hydro-electric projects will literally change and transform the face of Mother India for the better. So far as the economy of the new India is concerned, I visualize the emergence of what we in this country call a mixed economy. The Government of India is committed to the proposition of owning, directing and operating certain key industries, what in this country we would perhaps call "public utilities." It is also committed to the proposition of permitting full and free play to private enterprise on the one hand and to the co-operative societies on the other. Thus, in the field of economic activity, we may well visualize part state socialism, part co-operationism, and part capitalism. This is not a new mixture dreamed up by the leaders of India. They have an excellent model before them in the well-regulated and well-articulated economy of Sweden, the home of the Middle Way. Whether a vast country such as India will be able to make a success of this mixed economy, the future will have to tell. I for one feel optimistic about the outcome of this experiment. This is not to say that I advocate the same sort of arrangement for this country. It simply means that in the conditions of India where the industrial development is still very backward, the Government must take a lead in behalf of the under-privileged masses.

Now, let us look at the other aspect of Mahatma Gandhi's dream of the Free India. He said that in the Free India that he visualized, there would be no curse of untouchability present. How is this promise being realized? Well, if you could imagine, in your wildest stretch of imagination, that at the Constitutional Convention in Philadelphia we had as Chairman of the Drafting Committee of the Constitution a slave from Georgia, you would perhaps have an approximate picture of the sort of revolutionary change brought about in modern India. It is pleasing for us to note that in Mr. Nehru's cabinet a so-called untouchable gentleman has been holding the portfolio of law. It is still more gratifying to note that this same untouchable gentleman, so-called, was Chairman of the

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Drafting Committee entrusted with the task of framing the new constitution of Free India. Is untouchability on the way out? Well, I could not give you any more concrete proof. And it is also instructive to note that in the new constitution of the Republic of India the practice of untouchability has been made a punishable offence.

With reference to Gandhi's dream that women shall enjoy rights with men, I don't think at this late day we need to ask ourselves the question whether that point is being implemented. There are hundreds of leading women who are today taking an active part in the public life of India, in the diplomatic service of India, and they are helping fashion the new India. Thus, economically and socially, the dream of Mahatma Gandhi is on the way to realization. In the field of political achievements, we in America may legitimately take just pride in the fact that the framers of the new constitution of India derived a great deal of inspiration from our constitution. As with us, so in India, the Government is divided into three co-ordinated branches, the executive, the legislative, and the judicial. And, the Supreme Court of India is made the custodian and interpreter of the new constitution of India. As in our constitution, so in the constitution of the Republic of India, they have a Bill of Rights, what they call "fundamental rights," guaranteeing to the citizen most of the rights that our Bill of Rights guarantees to our citizens. Then, of course, they have a special clause in their Fundamental Rights section prohibiting the practice of untouchability which is peculiar to the social organization of India.

II

In the field of political achievements, I am even more thrilled by the preamble to the constitution of the new India. For the first time in the long and checkered history of the Orient, we find the enunciation of the political doctrine of popular sovereignty. Let me read to you the preamble to the new constitution of India. "We the people of India." Yes, "we the people," a direct echo from our own constitution; "we the people" marks a revolutionary change in the outlook of the new India. In days gone by in India, or, for that matter, in Europe, too, the divine right of kings used to hold sway in the thinking of the people. Indeed, when the emperor of Japan at the time of the Meiji restoration gave certain rights and privileges to his subjects, it was in terms of the king or the emperor granting rights. The emperor, in other words, was conceived as the fountain source of authority and sovereignty. Here in the constitution of India as in our constitution a century and a half ago we find enunciated the doctrine of the people as being the fountain-head of authority and sovereignty. Let me read the complete text of the preamble:

> "We the people of India, having solemnly resolved to constitute India into a sovereign, democratic Republic, and to secure to all its citizens
>
> Justice, social, economic and political;
>
> Liberty of thought, expression, belief, faith and worship;
>
> Equality of status and of opportunity, and to promote among them all
>
> Fraternity, assuring the dignity of the individual and the unity of the nation,
>
> In our constituent assembly, (or, as we would say, 'in our Constitutional Convention,') this 26th day of November, 1949, do hereby adopt, enact, and give to ourselves this constitution."

One of the most spectacular achievements of the new India in the political field is the integration of some 500 odd princely states with the federal government of India. In the days of British rule these princes were maintained on their thrones as relics of feudalism, as props to the British Raj. Once the people came into their own they saw to it that these relics of feudalism would not stand in the way of the enjoyment of democratic rights and privileges by any of the sons and daughters of Mother India, whether they were born in a princely state or in what was previously British India. And now these states are today integrated with the government of India. Some small states have been merged into what were adjoining provinces; some States have been merged together, smaller units into one larger viable administrative unit, and some of the larger states have been permitted to function as autonomous states. Indeed, the provinces of what was British India have also been raised to the level of states or commonwealths. It may interest you to note that in my doctoral dissertation at the University of Wisconsin dealing with the same problem, I had forecast the emergence of a federal government in India with the provinces and states as autonomous units on a par with one another as constituent members of the Government of India. The only difference between the so-called princely states of yesterday and the new states that were provinces, is that the administrative head in the princely state is a prince who serves there as a hereditary monarch subject to the will and confirmation of his subjects, while in what used to be provinces, the administrative head is a governor appointed by the President of the Republic of India. It is interesting to note that these states were integrated into the government of India on condition that their subjects be given the right to convene a constitutional convention of their own and to frame a democratic constitution.

Thus, we see that economically, socially, and politically the vision of Mahatma Gandhi is being fulfilled. Free India is implementing the hopes and

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aspirations of that great man of God. I may therefore say that so far as the field of internal reconstruction and reorganization in India is concerned, the promise of freedom is becoming an actuality. It is good. We are all happy that the people of India are forging ahead on the path to liberty, social justice, and equality—also, to abundant life, in spite of temporary set-backs now and then caused by the forces of nature.

III

In the field of external relationships of the new nation, I must confess I cannot find reason for being unqualifiedly enthusiastic. There are items both on the credit side and on the debit side of the ledger. Certain expressions of India's foreign policy are commendable and creditable to the new nation. Certain other aspects of India's foreign policy are, in my judgment, mischievous, wrong and detrimental to the well-being of India, to the cause of freedom, and indeed detrimental to the whole world.

Let me at the very outset of this discussion make one point clear. It is not pleasing for me to be critical of India or her leaders. After all, I spent twenty-five years of my life in the service of India. And I wish her people well. But if I am to be true to the cause of truth for which Mahatma Gandhi stood, then I cannot help making adverse criticisms of certain aspects of India's foreign policy. Let me also make another point, that so far as I am concerned, I look upon Mr. Nehru's thinking in the field of foreign relations objectively, and I criticise his views not by attributing any base motives to him, but by resort to certain psychological interpretations. After all, Mr. Nehru is dominantly concerned with the rebuilding of the economy of India. That is his master passion. It is a laudable one. The people of India do deserve a better deal, economically, socially, politically. Therefore, I have no quarrel with Mr. Nehru's sincere preoccupation with the rejuvenation of his country. But this very preoccupation sometimes makes it impossible for him to judge the things in the outside world objectively and realistically. Anything happening anywhere in the world that might conceivably stand in the way of India building up her strength and economy is a nuisance to be brushed aside. I think this is the psychological motivation behind Mr. Nehru's erratic thinking with reference to Korea and the United Nations.

Let me, first of all, point out two constructive and positive expressions of India's foreign policy. Soon after British rule came to an end in India, at the invitation of Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru, an All-Asia cultural relations conference was held in New Delhi. This was the consummation of a longing of all the sons and daughters of Asia through the centuries. Asia has a great and noble heritage and all her sons have been hoping and praying that some day they might all get together to share their ideas one with another. In this conference and the succeeding one the leading men and women of the different countries of Asia participated and they pooled their resources with a view to discovering appropriate ways in which the experience of one country might be of benefit to others.

Another positive feature of India's foreign policy was symbolized by the convening of a conference of interested nations in New Delhi to resolve the then existing deadlock between the Republican forces of Indonesia and the Dutch government.

Perhaps, you all recall that the United Nations at that time had certain resolutions passed instructing or inviting the Dutch rulers of the East Indies to release the political prisoners and to enter into an agreement with them for transfer of power from Dutch hands to Indonesian hands. These resolutions of the U. N. were immediately tucked away on the shelf. They were not implemented. Feeling that the situation was becoming impossible, Prime Minister Nehru took the lead in inviting interested nations of Asia, including the representatives of Australia and New Zealand; and in the historic conference held in New Delhi, these representatives of Asia passed certain resolutions after due and proper consideration—resolutions demanding the release of political prisoners in Indonesia and calling upon the Dutch rulers of the East Indies to transfer power to the Indonesian Nationalists at the earliest possible moment. It is interesting to recall that within less than two weeks after these resolutions were passed in New Delhi, the Dutch authorities did see fit to release the Indonesian Republican leaders, and, of course, after that with the help of the good offices of the United Nations Commission, the Indonesian people achieved their independence.

These two expressions of India's foreign policy are, in my judgment, highly commendable. They redound to the credit of India and in a real sense express the vital concern and hope of Mahatma Gandhi that his people would play a leading, but humble, role in bringing about better understanding among the peoples of the world and in helping oppressed peoples to gain their freedom.

In the matter of the attitude of the Government of India toward the Korean crisis and toward the role of the U.N., I must confess a deep sense of disappointment. As I said a while ago, I do not doubt the integrity of Mr. Nehru nor the high purposes of the government of India.

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IV

What I am afraid of is that the present government of India, especially Mr. Nehru, looking at the problems of the outside world through the perspective of a people engrossed in their own internal problems, has been unable to view objectively the problem of right and wrong in the international scene.

I, for one, was very much heartened when the government of India, along with the other governments of the world, took a stand in June, 1950, to brand the North Koreans as aggressors.

As the crisis in Korea developed, we began to detect in Mr. Nehru's thinking his special concern to localize the war in Korea. This concern was a laudable one. The American government, too, like every other well-intentioned government, was doing its utmost to localize the conflict in Korea.

But when this concern for localizing the conflict in Korea was concretely expressed by Mr. Nehru in terms of certain policies, one began to see a trend in his thinking toward compromise and appeasement. For instance, as you will recall, at the very start of the Korean crisis, Mr. Nehru undertook to play the role of an intermediary, and he wrote letters to our own Secretary of State and to Mr. Stalin. In these communications, he suggested the appeasement of Red China as a way to end the aggression in Korea by the North Korean aggressors. I am very happy our State Department refused to accept Mr. Nehru's suggestion. That suggestion had no merit from a moral or ethical standpoint. Later, when the United Nations forces were about to cross the 38th parallel, Mr. Nehru's government took the position that they should not cross the 38th parallel.

It seems to me that the problem of crossing the 38th parallel was strictly a military problem. If the North Koreans had been aggressors and the United Nations undertook police action to combat that aggression, then the existence of the 38th parallel as a dividing line became entirely irrelevant. Indeed, the North Koreans themselves by their aggressive action had eliminated the relevance of the 38th parallel.

Later in the course of the military campaign in Korea, Mr. Nehru's government and Mr. Attlee's government in Britain pleaded for consultations with the representatives of the Communist government of China as a possible way to end the Korean conflict.

In a real sense this was entirely an irrelevant sense, but precisely because the American government and the United Nations organization were in the right they could afford to accept the suggestion of the government of India, the government of Britain, and other governments of their mode of thinking.

We had at the United Nations at that time the humiliating experience of the representative of Communist China flouting the collective judgment of mankind and indulging in irresponsible talk which left no room for negotiation or conciliation. And when the Chinese government did intervene in the Korean conflict on a large scale, Mr. Nehru's government began to make the claim that this situation arose because of the failure of the United Nations to give a seat to the Peking regime.

This claim, it seems to me, was beside the point because the seating of the Peking regime in the United Nations was a matter entirely unrelated to the original aggression perpetrated by the North Koreans against the Republic of Korea in the last week of June, 1950.

Later yet, when the problem arose whether or not the United Nations should take a stand on the intervention in the Korean conflict by the Chinese Communist regime of Peking, Mr. Nehru's government took the position that it would be unwise to brand the Communist Chinese regime as an aggressor. For the record, it may be noted that the government of Pakistan abstained from voting on that resolution. The government of India voted against branding the Chinese Communist government an aggressor.

I cannot understand how the government of India, having branded the North Koreans as aggressors, could logically refrain from branding the Peking regime as an aggressor as well. Or, does the fact that Communist China represents a large reservoir of manpower make the difference in Mr. Nehru's thinking?

Perhaps, we can charitably say that Mr. Nehru believed that by treating the Communist regime indulgently we might be able to work out a peaceful settlement. But then, the question arises, a peaceful settlement at what price? By the betrayal of principle? The principles for which Mahatma Gandhi lived and died?

It would appear that in the field of international relations, Mr. Nehru has failed fully to utilize the responsibility that devolved upon India as a free nation.

Indeed, I must go a step farther and say that Mr. Nehru is going back on the very principles that brought him to the leadership of his people; the rebel who was willing to go to prison rather than make a compromise with principles is today advocating compromise with principles and betrayal of the truth.

I am quite sure that Mahatma Gandhi would much rather want his people to stand by truth than act on the basis of expediency even for a gain real or fancied.

Is there any way to explain the gap between Mr. Nehru's realistic thinking in the field of national

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reconstruction and unrealistic thinking in the field of international relations? Let us remember that he has said that the United Nations cannot solve tensions between great powers.

Let us remember that the League of Nations collapsed precisely because it, too, confessed that it could not settle disputes between great powers. If the United Nations Organization is to play the same role as the League of Nations, then its disappearance from the world scene would be no calamity.

V

It is very interesting to note that in the field of internal reorganizatoin Mr. Nehru has fully realized the menace posed by Communism. The Communist leaders have been dealt with more harshly by the Government of India than by any other non-Communist government in the world. And yet, Mr. Nehru persists in his wishful thinking that it is possible to do business with the Communists outside of India. I cannot understand how one could be so unrealistic in one's approach to Communism. Perhaps, it is possible to do business with the Communists, but you can do business with the Communists only on their terms which means liquidation of the life of freedom and democracy. And, I am quite sure, Mr. Nehru is not willing to liquidate democracy and freedom. But precisely because he is deeply concerned with the problem of India's rebuilding, he is willing for the moment to overlook the menace posed by Communism externally.

Having spent many years of his life as a fighter for freedom, Mr. Nehru, of course, fully realizes the nature of the problems besetting his people. And as an ardent follower of Gandhi, as a humanitarian in his own right, and as a great patriot, he has embarked upon a program of national reconstruction which already has brought India into the forefront of nations as a democratic and stable force.

However, this very preoccupation with the struggle for national freedom over a long period of time has left Mr. Nehru unprepared to shoulder the responsibilities of a newly emerged free nation in the field of international relations.

I personally feel sorry for this because we have had a right to expect that Gandhi's nation would under all circumstances stand for right, truth, and justice, and not for expediency or for betrayal of principles.

In spite of my dissatisfaction with certain aspects of the present foreign policy of the government of India, I would urge the American public to be patient and tolerant with the young Republic of India. Whatever may appear on the horizon at a given time in the shifting international field, the long-range goal and perspective of India both internally and externally, shall abide. And it is this feature of the long-range validity of the goal of India's policy that gives me hope that at the crucial moment the government of India will take its stand on the platform of truth and justice.

Our dissatisfaction with Mr. Nehru's approach to Korea and to the U. N. should not lead us to take actions which would be unworthy of the American heritage. We have always stood ready to help those who have been in need. On the morrow the people of India shall be in the throes of a famine. The government of India has under pressure from public opinion in this country just entered into a trade agreement with the government of Pakistan whereby the surplus food stocks of Pakistan would go to India in exchange for Hindese commodities needed by Pakistan.

This is a good agreement. Even so, the needs of India in the matter of food grains will not be fully satisfied by the import of surplus food-stuffs from Pakistan. The best estimates are that the people of India may need approximately 2,000,000 tons of food-grains in the next six months if they are going to avoid wide-spread famine.

It is a tribute to the good-will of the American people and to their sincere desire to serve the afflicted that throughout this land millions of Americans have raised their voices in behalf of sending food grains from this country to India. It is also commendable on the part of our government in Washington that it has been taking prompt steps to aid India with the needed food-stuffs.

I would not want to see this food sent to India in the hope of converting Mr. Nehru to our point of view. I am firmly of the conviction that Mr. Nehru's stand on Korea and the U. N. is wrong, that it is capable of change, that it could be brought in line with the point of view of the democratic world; but I would not want to use the food as a weapon in an attempt to coerce Mr. Nehru regarding his point of view or policy.

I am quite certain that the doing of the good, namely, the sending of this needed food-stuff to the starving people of India is its own reward. And we hope that the common people in India, when they receive this food, will think kindly of their friends and neighbours across the Pacific in the United States of America who are willing to make the sacrifices in order that they may have food.

In conclusion, I wish to refer to two points of more than contemporary interest. Both Mr. Nehru and Mr. Attlee of Britain present the phenomenon of two of our greatest armchair strategists. They both

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want to tell our military leaders how to conduct the war. If I were in President Truman's shoes, I would accept the suggestions of both Mr. Attlee and Mr. Nehru under the following conditions. I would say to both of these gentlemen, "Messrs. Attlee and Nehru, perhaps you are right. Maybe we ought not to cross the 38th parallel. Suppose then in order to carry out your wishes we make this suggestion. Since you allege that the presence of our troops in Korea is creating a panic in the thinking of the Chinese people on the mainland, we wish to withdraw every one of our American soldiers from Korea, and you, Mr. Attlee, and you Mr. Nehru, send your British and Hindese troops to Korea to man the 38th Parallel line, and please give us an undertaking that there will be no Dunkirk. With your boys manning the 38th Parallel, we shall be very happy to keep on talking, if need be, for the next ten years, how to bring about peace with Communist China."

Finally, in spite of some of my criticisms of India's foreign policy at the moment in relation to Korea and the United Natoins, let me say that I have complete faith in the abiding framework of India and her destiny. India's abiding framework is and shall remain quest for truth, quest for justice, quest for liberty, quest for equality. In this noble four-fold quest, so well exemplified by Mahatma Gandhi, America and India can stand shoulder to shoulder and march forward to the realization of man's age-old dream of peace on earth and good will among men. Thank you. (Prolonged applause).

QUESTION PERIOD

Question : Will you tell us something about Pakistan?

Answer : It is not possible to give any brief answer about Pakistan and I do not know what special point you have in mind. If you are asking the question whether the leaders of Pakistan are also concerned with raising the standard of living of the under-privileged masses, I would say that on the whole they, too, are adopting the same procedures and implementing the same policies.

Question : What about population pressure in India?

Answer : The problem of population pressure in India and, for that matter, throughout the Orient is a real one. Just this morning I was happy to note in one of our newspapers that Mr. Nehru has come out in favour of birth-control. I believe the intelligent leadership of India, and of the rest of Asia, is going to institute planned parenthood clinics all over the lands and thereby help the underprivileged masses to regulate the size of the family.

Question : Will you tell us something about the impasse in Kashmir? Is it true that Mr. Nehru is opposed to a plebiscite in Kashmir?

Answer : No, it would not be true to say that Mr. Nehru is opposed to a plebiscite in Kashmir. Indeed, it must be recalled that Mr. Nehru was the first one to make a suggestion that the plebiscite in Kashmir should be the final determinant as to the destiny of the people of Kashmir. But it is true today that Mr. Nehru wants to have the plebiscite under conditions he sets forth. Indeed, I wish I had a little more time to discuss this question, but I can say in a few words that to me the problem of Kashmir and the problem of Korea are in many ways parallel and identical. Mr. Nehru takes one set of criteria in dealing with Kashmir and another set of criteria in dealing with Korea. Perhaps, the fact that Mr. Nehru's family originally came from Kashmir may have something to do with this mode of reasoning. Perhaps, subconciously, I admit. At any rate, in Kashmir he takes the position that the aggressor must first be removed, ejected, from the territory. Then he takes the position that the army of the government of India should be there to maintain order while the plebiscite is conducted. In Korea he takes the opposite stand. He wants the aggressor armies to remain where they are. He wanted them to remain below the 38th parallel in his first suggestion of compromise. And he wants to have a plebiscite held, if at all, not after the ejecting of the aggressor forces from Korea, but he wants the plebiscite to be held in the presence of the aggressor forces. I must confess that the problem of Kashmir is very delicate and I cannot help thinking that if Mr. Nehru's position in Kashmir is right, his position in Korea is entirely wrong, and *vice versa*. In both cases, aggression has been committed. Now how to resolve that problem is the supreme business of statesmanship. Mr. Nehru cannot have his cake and eat it, too. If he wishes to hold one set of criteria in dealing with Kashmir, he should have the same set of criteria in dealing with Korea. Thank you very much.*

* The article is a recording of Dr. Haridas T. Mazumdar's speech, the second annual Sudhindra Memorial Foundation lecture at the State University of Iowa, on April 19, 1951.

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"THE PRESIDENT OF INDIA"

By K. K. BASU, M.A., LL.B. (Cantab.), Barrister-at-Law

In the last May, June and July numbers of *The Modern Review* have appeared two articles of Prof. Banerjee and one of Mr. Sen-Varma respectively on the above subject. I have dealt with Mr. Sen-Varma's article hereinafter. I am grateful for his fair approach to the points at issue. He sets out my propositions without any attempt to misread them and almost in the way that I would like to state them myself, before he starts answering them.

Ordinarily it should not have been necessary to reply to Prof. Banerjee's article any further. Both Prof. Banerjee and myself adhere to our respective points of view in the matter, and I have given reasons for my views, and I am content to leave such reasons to the judgment of the readers. On the last occasion[1] it was only because I found that some of my views had been misapprehended, and therefore misrepresented, that I had to write. Unfortunately, it is the same reason that has called for the present article so far as Prof. Banerjee's articles are concerned.

I

The extract from *Marbury* vs. *Madison* was cited by me expressly with reference to the American and the Indian Constitutions which have "controlled" legislatures.[2] How far, if at all, it can apply to other Constitutions is beside the point. Again, on the issue whether the said observations of Marshall C. J. are sound arguments they were mere *dicta* and not part of the *ratio desidendi* of the case, and that emphasis on the said observations was relatively less, are clearly irrelevant. The particular judgment came up for consideration before the U.S. Supreme Court in a number of later cases,[3] in none of which the soundness of the above extract appears to have been questioned at all. In the absence of a decision or *dictum* of a competent court disapproving, or even doubting the correctness of the above observations, I find it difficult to accept any views to the contrary.

That the judiciary has necessarily the last say in the matter of interpreting a Constitution was stated not merely following Marshall C.J. or Hughes C.J. as has been wrongly supposed. It was stated[4] obviously in relation to the fate of section 14 of the Indian Security Act (Act IV of 1950) before the Supreme Court of India in *Gopalan's* case. Until the Constitution has been suitably amended to reconcile its provisions with the said section 14, the said section must remain void as a result of the above decision. That is how the judiciary has "the last say." Judges have indeed no occasion to interpret any provision of the Constitution until the same comes up before them in a litigation. (I am leaving out for the present the consultative function of the Supreme Court of India). But it is only then that the question of judges having any say on the construction of the Constitution can at all arise. It is needless to point out that I did not refer, nor was I understood to have referred, to views of judges expressed *per incurium*.

On the question of admissibility of the debates in the Constituent Assembly I put forward the proposition[5] that ". . . unless there is ambiguity, the actual language used in the Constitution is the acid test, . . .". This appears to be quite in accord with the observations cited by Prof. Banerjee himself of Cockburn C.J., Lord Wright and Kania C.J. as also of the text-book writers, Willoughby and Willis. This accounts for the majority of the galaxy whom he presumes to claim to be in his company.[6]

The eminent professor evidently failed to appreciate the above proposition, and so I may be permitted to dwell on the matter in a greater detail. It should be observed, however, that it was never in dispute that such extraneous matters as are legitimate may be resorted to for a limited purpose in cases of ambiguity.

Two propositions seem to be fairly clear in the maze of judicial learning on this topic: (1) Resort to such extraneous matter is permissible only where there is an ambiguity in the relevant text, and (2) even then, only to ascertain the historical background of the words actually used. It is unnecessary to burden this article with numerous quotations laying down the principle.[7] I propose to cite only

1. *The Modern Review*, February, 1951, p. 141.
2. *Ibid.*
3. *Ibid.*
4. In 1882, when the *Lawyers' Edition of the Reports of U. S. Supreme Court* was first published the above judgment appears already to have come up for consideration on more than 65 occasions.
5. *Ibid.*
6. *The Modern Review*, June, p. 456.
7. Apart from the cases cited in my article in *The Modern Review*, February, 1951 (p. 143), it should be noted that Gwyer C. J. in *Central Provinces and Berar Act* (1939) 1 F. C. R. at p. 46, favoured such reference only for historical purposes and to matters of which the Court would take judicial notice, and even then Sulaiman J. dissented from him. (*Ibid* at p. 77). Prof. Banerjee has relied

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the views of the highest courts of England and India respectively on this point.

In *Assam Railways and Trading Co. Ltd.* vs. *Inland Revenue Commissioners*[8] reference by counsel to a Report of a Royal Cofmission for the construction of a section of Income Tax Act, 1920, was rejected by Lord Wright (Lords Blanesburgh, Warrington of Clyffe, Atkin and Thankerton concurring) as inadmissible in the following words:

". . . But on principle no such evidence for the purpose of showing the intention that is the purpose of object, of an Act is admissible, the intention of the Legislature must be ascertained from the words of the statute with such extraneous assistance as is legitimate . . . *It is clear that the language of a Minister of the Crown in proposing in Parliament a measure which eventually becomes law is inadmissible* and the Report of Commissioners is even more removed from value as evidence of intention . . ."

Further in *Liversidge* vs. *Anderson* (1942 A.C. at pp. 270-1) Lord Wright made the following observations:

". . . Counsel for the appellant knew English law too well to contend that they were entitled to refer to what passed in debate in the House of Commons or the House of Lords. *That is clearly inadmissible*. . . ."

In *A. K. Gopalan* vs. *The State of Madras and the Union of India*,[9] the Attorney-General M. C. Setalvad is reported[10] to have insisted on a reference to the debates in the Constituent Assembly only for the purpose of showing that the Assembly was fully aware of the implications of the difference between the old form of expression and the new. Kania C.J. and Fazl Ali J. in that case were prepared to allow such reference only for such limited purpose as aforesaid as will appear from the following observations:

". . . The result appears to be that while *it is not proper* to take into consideration the individual opinions of members of Parliament or convention to *construe the meaning* of the particular clause, when a question is raised whether a certain phrase or expression was up for consideration at all, a reference to debates may be permitted."—(Kania C.J. at p. 185).

". . . In my opinion though the proceedings or discussions in the Assembly are *not relevant for the purpose of construing the meaning* of the expressions used in Article 21, especially when they are plain and unambiguous, they are relevant to show that the Assembly intended to avoid the use of the expression 'without due process of law'."—(Fazl Ali J. at p. 212).

In the same case Patanjali Sastri and Mukherjea JJ. rejected the contention of the learned Attorney-General. Das J. was frankly doubtful about such admissibility, while Mahajan J. did not think it worth his while to deal with such contention at all. The relevant observations are set out hereunder:

"Learned Counsel drew attention to the speeches made by several members of the Assembly on the floor of the House for explaining, as he put it, the 'historical background.' A speech made in the course of a debate of a bill could not reflect the inarticulate mental processes lying behind the majority vote which carried the bill. Nor is it reasonable to assume that the minds of those legislators were in accord. The Court could only search for the objective intent of the Legislature primarily in the words used in the enactment, aided by such historical material as reports of statutory committees, preambles, etc. *I attach no importance, therefore, to the speeches made by some of the members of the Constituent Assembly in the course of a debate on Article 15.*" (Now Article 21). —(Patanjali Sastri J. at p. 236).

". . . In my opinion *in interpreting the Constitution* it will be better if such extrinsic evidence is left out of account . . ."—(Mukherjea J. at p. 277).

". . . If it were permissible to refer to the drafting Committee's report, it would be another answer to the contentions of Learned Counsel for the petitioner . . . I do not, however, desire to base my judgment on the Drafting Committee's report and I *express no opinion as to its admissibility* . . ."—(Das J. at p. 290).

Both Mukherjea and Das JJ. had been at one time practising before the Calcutta High Court. In view of Prof. Banerjee's avowed aversion to Calcutta lawyers I was reluctant to cite their views. Such views nevertheless being in substantial agreement with others' are binding on all Indian Courts, and hence are relied on.

From the speech of Lord Wright in *Assam Railways*, etc. case cited hereinabove it is obvious that even where resort to such extraneous materials is at all permissible it can only be for the limited purpose of assisting the court in ascertaining the intention of the legislature from the words used. The extracts of the judgments of the Supreme Court of India cited hereinabove also make it clear that the said Court also held unanimously that such debates, for whatever other purposes they may be referred to, cannot be referred to for "the purpose of construing the meaning of the expressions used" in the Constitution. "The actual language," therefore, "*is* the acid test," notwithstanding Prof. Banerjee's disapproval[11] of this observation of Lord Wright's[12] which the eminent Professor mistook for mine.

(*The Modern Review*, June, 1951, p. 454, fn. 94) on a newspaper report of an alleged argument of the Attorney-General before the Patna High Court in support of such reference, but was silent as to whether such argument was upheld. I dare say that the Patna High Court found such argument as untenable as did the Supreme Court in Gopalan's case, mentioned herein.

8. 1935 A.C. 445 H. L. at p. 458.
9. XIII *Supreme Court Journal*, p. 174.
10. *Ibid*, at p. 277.

11. *The Modern Review*, June, 1951 at p. 455.
12. 1942 A.C. at p. 271.

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Language of Article 74(1) of our Constitution appears to provide that any exercise of function of the President under the Constitution must have *inter alia* this element of "aid" of his Council of Ministers. Participation of his Council of Ministers in any exercise of his functions by the President thus appears to be imperative from the said Article. Exercise of functions of the President must therefore be in accordance with such "aid" given. This interpretation is also supported by the obvious antinomy of aid and hindrance. Omission by the Council of Ministers to give or by the President to take such "aid" in the exercise of any of President's functions under the Constitution does amount to a violation of the Constitution. I find that Prof. Ramesh Chandra Ghosh is also of the same view.[13]

To say that "the text of our Constitution has not given us a true picture of the position of the President" is merely to beg the question. Because, whatever picture is given in the text *is* the true picture. Such a view is not a purely technical or "legalistic" one. Even if it is so it will still be a more correct approach to the construction of the Constitution than what Patanjali Sastri J. in *Charanjit Lal Chowdhury* vs. *The Union of India*[14] has deprecated as "a doctrinaire approach."

Language of Article 74(1) thus not being ambiguous, if literal and ordinary meaning is given to *all* the words therein, as already explained in my previous article,[15] reference to the debates in the Constituent Assembly is entirely out of place in its interpretation. I had also pointed out[16] that the word "aid" actually occurring in the said Article cannot be treated as redundant or a mere surplusage. One cannot create an "ambiguity" by so strange a construction, for the mere barren pedantry of strutting out with lengthy extracts of the debates in the Constituent Assembly. Prof. Banerjee in his recent articles[17] seems to have even gone one better in his explanation. ". . . nor can we reasonably treat the word 'aid' as a technical term. . . .," says he, as if he had, at any stage, sought to give any meaning to the word "aid."[18]

"Bless thee Bottom! bless thee! thou art translated."

I am sorry that any one should have read in my article any self-complacency or self-conceit. In a controversy where there is room for *bona fide* difference of opinion such mental attitude is certainly unbecoming. That shrewd men of the world pay their hard-earned money for the advice, in Constitutional matters, of persons licensed to practise in Courts in preference to those of laymen claiming to be better informed in such matters is a fact. Such propensity on the part of seekers of advice may appear unsatisfactory, unreasonable and even irritating to some of such opinionated laymen, but it is none the less a fact. And I have yet to learn that a statement of a fact may sound of conceit.

For example, a casual reader, unfamiliar with Prof. Banerjee's pronouncements, *ex cathedra* and infallible, may suspect some lurking conceit in the following homilies:

> "One should be sure of one's facts before one makes a categorical statement in regard to a point of constitutional law."[19]
>
> "One should think a little deeply about the implications of one's statement about a constitutional matter before one should make it."[20]

But such suspicion is unwarranted, and will be unjust to Prof. Banerjee. He has done well to remind all who write on constitutional matters of these conditions precedent. One only wishes that he himself had had them in mind when he did burst into print.

II

The main point of difference between Mr. Sen-Varma and myself appears to be the interpretation of Article 74(1) of the Constitution. My reading of the said Article has been published elsewhere,[21] as also in the previous portion of this article. Mr. Sen-Varma has attempted to test my interpretation by reference to a hypothetical legal provision.[22] I think, however, that the wording of such hypothetical provision should have corresponded as much as possible to that of the relevant Article before the same could be used as a test. If therefore such hypothetical provision had been worded thus, "There shall be an association of lawyers to aid and advise the Supreme Court in the exercise of its functions," I have little doubt that such aid and advice would have been a *sine qua non* of exercise of any of the Supreme Court's functions, and, therefore, no function of the Supreme Court could be exercised without the aid and advice of the association of lawyers.

The duty to give such aid and advice on the part of the Council of Ministers presupposes a corresponding duty to receive such aid and advice on the part of the President. Mr. Sen-Varma has contrasted a possible absolute supreme and unfettered exercise of functions by authorities under powers conferred on them by Parliament under Article 53(3)(b) with the

13. *The Modern Review*, June, 1951 at p. 462.
14. XIV *Supreme Court Journal* 29 at p. 37.
15. *The Modern Review*, February, 1951 at pp. 142-3.
16. *Ibid* at p. 142.
17. *The Modern Review*, May, 1951 at p. 372.
18. e.g., *The Modern Review*, December, 1950 at pp. 458-459; *Ibid*, May, 1951, pp. 371-372. He had been talking all through about "advice" and not "aid."
19. *The Modern Review*, May, 1951 at p. 370.
20. *Ibid* at p. 372.
21. *The Modern Review*, September, 1950 at p. 203; February, 1951 at pp. 142-143.
22. *The Modern Review*, July, 1951 at p. 27.

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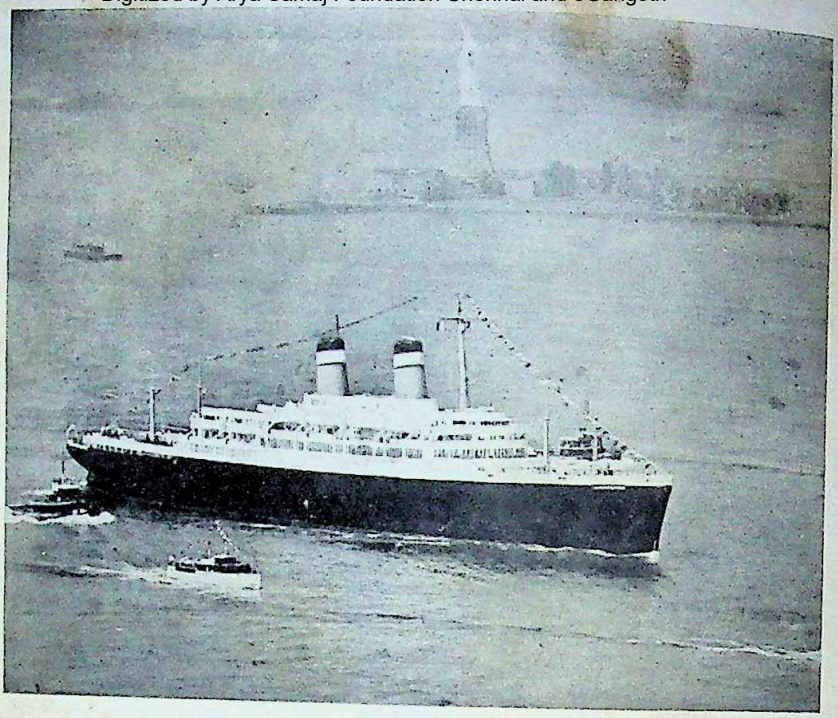
Dancer (*water colour*)
By S. Khastgir



Folk Dancers
By S. Khastgir (1949)

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The new U. S. luxary liner *S.S. Constitution* as she enters the New York harbour and sails past the Statue of Liberty



Ten Indian students, who have been awarded U. S Government scholarships for higher studies in American Universities, sailed from Bombay on June 28

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exercise of functions by the President. He explains the position further in these words,[23] ". . . it not being the duty of the Council of Ministers to aid and advise these other authorities *or the duty of these other authorities to seek such aid and advice . . . .*" It is apparent that he himself has in mind the correlation of the duties to give and seek aid and advice as suggested in my interpretation of Article 74(1).

If I am correct in my interpretation of the above Article there need be no difficulty in reconciling the said Article with other Articles *e.g.*, 75(2) or 85(1); because the exercise of any function of the President including the functions contemplated in these latter Articles, must be aided and advised in the terms of Article 74(1) before they can at all amount to any exercise of his functions under the Constitution. I agree, however, that had Article 74(1) contained such additional words as Mr. Sen-Varma has suggested[24] the interpretation put by me on the said Article would undoubtedly have been fool-proof.

I have previously distinguished between the political usages in states having written constitutions and conventions of the English type.[25] Without elaborating further on the topic I may say that the facts that political usages do grow in states with written constitutions, and that such usages may be obeyed and respected for a considerable length of time, do not necessarily alter their character. Their contravention does not lead to such inevitable legal consequences as will happen in a case of similar contravention of constitutional conventions in England. The distinction is always there, however the two types of usages may resemble each other in appearances.

Much has already been written on Article 53(3)(b).[26] I only write to give reasons why I have no apprehension that a possible application of the said Article may lead to such absurdity[27] as Mr. Sen-Varma envisages.

If, for example, the executive power of the President is conferred on another authority by Parliament under the said Article, the power so far as the President is concerned stands abrogated in the sense that he can no longer exercise it. This is the result of the operation of the *non obstante* clause "Nothing in this Article shall . . ." at beginning of clause (3) of the said Article. Secondly, "functions" in clause (3)(b) of the said Article is undoubtedly wider in import than "executive powers" in clause (1) thereof and includes the latter. This also follows from the said *non obstante* clause. Because, unless conferring *inter alia* of executive powers of the President by Parliament under clause (3)(b) was also in contemplation the said *non obstante* clause in that form would not have been necessary. Thirdly, Parliament may, and in all probability will, confer such functions not in an unfettered form but with such conditions for their exercise attached thereto as it may in its wisdom prescribe. Again, the saving clause at the very opening of Art. 73 prevents its coming in conflict with any power that may be conferred under Article 53(3) (b).

I agree that it is possible to draft a written constitution with an "uncontrolled" legislature and in such a case the doctrine of *ultra vires* in relation to legislation can have no application. One of the earliest experiments of this was the Constitution of the State of Queensland enacted in 1867. But as Mr. Sen-Varma himself has noted[28] I restricted my observations to Constitutions with "controlled" legislatures like the American and the Indian.*

23. *Ibid* at p. 28.
24. *Ibid* at p. 27.
25. *The Modern Review*, September, 1950 at pp. 202-203; *Ibid*, February, 1951 at pp. 141-142.
26. *The Modern Review*, September, 1950 at p. 203; *Ibid*, February, 1951 at p. 143.
27. *Ibid*, July, 1951 at p. 28.
28. *Ibid*, July, 1951 at p. 25.

* The italics are mine.

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PLANNING EDUCATION AT THE POST-MATRICULATION STAGE

By R. C. RAY, M.A.,
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When a student passes the Matriculation Examination he at once finds himself on the cross-roads, where he has to make his choice of the path he will take to reach the goal he has in view. The road, at this point, fans out in various directions before him, offering him a choice of educational opportunities in different fields. He takes the path that promises to lead him to the field of work most suited to his taste and aptitude, wherein by devoted application and honest industry he makes good use of his opportunities and lays up the foundation of a successful career for himself.

That is, he does in a progressive country with a well-planned and well-organised structure of national education. In a country like ours, where such an educational structure is yet in the stage of planning, he is hardly ever as lucky as that. For him there is not much of a cross-road as yet at any stage. He walks the broad path of literary education, which is still almost the only path for him, and finds himself in the College very often compelled to pursue an unsuitable course of education with results that are far from happy to contemplate. We are at the moment deeply worried by the deplorable pass-rolls in our University Examinations; but if we care to look into the root-causes, we will find that this limited choice of educational opportunities for our youth at the post-Matriculation stage is perhaps the largest single factor that accounts for this lamentable state of things.

The educational system of a country must reflect its ideals and aspirations and must be broad-based upon its needs in educated and trained man-power to work for the realisation of those ideals and aspirations. The India that the British left to us when they quitted her soil was poor, almost destitute, in everything except in ideals and aspirations. The educational system we had then reflected nothing but our state of degradation and if it was based upon any needs at all, those were the needs of a dependent people as conceived by their benevolent masters. To make that educational system serve the purposes of a free and progressive nation, it has to be reshaped and re-conditioned almost from base to apex with due attention to every part of the structure so as to strengthen and re-vitalise those weak links which at present make the whole structure weak and ineffective. Finally, it has to be based upon the large and growing variety of needs of a free people and thus made to reflect something of the ideals and aspirations of the new India. We know that a re-organisation on these lines has already been planned for our University education, and that our secondary education also has, of late, engaged a good deal of the attention of the reformers in the different States. But our post-Matriculation education, we are afraid, has not received even half the attention that it undoubtedly deserves. In fact there seems to be a lot of loose thinking about the purpose and scope of such education and its due place in the general educational structure of the country. It is commonly forgotten that apart from its importance as a link between the school and the University stages, education at this stage marks, and should mark, the close of all academic training for large numbers of our young people. As such it has a distinct usefulness of its own which has to be recognised by assigning it a place of importance in our scheme of national education. If our secondary schools are the weakest link in our educational machinery, our post-Matriculation Institutions can only be described as the broken link. This broken link has to be restored and geared up as much for the smooth and efficient working of the machinery as for the success of our efforts towards national reconstruction.

In the following paragraphs it will be our endeavour to indicate briefly the lines on which this part of our educational machinery can be strengthened and revitalised with an eye to the more urgent and pressing needs of the nation today.

II

The one great problem of India today is the problem of feeding our growing population. It is said that in the last ten years our population has recorded an increase of nearly 13.4 per cent, and that during that period there have been, on an average, 42 lakhs more births than deaths every year. Our deficiency in food-grains amounts to nearly 4 million tons at present, and it is bound to go on increasing at a tremendous rate from year to year with the population figure going up at the present rate. Even with all reasonable checks on the growth of population, it will require a colossal effort to step up our food production to bring us anywhere near the target of self-sufficiency. Then, again, it is not merely a question of stepping up food production; we have at the same time to step up the production of such essential raw-materials as jute and cotton if our industries are to carry on at all and if we are to attain even a workable independence on the economic front. But our grow-more-food and other campaigns in this direction have shown us that we shall never succeed in our efforts at stepping up production up to the desired extent so long as, along with the improvement of our land resources and operational methods, we do not take measures for the improvement of the quality of the personnel engaged in agricultural work. That is to say, we have to improve and extend the facilities for agricultural education at all levels. For it is by such education alone that we can ensure the necessary efficiency in the organisation and working of this our principal and most vital industry and aim at self-sufficiency within our existing resources.

At present we have 21 Agricultural Colleges in the country with facilities for admitting only 1500 students annually. As the University Education Commission have

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pointed out, even if half of them should graduate "this would represent only three agricultural graduates per year per million of the farming population." This is not an encouraging picture at all; but far less encouraging is the picture of agricultural education at lower levels. We have at present only 19 schools providing facilities for non-graduate courses in Agriculture, and the ratio of the annual output of these schools to the farming population of the country must work out at a far more hopeless figure. And yet it is this kind of trained personnel that is our greatest need today. The Central Advisory Board of Education estimated that for their programmes of agricultural development they would require the following personnel in the course of the next decade :

Field assistants	20,000
Stockmen for animal husbandry ..	20,000
Non-graduate assistants	10,000
Graduate assistants	1,500
Inspectors (graduate) for animal husbandry	4,000
Gazetted officers for agriculture ..	300
Gazetted officers for animal husbandry ..	550
	56,350

It will be seen that out of the total personnel of 56,350 listed above, the overwhelming majority of 50,000 are non-graduate assistants of various types such as can be trained by Agricultural Schools. We have not enough institutions today to train even a third of the required number in the next decade; nor, as far as we know, have we any plans for setting up such institutions in any number in the near future; and yet we must have them if we want to put through our programme of agricultural development as the first and most important step towards the stabilisation of the economy of the country.

A large part of this personnel, it is true, can have the necessary education even at the pre-Matric. stage at resident rural high schools, such as are contemplated in the proposals of the Central Advisory Board of Education, or even at our Secondary Schools if their curriculum of studies is expanded to include the programme of education necessary for the training of such personnel. But the vast majority of them will be required to go through a separate course of studies and training in Agricultural Schools, after passing the Matriculation Examination to qualify themselves for the work which they will be called upon to undertake. Such schools will naturally include in their courses of study, besides elements of Agricultural Science and practice, such allied subjects as irrigation, animal husbandry, poultry farming, etc., and should preferably be located in the countryside where the students will have the opportunity of supplementing their academic education with practical knowledge gathered from direct contact with actual farm practices.

Here then is a very useful branch of education to which our students can be diverted at the post-Matriculation stage, to the immense benefit of the students themselves as well as of the nation. Students educated in such schools will not only supply the essential man-power for the development projects of the Government, but some of them may well turn out to be of the more enterprising type who will go in for independent business as agricultural, poultry or dairy farmers.

III

Though agriculture still remains the principal basis of our economy and will continue to remain so for many years to come, India has vast potentialities for industrial development and we are already committed to a policy of rapid industrialisation of the country. The Planning Commission has prepared a five-year plan to that end which is now under the active consideration of the Central Government. For the success of any place, however, the greatest need today is for trained man-power to work the various development schemes that have been proposed or taken in hand already. We require an army of engineers and technical experts to work at the top and we look to our Engineering Colleges and Technological Institutes to supply them. We require a far bigger army of technicians, draftsmen, foremen, etc. to assist the engineers and experts at the top, and it is in this type of personnel that we are at present hopelessly deficient.

We have at present 23 full-fledged Engineering Colleges and about 13 technological institutes or departments attached to universities. It has been roughly calculated that the annual output of Engineering graduates in the country is at present nearly 1130, while it is 3000 in Great Britain and over 50,000 in the U.S.A. That is to say, our annual output of Engineering graduates and diploma-holders is only one-third that of Great Britain and only one-fortieth that of the U.S.A. But even if we leave out comparison with other countries and consider our own requirements only, our present output will be found to be hopelessly below the mark. According to the estimates of the Scientific Man-Power Committee, the requirement of the country for engineers and technologists of all types in the next 5 to 10 years is nearly 27,000, which will put the annual demand at between 5400 and 2700. With our present output standing at 1130, the gap between the demand and the supply seems to be very wide indeed. We have great hopes, however, in our four proposed Higher Technological Institutes, one of which (Eastern Technological Institute in Hili near Calcutta) is going to start working very shortly and it is hoped it will not be very long before the other three also will be in a position to admit students. When these Institutes will begin to send out graduates, our present gap will surely be narrowed down and we will become nearly self-sufficient in this type of personnel.

We wish we could be half so confident about the other type too—we mean that big army of non-graduate technical assistants without whom our engineering experts would be as ineffective as a band of redoubtable army commanders without any army to command. In the U.S.A. it has been found by experience that for every high-grade engineer ten technicians are needed. Even if we calculate our requirement at a more modest proportion, our annual need for this kind of personnel cannot

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be anything less than between 10,000 and 20,000 in the next 5 to 10 years. When we remember that this figure represents only the requirement of the Government for the implementation of their development plans, and that there is a vast field of demand for such trained personnel in our numerous and fast-growing private industries as well, we will be inclined to raise this figure to twice or even three times as many. For, in any well-ordered and progressive economy Government's venture in the industrial field can represent only a part, and that too by no means a very large part, of the total activity of the country. Then, again, while planning for such education we must keep in mind the country's need for ambitious young men who, after receiving training in some art or craft, will, instead of seeking jobs in Government or private industrial concerns, go in for starting small industrial units of their own or settle down independently in the business of making and repairing scientific apparatus, hospital appliances, electrical and photographic equipment, etc.

For real economic independence we need self-sufficiency not only in agricultural products and industrial goods, but also in the thousand and one small things which are daily necessaries in a modern society and yet for which we have even today to depend, in a very large measure, on foreign imports. Take, for instance, the equipment of a modern office and see for how many items in it you can depend solely on our indigenous manufactures. For such manufactures we do not require highly educated engineering or technological experts. All we need are technical entrepreneurs—men with a sound training in some technical institution with just the necessary initiative and enterprise. We are sure there is no want of young men with initiative and enterprise in our country; but our present educational machinery, instead of fostering these great qualities and bringing them into proper play, mostly helps only to smother them by condemning their possessors to uncongenial educational activities. The resultant wastage in human energy and loss in national wealth, if it were possible to calculate them in hard arithmetical figures, would be a staggering revelation indeed !

To prevent this wastage and this loss and to build up a sound economic life aimed at all-round self-sufficiency, there should be increased facilities for technical and vocational education at the post-Matriculation stage. There should be one more broad line branching out of the royal road of literary education at this stage and there should be a halt to the present general stampede for admission into the colleges and a planned diversion of students to that branch line. This is necessary as much for the sake of those vast numbers of our young men who are at present swelling the ranks of the 'failures' (not only in examinations but in life as well) for their enforced submission to the wrong type of edurational discipline, as for the nation whose efforts towards a progressive economy are bound to be thwarted so long as there remains any weak or broken link in its educational machinery.

For that purpose we require a number of Engineering Schools offering non-degree courses of study and training in various branches of engineering and technology. These schools will supply the non-graduate technical personnel for employment in Government and private concerns and also that band of technical entrepreneurs who, after picking up the necessary know-how in these schools, will start small industrial units of their own to manufacture that great variety of small things which make up such a large part of the total material needs of the society. At the same time we require a large number of technical schools for the training of foremen, draughtsmen, craftsmen and general technical assistants. They will ensure a continuous supply of skilled technicians for our industries and, by helping a large number of young men to set up in independent business and earn an honest and decent living, will play an important part in the solution of the problem of unemployment. Besides admitting regular students these schools will also provide facilities for short-term refresher courses for our existing craftsmen, mostly recruited from untrained artisan class, so that they may improve their skill and efficiency and adapt themselves to the highly mechanised industrial processes of the modern age.

IV

When we have thus dispersed the 'misfits' in general education by providing facilities for them in other lines more suitable to their tastes and capacities, it will be time for us to think of re-organising general education itself at this stage and put it on a sounder basis.

From what has been said in the foregoing sections, we must not be understood to underrate the importance of general education. On the other hand, we believe that such education will always continue to occupy the place of first importance in any scheme of national education, and that specialisation, at whatever stage it may be introduced, will always have to be grounded on a sound general education. For, we fully agree with the University Education Commission when they say:

> "The person with a narrowly specialised education is like a man who lives in a house with only one window, so that he can look out only in one direction. A general education should open windows in many directions, so that most of the varied experiences of his life and most elements of his environment shall have meaning and interest to him."

Similarly, nothing is further from our mind than to suggest that we have too many colleges in our country and too many students seeking collegiate education. For, the fact is far otherwise and we are fully aware of it. According to the Report of the Radhakrishnan Commission, referred to above, we had in 1936 only 1,26,000 students in the colleges out of an estimated population of 363 millions, which works out roughly at one student for every 2880 inhabitants; while the corresponding figures for some of the progressive countries of the world for that year were as follows :

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Country	Population in Thousands	Students	Number of inhabitants per student
U.S.A.	1 22,800	9,90,000	124
Canada	11,000	48,500	227
South Africa (white population only)	2,000	8,400	238
France	41,907	81,000	517
Great Britain	44,795	50 600	885

From the above it will be clear that far from having too many colleges or too many students in the colleges we are as backward in this as in other branches of education and have a good deal of leeway to make up to come anywhere near the progress achieved by the more advanced countries of the world. If still we hear complaints about overcrowding in the colleges, it is overcrowding in an altogether different sense and in the ultimate analysis, it reduces itself into a problem of distribution and organisation. Our problem at present is: (i) we have too many students in some colleges and too few in others, and (ii) we have too many of those students who should not be there at all and too few of those who should.

The problem of distribution can be solved by restricting admissions to colleges up to a permissible maximum, and by insisting on all affiliated colleges maintaining a minimum standard of efficiency in the strength and quality of the teaching staff as well as in Library, Laboratory and other equipments. The problem of organisation can be very largely solved by effecting planned dispersal of students to technical and occupational lines as suggested in the foregoing sections, and by encouraging poor but meritorious boys to come to the colleges in larger numbers by making generous provision for stipends and other awards. In this latter respect particularly there is a lot to be done by us yet to save good merit, that might well be turned into national asset, from being merely wasted for want of assistance from society. The provision for financial assistance to deserving students is very meagre in our country. In most provinces only about 10 per cent of the total enrollment in a college is entitled to exemption from payment of tuition fees, and the government and other awards also do not generally exceed 1 per cent. These few lucky students also are assisted only to the extent of one-fifth or one-sixth of their total expenditure, and for the remainder they have mostly to shift for themselves. On the other hand, in the British Universities taken as a whole the proportion of assisted students was no less than 67.9 per cent in 1946-47, while at Oxford and Cambridge over 82 per cent of the students receive financial assistance in one form or another. It may not be possible for us to emulate, with our existing resources, the practice of the British universities, but it is nevertheless the duty of the community to see to it that, as long as it can be helped, no meritorious student may be debarred from collegiate education merely on account of indigence.

Thus while we want to see a large number of boys, at present wasting their time and energy in the colleges, diverted to more suitable branches of education, we also want to see a large number of other boys, now rotting in uncongenial spheres of activities outside, coming to the colleges to pursue the higher courses of study with profit to themselves and to the nation. But more than that we want to have a reformed and re-organised course of general education at the post-Matric. stage that will be designed to serve adequately the needs for which such a course of education should rightly exist. For that it is necessary, above all, that we should start with a clear idea of the objective we have in view in planning the education of our youth at this stage.

What, then, is the objective here? In the words of the University Education Commission, the aims of the Intermediate Colleges should be "to meet a variety of needs of our young men by giving a vocational bias to their courses while retaining their value in a system of sound general education as a preparation for the University courses." Whether we have separate Intermediate Colleges as recomemnded by the Commission, or whether our Intermediate classes continue to be attached to the degree colleges as at present the aims of this course of studies must remain the same. Is our present system of education, with the existing curriculum of studies and the existing methods of putting that curriculum into effect (through teaching and examinations), adequate and suitable for fulfilling those aims?

We would say nothing about the working of the curriculum for that would take us further afield and involve us in controversies, which, however important, are not strictly relevant to our present purpose. We would, therefore, content ourselves with a few remarks about the curriculum and our present reading programmes in various subjects. We hope nobody would deny that our present curriculum of studies is inadequate and unsuitable, in some respects, as being based on certain pre-conceived notions rather than on a correct appreciation of the needs of the time. It would also be generally agreed that it is rather too narrow, too limited in its scope, to meet the growing variety of the needs of our students and of the nation. It does nothing to give a vocational bias to the course, and if it does prepare for the University courses it does so only in a very limited way. For, while it includes preparatory courses for higher studies in general Arts and Science subjects it wholly leaves out those for higher studies in technical and professional subjects. Besides, the reading programmes in some of the subjects (in English, for example) have to be re-modelled to bring them in line with the changed needs of the time; in some other subjects, (in the sciences, for example), they have to be revised and brought up to date; and in all subjects they have to be rationalised and made more practical in their outlook and general aim. Above all, the curriculum has to be widened in its scope so as to give full latitude of choice to boys with different tastes and inclinations.

The importance of this aspect of the matter seems to have been recognised by the Syllabus Committee of the new Board of Secondary Education of West Bengal by giving a distinct vocational bias to the proposed Syllabus

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of the School Final Examination. This is all to the good, no doubt. But it will lose much of its meaning and usefulness if it is not followed up by a similar vocational bias in the Intermediate Syllabus too. For what does a boy do after passing the School Final Examination with Agricultural Science or Elements of Engineering as his optional subject? Either he goes to an Agricultural or Engineering School or to an Intermediate College to prepare for the University Course in the subject of his choice. The present Intermediate Syllabus, however, would leave him no choice but to engage in a fruitless and wasteful pursuit of a general Arts or Science course. Besides this, the widening of the scope of the curriculum may well prove a boon to those boys who come to the College for want of opportunity for more suitable education elsewhere and, finding no interest in the usual subjects of the curriculum, swell the ranks of the 'failures.' Some of the new subjects may at last stimulate their interest and may even point to a hopeful career for some of them.

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THE INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS: ITS PAST, PRESENT AND FUTURE

By Prof. GUR PRASAD SRIVASTAVA, M.A., LL.B., D.P.A., D.F.A. & D.

The object of the Indian National Congress, which constituted the spearhead of anti-imperialist agitation before the transfer of power and which is now running the administration, was to make India free from foreign domination. Therefore, with the attainment of that object the question arises whether it has outlived its usefulness. Some people answer this question in the affirmative. They are of opinion that the Congress which once captured the imagination of the Indian people and was their sole mouthpiece can now exist only as a political party which, having assumed power, is bound to suffer in popularity. But the majority of people are of the opinion that the party which has been instrumental in winning the freedom of the country should also be given the opportunity to consolidate it because at present it is the only properly organised party which is capable of assuming the reins of Government. In these circumstances it is both interesting and instructive to speculate on its future.

But the question of its future can not be answered without a reference to its past and present activities. The Congress, like freedom movements all over the world, was a purely political organisation in the beginning. Its object was the establishment of parliamentary democracy in India. No doubt, this was due to the character of its leadership which was drawn from the upper middle class, the lawyers being foremost in its ranks. But with the advent of Mahatma Gandhi this conception changed. Mahatma Gandhi had a complete philosophy of life and to him the freedom of the country was not an end in itself, but only a means to an end, *viz.*, his constructive programme. Thus there were two conflicting currents of thought inside the Congress. But with the assassination of Mahatma Gandhi the parliamentary programme has triumphed over the constructive. In the opinion of Acharya Kripalani[1] the present leadership of the Congress is incapable of implementing any constructive programme. But this is an extreme point of view. The Congress Ministries did much valuable work during their first regime. In fact, Professor L. F. Rushbrook Williams speaking about their work in 1938 said that "they deserve much credit for what they are doing; they are completely in earnest and are working desperately hard."[2] Even in their present regime they have taken up many useful agricultural reforms including the abolition of Zamindari.

But the future of the Congress would be determined by its work during the present regime. No doubt, the partition of the country unleashed the forces of darkness and disruption on an unprecedented scale. The problem of the relief and rehabilitation of the uprooted millions would have been enough to shake the foundations of any Government and, more so, a newly established Government. But the Congress administration handled it with firmness and tact. The solution of the problem of Indian States—first their accession and then merger in the Indian Dominion—is a marvel of statesmanship. Moreover, the successful termination of the controversy about Dominion Status versus Complete Independence gives us a glimpse of the realism of our Prime Minister, Pandit Nehru, who had been instrumental in changing the goal of the Congress from Dominion Status to Complete Independence, could neither eat his own words nor could he write off the history of the Congress since 1929. At the same time he realised the advantages of membership of the Commonwealth. The result was a compromise by which India has become an Independent Sovereign Republic and at the same time she also enjoys all the privileges of membership of the Commonwealth. There is no doubt that Pandit Nehru's success was due to his personal influence in both the countries and Sardar Patel rightly remarked that it was his personal triumph. So far as foreign policy is concerned, even the Socialist Party has accepted the broad principles enunciated by our Minister for External Affairs, although fault may be found in minor details. It may also be pointed out

1. *The Future of the Congress*, p. 32.

2. *Where about India*, p. 139.

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that our foreign policy is more idealistic and less realistic in approach.

Coming to internal administration we find that the Congress Governments have done much to contribute to the prosperity of the poor Indian peasant even at the risk of being called a partisan Government. Their abolition of Zamindari, which they promised in their election manifesto and which is taking place before our very eyes, speaks eloquently of their attitude towards agrarian problems. Besides this, they have taken up many schemes of agricultural reclamation and agricultural debt relief. Moreover, they are effecting nationalisation of transport and are taking steps for promoting the health and education of the people.

But this is not the whole story and the Congress Governments are also guilty of many omissions and commissions. In spite of the existence of nationalist Governments both in the States and at the Centre one fails to see the glow of freedom on the face of the common man and woman of India. The question arises, why is it so? The causes are not far to seek.

The principle of the Congress, specially since the advent of Mahatma Gandhi, has been that example is better than precept. Gandhiji symbolised this principle in his own personal life. But the present leaders with a few notable exceptions have forsaken this principle. That is why they are unable to inspire the common man with the zeal for freedom.

Moreover, the Congress Governments have failed to check inflation and the soaring prices of commodities which are hitting the lower middle class very hard. The Prime Minister of India speaking at Allahabad on 5th September, 1949, said:

> "We are trying to bring down the level of prices of commodities. As a matter of fact, the rising prices have already been arrested."[3]

But instead of going down, the prices are going up. In fact, there is room for suspicion that the Congress is not really keen on controlling prices as that would ultimately affect the prosperity of the Kisans. The Prime Minister in the speech referred to above said that "kisans and labour constituted a very large majority of the population and they had grown richer."

The Congress Governments have practised patronage and jobbery on a large scale. In this connection it will not be out of place to mention that when President Washington was once beseeched by the widow of one of his soldiers for a job, he refused to grant the request on considerations of merit.[4] But here it is not so. As for example, the age concession for political sufferers applying for Government service really puts a premium on patriotism. Moreover, this thing is fraught with grave consequences for the country. At the same time the multiplication of the posts of ministerial rank as well as other well-paid jobs in utter disregard of the demands of economy is evident of the fact that the Congress Governments have fallen from the high moral pedestal which they once occupied. Two instances of such jobs in Uttar Pradesh are the posts of District Information Officers and the District Development Officers. The Public Service Commissions have also been dwarfed in their status due to the play of party politics. On the principle that the function of recruitment belongs to the Public Service Commission, the holding of interviews in the Secretariats is also improper. At least it creates suspicion in the minds of the candidates. Moreover, the manner in which the Home Ministry of the Government of India recently conducted interviews for emergency recruitment to the I.A.S. is also not above suspicion. The interviews were spread over a year as the Special Recruitment Board travelled throughout the length and breadth of this country and interviewed the candidates at the capitals of the various provinces. But after completing the interviews in some provinces they came to the conclusion that some candidates, who had attained very high positions in the interview test, would be selected in any case and ordered such persons to take their probationary training while the interview in some provinces had not even been started. Such a thing is indefensible in principle. It is possible that the Recruitment Board was quite right in its opinion. But it is a principle worth accepting that the selecting authority should do nothing which is likely to cause suspicion of partiality or patronage in the minds of the general body of candidates.

But the Congress Governments have practised patronage not only in the narrow sense of appointments to public posts but in the larger sense also. An instance of this was the granting of permits for public careers to political sufferers. They can also get permits and licenses for the various essential commodities, such as sugar, iron and cement and many of them make profit by selling the commodities thus obtained in black market.[5] Moreover, the interference of highly placed Congressmen in minor details of administration on behalf of friends and relations has marred the efficiency and integrity of administrative and judicial bodies. It is interesting to note that the President of the Congress issued a directive to Congressmen in this connection on 17th January, 1949 which said:

> "No Congressmen—more specially the members of the elective bodies—should interest himself in recommending candidates for offices, for securing permits for export or import or for obtaining licenses for shops, for themselves and

3. *The National Herald*, dated 6-9-49.
4. Quoted by L. D. White in *Introduction to the Study of Public Administration*, p. 220.
5. The *Pioneer*, dated 10th October, 1949, reported such a case involving a member of the Constituent Assembly of India.

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their friends and that none should approach the authorities—particularly the executive, including judicial officers—in respect of civil or criminal matters pending before them."[6]

The Congress Governments have also failed to check bribery and corruption. No doubt, the Anti-Corruption Department of the Government is in existence but it is common knowledge that a large majority of Congressmen themselves are a prey to this evil. In fact, some people even accuse ministers of it. In this connection it is significant to note that a Public Conduct Resolution was passed at the Jaipur Congress and although the ministers were excluded from its scope, it was admitted that it exists among them also.

Moreover, the Congress administration is very extravagant. The Congress Governments have formulated a host of plans and projects without caring the least from where the money to finance them will come. The opening of embassies in even insignificant countries, the appointment of various Committees and Commissions, the opening of numerous scientific laboratories and generally the spending of public money in various long-term schemes could certainly be postponed at present when economy is the crying need of administration. Even our constitution-making has proved a very costly affair.

Finally, the problem is that of efficiency versus democracy. The democratic system is by its nature slow-moving. That is why in times of stress or emergency it is put on the shelf and only the semblance of democratic institutions is maintained. But here democracy has not been able to deliver the goods due to many reasons. Firstly, the electorate is very large. Secondly, the people are ignorant. They do not know how to derive the maximum benefit from the Government. The leaders of the Indian democracy are themselves unfamiliar with the practical working of Government. The political agitators of yesterday are the Ministers and Governors of today. Naturally we have to make some allowance for this fact. Lastly, there is no effective opposition to Government. In this connection it is significant to note that an opposition consisting of twelve members styled as the Social Democratic Party was formed in the Constituent Assembly (Legislative) of India under the leadership of Prof. K. T. Shah last year, but it was soon liquidated. Recently the Congress dissidents under the leadership of Acharya Kripalani, Dr. P. C. Ghosh and Mr. T. Prakasham have formed an opposition party known as the "Kisan-Mazdoor-Praja Party." It is difficult to predict at present whether that party will be able to act as an effective opposition party in the legislature after the coming general elections.

But most of the defects of the Congress administration are due to the fact that the rank and file of the party is drawn from the class of people having no stake in society. They, therefore, want to make the best of their situation. But, after all, we have to admit that these defects have resulted from the fact that due to long political dependence the people themselves have lost the qualities associated with a free people. They lack character and we know that water cannot rise higher than its source. Therefore, we have to put up with the present phase of our national life which is a necessary transitional stage.

However, so far as the future of the Congress is concerned we have to bear two facts in mind. Firstly, the Congress which has now become a political party in the narrow parliamentary sense is bound to be discredited in course of time due to its assumption of political power. The second fact which makes us a little apprehensive about the future of this mighty organisation is that it has no younger element which might replace the old leadership when time comes as the youth of the country is inclined towards socialism and communism. But there is no cause for unnecessary alarm, although, doubtless, the Congress will soon lose its present hegemony as other political parties gain support on the strength of their own programme and due to the weaknesses of the Congress. In fact, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru speaking at the meeting of the U.P.C.C. at Cawnpore on 27th August, 1949 said: "We have lived so far on our past earnings, but that cannot continue for ever."[7] But, perhaps, it has enough bank balance to win the next elections.

Although deterioration and disintegration are fast setting in the Congress organisation and individuals and groups of Congressmen are withdrawing from it to form rival political organizations, there is every reason to believe that the Congress will exist as a political party in future. No doubt, it would have to revitalise itself by internal reform of its machinery which includes the purging of the self-seeking elements who have entered its fold. Moreover, the Congress should also act on the advice of its ex-General Secretary, who speaking at Benares on 2nd October, 1949 said that "the Congress must now be reorganised as a political party as distinguished from a platform."[8]

Dr. Sampurnanand, the Congress Minister of Education in Uttar Pradesh, feels that the Congress has lost its old moral fervour. "That is why," he says, "the Congress is dying, slowly but surely. Its momentum will carry it forward yet a while but not for long." Therefore, he thinks that "if we feel that we cannot now carry on as an organisation with a message

6. The *Pioneer*, dated 18th January, 1949.

7. The *Pioneer*, dated 28th August, 1949.

8. *Ibid*, dated 3rd October, 1949.

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and a mission, let us honestly face facts and give to this great body that honourable burial which it deserves." But this is a counsel of despair. In fact, the Congress should not only try to regain its old moral fervour but should also promote the material prosperity of the people.

9. *Amrita Bazar Patrika* (Republic Day Supplement), dated 26th January, 1951.

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SELF-INTRODUCTION

By SUDHIR KHASTGIR
(*A Contemporary Indian Artist*)

I am not a writer, scholar or an art-critic. Seldom I use my pen, brush is my companion and clay I am fond of. I get hold of a pen when I feel I am misunderstood and misrepresented.



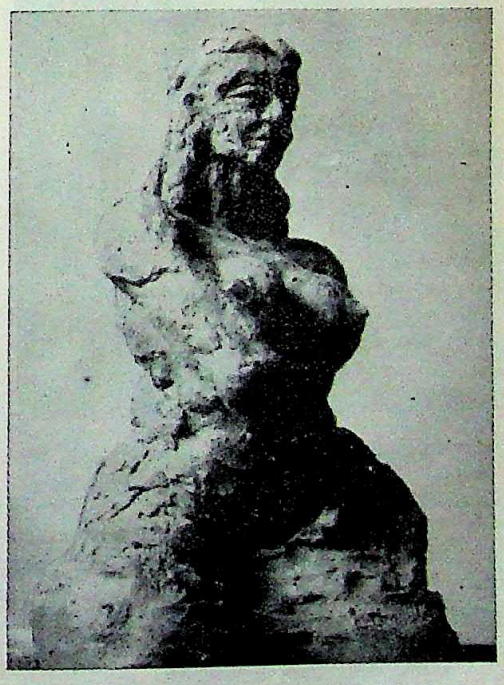
Study (*oils*)
By S. Khastgir (1944)

I have actually no quarrel with anybody. Painting and modelling are not my hobby but my whole existence. If I am told I produce too many puerile pictures and sculptures it may hurt me, but I must confess, I can't help it. I do them with all sincerity.

"History of art has no connection with artistic experience. To try to understand something of a period and its circumstances is not the same as allowing oneself to be carried away by enthusiasm for one movement in art," says Ludwig Goldscheider.

He continued in his book *Art without Epoch*:

"Many of the great monuments of art have been destroyed; others have been cast aside or still await discovery. But it is not only those which lie buried in the earth that have been cast aside; many works still exposed to the light of day or



A woman (*terra-cotta*)
By S. Khastgir (1950)

preserved within the walls of museums have been cast aside because they are no longer necessary to our everyday life . . . if Raphael has not yet been

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cast aside, at all events dust has descended upon his monumental frescoes. Yet while some works vanish into darkness, others arise from their concealment. . . . What was the general opinion of Rembrandt two generations ago? In 1877, Burckhardt thought fit to describe Rembrandt's weaknesses as follows: 'It is highly probable that these deficiencies disturbed even the master himself in his work; for him, who was always talking about nature, it must have been a great humiliation to be unable to avoid defects which even a beginner could avoid.' In reality, the past changes as rapidly as the present."

So, it is no use worrying about criticism as long as we remain sincere to ourselves.



A woman Sadhu in meditation (*terra-cotta*)
By S. Khastgir (1950)

I must confess, I do believe in tradition and heredity, and do not altogether neglect experimental cross-breeding in the progress of art and culture. Recently there is much talk on art in our country by all sorts of people. I do not grumble for that as long as I am also given a chance to say what I have to say. Difference of opinion will always be there. The world will not be so interesting a place if we all thought the same way and if the angle of vision of all of us were the same.

Let me begin with my own story. My art-teaching commenced in Bengal; at no other place than the famous centre of art, Santiniketan. Though from this it does not follow that I am a great artist being in no way removed from the common run of them. What I wish to assert is that in learning art I got the right start. It is now twenty years I left Bengal, I am fixed up in a place outside Bengal pursuing my own work as well as teaching the same. Thus regarding myself there are scores of other artists from Bengal who like myself are engaged in pursuit of art outside Bengal.



Dancer (*terra-cotta*)
By S. Khastgir

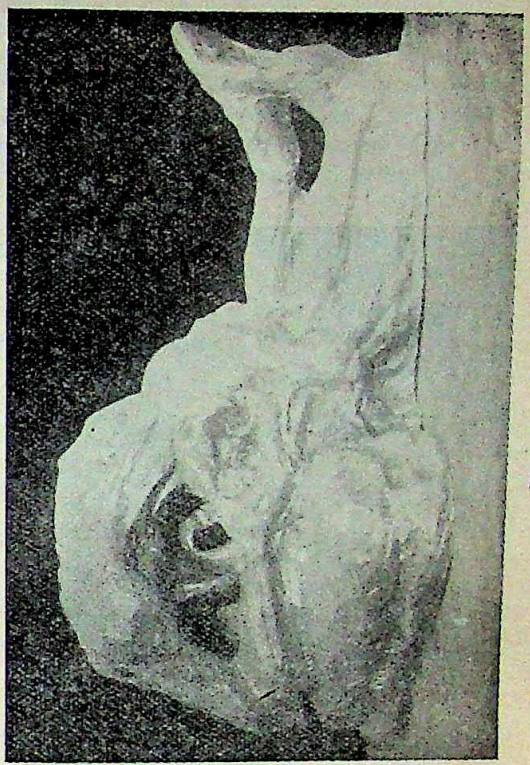
The main reason for this is of course known to all. The revival of Indian art began in Bengal. Dr. Abanindra Nath Tagore, inspired by the Poet Tagore and Mr. Havell, was enabled to bring about the revival of Indian art. This reinstatement of Indian art was effected by the hard labour of Abanindra Nath Tagore.

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Major General Thimayya's recent head-study
By S. Khastgir



Poverty (*terra-cotta*)
By S. Khastgir



Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel's recent head-study
from life in Dehradun
By S. Khastgir



Charkha (*oils*)
By S. Khastgir

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Modern Indian art commenced on its career basing itself on the ancient paintings and sculptures of Ajanta, Ellora, on the Rajput, Mughal and 'Pahari' schools of painting, and the style and technique found in them. No doubt, this great task was achieved in Bengal, but it must never be overlooked that credit of this great revival belongs to India as a whole.



Maharajkumar of Sikkim
By S. Khastgir (1945)

In order to link up Modern Indian art with the lost arts of the country it was necessary to retrace the steps back through the centuries—this was secured by Abanindra Nath Tagore. It will be a matter of regret and utter ungratefulness on our part, if we, his pupils and his pupils' pupils, forget this fact. Indeed, we are enjoying the fruits of his labour to a large extent.

The link with Indian traditional art and sculpture has been restored and surely time is now ripe for establishing contact with the art of other countries. For Indian art to boldly march ahead, not only great strength and courage but more than anything else a full awareness of its own individuality, is necessary.

In the modern world of art, I am aware, there is an aspect where all the various arts of the different countries are bound to meet and join hands. In our country a new school of painting is devoting itself to an ideal which is based on the imitation of ancient representations of temple gods and goddesses, *Kalighat Pat*, and coloured wooden dolls and toys done by the village artisans. This is attracting much notice; great resemblance is observed in the folk-songs and folk-arts of all lands. And just as our old country-tunes like *bhatiyali* or boatmen's songs easily move the heart, in the same way folk-art contains a simple appeal readily felt by all. Dr. Abanindra Nath Tagore and his foremost disciple Dr. Nandalal Bose painted quite a few paintings in this style long before others dreamt of taking this line. But it is significant to note that they soon quitted this path. This again seems to be for the same reason that quaint country melodies are best sung by peasants and boatmen as they ply their oars. These may provide entertainment enough when sung in the rich men's parlour, or heard on the gramophone or the radio, but how thin and poor is the effect compared with the original. Abanindra Nath and Nandalal in their wisdom of the true artist, saw the distinction and were warned. They contented themselves by merely blazing the track. Great art is never beguiled by the counterfeit, it pursues truth alone.

No country today wishes to remain isolated and limited within its own culture. Nor is such a course possible. We must proceed warily, well on our guard. In Europe, modernists' experiments created a storm in the world of art. Not that a blast or two from there did not reach our shores. But it was enough to prostrate those who had sprung hastily from loose earth and shallow roots, therefore, in their conceit terming themselves 'progressive,' 'cosmopolitan' and what not, whereas those who withstood the storm and are still standing erect were the followers of tradition who had nothing but to gain from the severity of their experience. A blind imitation of foreign modernism is possible by those alone, who have never fully realised the richness of Indian art and culture. They stupidly imagine themselves bankrupts and set much store by any trifle or trash thrown into their beggar's bowl.

It is customary even now for some art-students of our country to proceed to other foreign countries, specially Europe, to learn Western art-technique without first completing a study of their own art. I am fully convinced that this is to receive an entirely wrong training. Such imitation of the technique, style and mannerism of foreign artists, long before we have allowed our roots to grow deep down into the culture of our own country, will inevitably result in the decline of our own individuality. Of course, mutual interchange in a spirit of simple give and take is possible and is even desirable but it must be clearly understood that those alone who have enough and to spare can indulge in such civilities. Whistler made numerous paintings after the Japanese manner. He

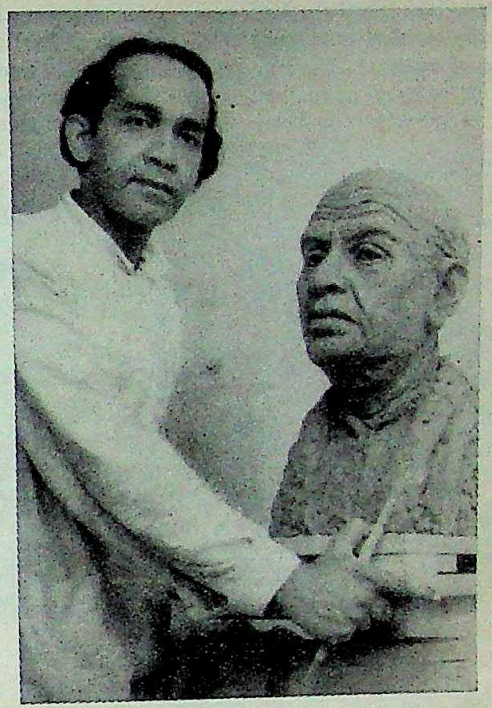
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borrowed much but was not a beggar. He knew how to receive only because his own largeness was beyond any question.

Those who are unacquainted with the history of this revival of Indian art are usually heard to complain that Indian art lack fineness and nerve, that it is still lingering in the Ajanta age with its tradition of "thin tapering fingers and elongated eyes." It is not possible for every artist to originate a new style or create ever-fresh visions of beauty. In every walk of life there are experts whose job is to lead in their own line. So among artists as well you cannot possibly get rid of all 'quacks' and mediocres. They are in every profession. The number of 'quacks' and mediocres in medical line are much more than good doctors; for that good doctors must not be blamed. All the same, responsibility lies heaviest with those of the artists who have strong foundation of their own tradition and culture as far as art in India is concerned. It requires great efforts to avoid the beaten path as we all know. The mind and soul must be maintained strong and healthy. The laziness ingrained in our bodies must be shaken down. One must learn to perceive not with the eyes alone but with all the senses and faculties. Only then shall our creations be forceful and original. To plunge thoughtlessly into the vast surging spirit of modern European art, would be nothing short of suicide.

So far as regards my observations on Indian art. I know that there are different schools of thought in India. I do respect and listen to them and try to understand their points of view. Artists do generally depend on art-critics but when I see many misrepresentations of facts and much dictatorial criticism of



The sculptor at work

artists appear in newspapers and journals, I can't help but take a pen instead of a brush for a change.

Dehra Dun

———:O:———

A GLIMPSE OF THE DARK CONTINENT OF AFRICA

By Dr. TAMONASH CH. DAS GUPTA, M.A., Ph.D.

The sunny continent of Africa, long known as the "Dark Continent," was given the unfortunate appellation for more reasons than one. Besides the backward condition of its dark-skinned people in matters of culture, civilization and intellectual attainments, want of adequate knowledge of a large part of the big continent still unexplored by civilized nations is mainly responsible for such a name, if the tinge of aspersion involved in it is ignored.

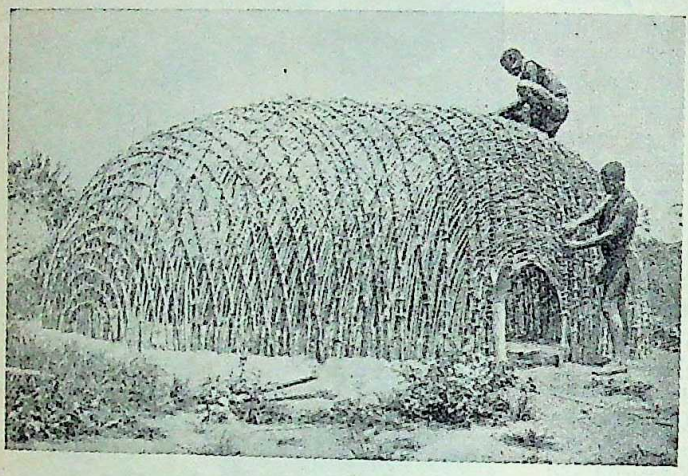
However, Africa is not so much unknown today as it was in the first half of the 19th century A.D. The Continent of Africa is a large mass of land which occupies an area of the globe from latitude 37 deg. north to latitude 34 deg. south and from longitude 51 deg. east to longitude 18 deg. west, the equator passing through its centre. It contains 1 crore and 17 lakhs of sq. miles and is three times the size of Europe, two-third the size of Asia and six times the size of India. It is second in size among continents and is situated in the old Hemisphere of the world to the south-west of Asia and south of Europe. The Mediterranean sea lies to its north, the Red sea and the Indian Ocean (with the Arabian sea) to its east, the Indian Ocean to its south and the Atlantic Ocean to its west. The narrow strait of Gibraltar to its north-western corner separating the African port of Ceuta from the European port of Gibraltar at the nearest approach between the two continents, once did not exist. Similarly the man-made Suez canal to the north-eastern border of Africa separates it from Asia. In reality the Isthmus of Suez connects the former with the latter. Unlike any other continents the

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Tropic of Cancer and the Tropic of Capricorn both pass through Africa.

Africa mostly is a huge table-land and triangular in shape, the northern half being broader than the southern portion but gradually lower in elevation from the sea-level. In fact, the major part of North Africa is covered by a vast desert called the Sahara which in great part is below sea-level. The Lybian



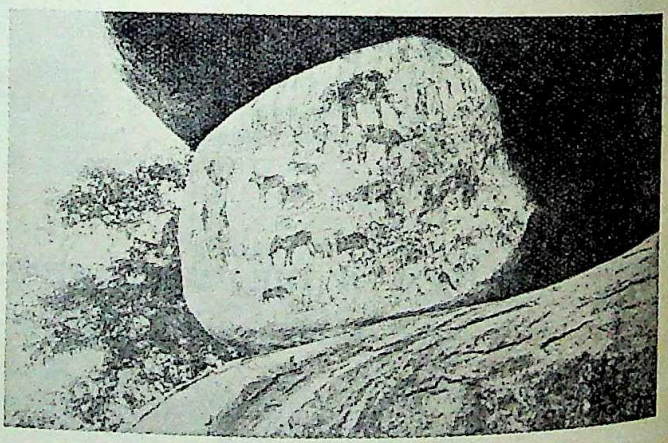
Hut-building in Natal

desert to its north-east and the Nubian desert to its east are nothing but continuation of the Sahara. Another great desert lies in the south-west of Africa and is known as the Kalahari.

Africa possesses some of the biggest rivers and lakes of the world. In its eastern part the river Nile (4000 miles), in Middle-Africa the Congo river (3000 miles), in the north-west the rivers Senegal, Gambia and Nigar (2300 miles), in the south-east the river Zambesi (1600 miles) may be mentioned in this connection. There are other rivers also, such as the Calabar, the Imo and the Cross—all in Nigeria; and the Vaal river, the Orange river and the Limpopo river, all in South Africa, may be referred to.

The rivers of Africa are mostly inland but the bigger ones fall into the sea, but all of them are difficult of access by boats towards their mouths due to the rivers passing so many table-lands with different heights and thereby having falls and cataracts. Of these rivers, the Nile (with the Atbara and the Blue Nile) falls into the Mediterranean Sea, the rivers Congo, Senegal and Gambia fall into the Atlantic Ocean, the river Zambesi falls into the Indian Ocean. The South African rivers, such as the Orange and the Limpopo also fall into the Indian Ocean. Besides these big rivers, many of the rivers of Africa belong to the inland drainage system like the river Shari which falls into Lake Chad.

Africa possesses the greatest water-falls of the world. Victoria Falls may be compared only with the Niagara Falls of America. The Victoria Falls originates from the Zambesi and was discovered by David Livingstone. The other well-known Falls are the Livingstone Falls, the Stanley Falls and the Fram Joseph Falls. Among the Lakes, Lake Kivu in the volcanic region of Ruanda, the Victoria Nyanza, the Edward Nyanza, Rudolf Nyanza and Lake Nyasa deserve mention. To the west of Nyasa lake are the lakes Bengueh, Tanganyika and Moera. The two lakes Stanley and Livingstone originate from the Congo river. Another well-known lake, *viz.*, Lake Chad, is in western Sudan. But the greatest lake of Africa is Lake Tanganyika which is 400 miles in length (north and south) and lies to the east of the Congo country.



Bushman paintings in a rock-shelter near Salisbury, South Rhodesia

Of the mountains, Mt. Atlas (North Africa), Mt. Kivu (4792 ft.), Mt. Nieuwoeld, Mt. Drakensburg, Mt. Stromburg, Mt. Kenaya, Mt. Kilimanjaro, Mt. Ravanzori (16798 ft.) and the Mt. Virungo (dead volcano) deserve notice. Of these Kilimanjaro has the greatest height of 20,000 ft.

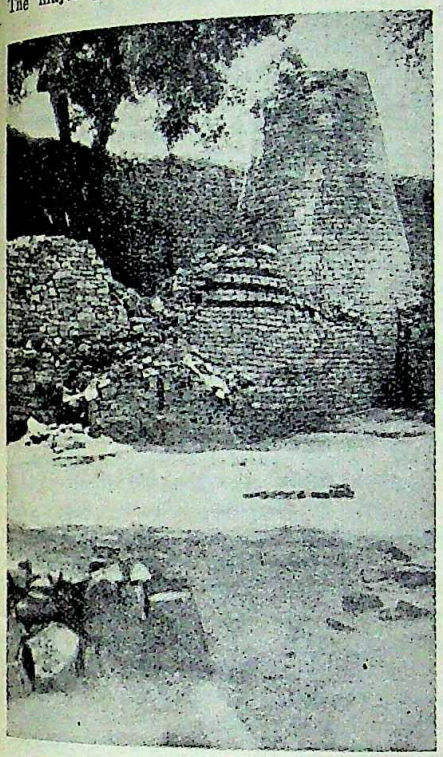
It has been already mentioned that almost the whole of Africa is a huge table-land excepting the deserts of Sahara, Lybia, Nubia and Kalahari, some narrow coastal strips and river-plains. The table-land gradually descends towards the coast by stages, each

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each stage being locally known as the "Karroo." Africa also possesses some very dense forests, specially in Congo and Nigeria and some big lakes specially in Portuguese East Africa and Tanganyika territory.

The major part of Africa lies within the Torrid



The 'Temple,' Zimbabwe

zone and hence over the greater part of the continent heat is intense, only the south-east and the south-west sea-boards having temperate climate. In Sahara extreme climates, extreme heat by day and extreme cold by night, are to be experienced.

Physically Africa may be divided as follows:

(1) Atlas mountain region in the North.

(2) The North-western plateau (elevation about 500 ft. in average).

The region includes the Sahara, the Lybian and the Nubian deserts. To its south and south-west is the Lake Chad region with the desert and hilly region of Timbaktu. The Congo river basin is also included within this area as also the Guinea-coast region with its two hills Futa Jalon and the Cameroons. The elevation of this region is gradually higher towards the south.

(3) The south-eastern Plateau. It extends from the western coast of the Red Sea (at the middle) to the centre of the region known as South Africa. The Ethiopian Table-land forms its northern part. The biggest lakes of Africa known as the Nyasa, Tanganyika and the Edward are situated within this area. The important mountain-systems of Africa mainly emanate from the Ethiopian Table-land. These are mounts Kenaya, Kilimanjaro (about 20,000 ft. in elevation), Ravanzori (Revonzori), Drakensbarg and the Nieuwoeld (in the south).



A Swazi witch-doctor

The coastline of Africa is comparatively smaller with fewer indentations considering the big size of Africa and very few plains near the sea-coast to its north-west and eastern sea-boards. The dense African forests and hills as in Congo contain many big games, such as the lion, the elephant, the rhinoceros, and the gorilla. There are also reptiles and crocodiles. Besides, peculiar animals like the zebra, the ostrich, the giraffe, the hippopotamus (of the river) are specially Africa's own. Africa is not only rich in flora and fauna, she is also rich in mineral wealth, such as diamond in Kimberley and in some other parts of South-Africa, tin in Nigeria, copper in Congo, and gold in Transvaal. Copper, zinc, lead, asbestos and coal are also available in the mines of Rhodesia and South-Africa.

Africa may broadly be regionally divided as follows:

(1) North Africa composed of Atlas mountain region, Egypt and the Sahara. This area has strong affinities with Southern Europe.

(2) The Sudan (the whole region south of the Sahara) including Ethiopia to its East.

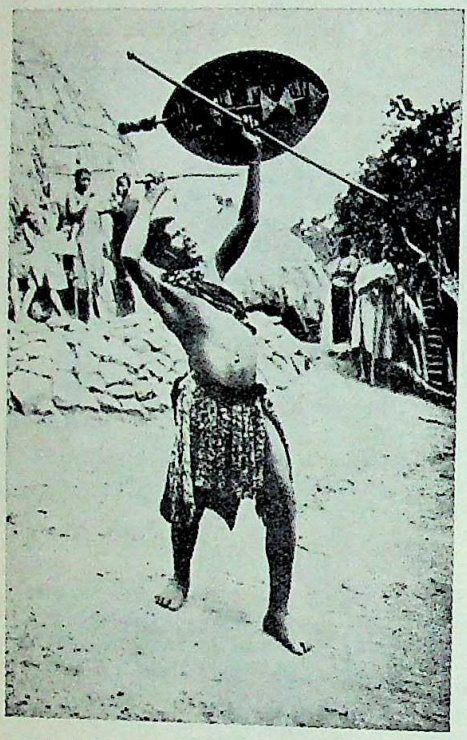
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(3) The Central Africa composed of Congo and Tanganyika regions.

(4) The South Africa including Rhodesia (North and South) and the South-west Africa.

Politically Africa contains the following zones*:



A Zulu "heaven-doctor" warding off a hailstorm

(1) The north region contains the States of Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia and the Barbary States. To their east lies Egypt with its Suez Canal and parts of Alexandria, Said and Suez. Also the Sudan (Eastern Sudan).

(2) The North-East Africa contains the States of Ethiopia (Abyssinia), Eritrea and Somaliland (British and Italian).

(3) The Central and Eastern Africa include British East Africa with Baganda, Uganda and Kenya, Tanganyika, Nyasaland and the North and South Rhodesia with Mashonaland and Bechuanaland. Some British Colonies and Protectorates and the Portuguese colony of East Africa (the Mozambique territory) are included within this area.

(4) The South Africa consists of the Union of South-Africa which includes the States of the Cape of Good Hope, Natal, Transvaal and the Orange River Free State, and the South-western Africa consists of the Damara Land and the Great Namaqua Land.

(5) The Western Africa contains Belgian Congo and Portuguese West-Africa (Angola).

(6) The North-West Africa including the Guinea-coast (with many small settlements and colonies). This region includes some British, French and Portuguese Colonies and Protectorates as also the Negro State of Liberia. The great Sahara desert (French possession) and the Sudan (Western Sudan) are also included within this region.

(7) The islands of the Eastern Sea-board of Africa, *viz.*, the Zanzibar, Madagascar, Mauritius, etc.

(8) The islands of the Western Sea-board, such as the Madiera, Canaries, St. Helena, the Cape Verde Isle, etc.

The English, the French, the Belgian, the Italian and the Portuguese have now the maximum interests in Africa, German interest being now non-existent. They have occupied under various political terminology most of the regions of this continent. The Arabs including the Berbers, the Fellahins and the Moors, the Copts and the Turks settled in large parts of North-Africa. Principally the Arabs, the Moors and the Turks now rule that region.

Of the ports on the Mediterranean coast from the west to the east, Algiers, Tunis, Tripoli, Alexandria and Said are noteworthy. In the east from north to south, Suez, Port Sudan, Jibuti, Mogadishu, Mombasa, Zanzibar, Dar-es-Salaam, Sofala, Lorenzo Marquis, Port Natal and Durban are important. In the south, Port Elizabeth and Capetown, and in the west from north to south, Ceuta, Tangier, Agadir, St. Louis, Free-town, Accra, Bata, Loango, Loando, Benguela and Port Nolloth deserve mention. The Gulf of Guinea, the Bay of Saifa and the Walvis Bay to the west of Africa, St. Helena Bay to the south of the Continent, Delagoa Bay to the south-east, Mossel Bay and the Gulf of Aden to the east and the Gulf of Sidra to the north—these are practically the only gulfs and bays that deserve notice.

The population of Africa is approximately 156,576,789 in number out of the total population of the world which is 2,222,014 902. Thus, over one-fourteenth of the total population of the whole human race live in this Continent. Of course, all these peoples are not of one race. The earliest inhabitants of Africa were not at all advanced in civilization. The present Bushmen, the Pygmies and the Hottentots (their own name Khoi-khoi and tribes Nama, Kora, etc.) represent these primitive peoples today. With the march of time a race now known as the "Negrito" migrated into various parts of Africa. They came from an unknown land (of the north-east of the Continent). These people, divided into innumerable tribes, were all more or less dark-skinned like their predecessors but unlike them with some rudiments of better civilization however crude these might be. Their original home might be somewhere near Suez or at best in the region of Ethiopia. The Negrito race is broadly

* See Dudley Stamp: *The World, Asia*, etc., also Bartholomew's *World-Map*.

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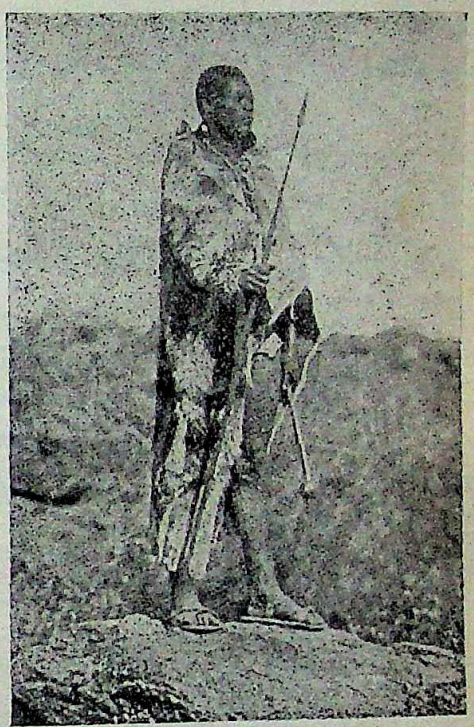
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divided into two main divisions, *e.g.*, Sudanic Negroes and the Bantus. It was, perhaps, due to the pressure of the race-movement from the north, the Negro tribes first left their original home and settled in West Africa and the Sudan. This pressure might have come from the Bantu tribes, who again had to move southwards due to the race-movements of the Hamitics (a branch of the Caucasians). The whole Central and South Africa are now occupied by the Bantus (or Kaffirs). Of over fifteen and a half crores of population of Africa, the number of North African Semitic and Turkish peoples including the Moors and the Berbers will be about 5 crores. The Sudanic Negroes number about three crores, the Bantus about seven crores of Africa's population and the rest (*e.g.*, Hamitic and others) will be nearly one crore including a sprinkling of European settlers in the south and other parts of Africa. By far the largest population of Africa is Bantus or Kaffirs. The Hamitics do now occupy a portion of the north-eastern sea-board of Africa. Besides the Hamitics, the Semitics including the Coptic population of Egypt and later on the Arab people settled in North Africa. Except Egypt where the Turks have now colonised the whole sea-board countries of North Africa on the Mediterranean have now been colonised by the people of Arab extraction or their allied people and are variously known as the Arabs, Berbers and the Moors. The Moors even conquered and ruled Spain (of Europe) for a good length of time. The whole Sahara desert and West Africa has also come under the influence of the trading Arabs subject to the political control of France. A part of eastern Sudan is controlled by the Anglo-Egyptian administration. To give an idea of the Negrito people who are all still in tribal condition and form over two-thirds of the whole population of Africa, some prominent names (among innumerable tribes) and to some extent their distribution in African Continent are given here.

The Negrito tribes: (*a*) The Sudanic Negroes and (*b*) the Bantus (Kaffirs).

(*a*) The Sudanic Negroes: (1) The Aro tribe (Nigeria), (2) Yorubas, (3) Ibas, (4) Fairlis, (5) Kiayus, Ikoms (of the Cross River, Nigeria), etc., etc.

(*b*) The Bantus (who form by far the largest Negrito population of Africa): (1) Dualas (adjoining the Gulf of Cameroons and also the northern end of Lake Nyasa), (2) Pokomos (of the Tana Valley and the Tana riverside, north-east Africa), (3) Zulus (the south-east Africa), (4) Hereros (the south-west Africa), (5) Basutos (also Basutus), (6) Anyanjas, (7) Wadigo (British East Africa), (8) Bechuanas, (9) Angonis (Nyasaland), (10) Xosas, (11) Yaos (Lujenda Valley, Portuguese East Africa), (12) Wazaramos (Tanganyika territory), (13) Swahilis (coastal strip from Warsheikh to Cape Delgado), (14) Akambas (or Kambas, North Nyasaland), (15) Kintus (Uganda), (16) Bailos (Northern Rhodesia), (17) Batongas (Northern Rhodesia), (18) Makondes, (19) Irambos, (20) Leghoya (a Bechuana tribe), (21) Kingas, (22) Bankutas, (23) Bavendus, (24) Capedyes, (25) Girimayas (Kenaya), (26) Barongas (Delagoa Bay), (27) Chipetas (a branch of the Thongas, west of Lake Nyasa), (28) Chagas (Kilimanjaro Mountain), (29) Bagandas (Uganda), (30) Banyaruandas, (31) Luis (of the Zambesi, south-west Africa), (32) Ntungwas (a Zulu tribe), (33) Ngunis (or Abengunis; this name is preserved by the Angoni tribe of Nyasaland. From the stock of Ngunis both Zulus and



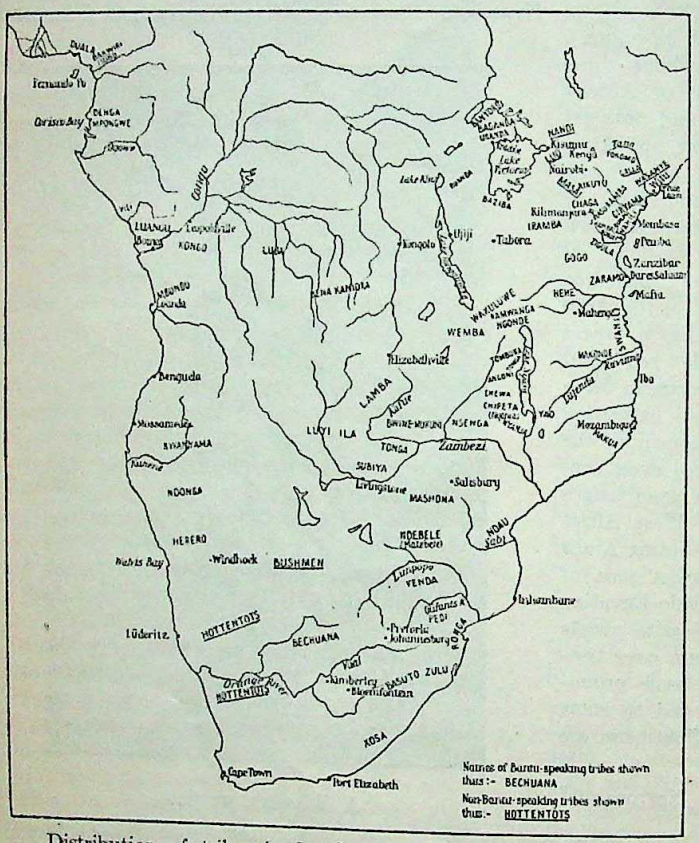
A Bakwena warrior

Xosas came, as is believed), (34) Thonga Bantus (Amatongas), (35) Batusos or Bahimas (of Uganda and Unyaro. Now non-existent except in Ankole and Ruanda), (36) Musanyes, (37) Bushangos (or Bangongo tribe), (38) Benga tribe, (39) Bakongas (on the Loanga river, a tributary of the Kasai river, Congo), (40) Bankutus, (41) Hausas, (42) Barongas (Delagoa Bay, a branch of the Thongas), (43) Rongas (Delagoa Bay), (44) Sumbaras (south of Lake Victoria), (45) Mbundus (Angola), (46) Makuas (Lower Congo), (47) Sesutos, (48) Ambundus (of Angola also known as Mbundu), (49) Nalongas (south of Angola), (50) Kwanyamas (south of Angola), (51) Baluyis (East Africa), (52) Wasus (East Africa), (53) Bapedis (a branch of the Basutos living in Transvaal), (54) Bailas, (55) Ngonde (Konde tribe, north-end of Lake Nyasa), (56) Basumbwas (of N.-W. Unyamwezi), (57) Wacha-

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gas, (58) Kavirondo (Nyasaland), (59) Makondes (Tanganyika territory. Makonde plateau is near the east coast, south of Lindi and to the north of the river Ruvuma), (60) Swazis, (61) Lalas, (62) Lambas (northern end, Lake Nyasa), (63) Ilas (northern end, Lake Nyasa), (64) Isubus, (65) Bondeis, (66) Bakwaris (Northern Rhodesia), (67) Ansengas (northern end of Lake Nyasa), (68) Lubas, (69) Chinyanjas, (70) Wawembas, (71) Bongos, (72) Wapokamos, (73) Mablas (a tribe of Southern Bambala), (74) Sutos.



Distribution of tribes in Southern and Equatorial Africa

Among the Hamitic tribes, the Masai, the Galla (north-east Africa whence the Hottentots came), the Somali and the Ethiopians may be noted, the Sambaru, Rendile, Turkana and Nandi tribes are also allied to the Hametic Galla and Somali. The ancient Egyptians and the Copts are, of course, Semitic.

"In the main, the area we have mapped out, from the Cape of Good Hope to Lake Victoria, and thence eastward to the Tana river and westward to the Cameroons, is occupied by Bantu-speaking tribes. North of these the people of Negro, Sudanic or Negritian speech extend in an irregular bend from Cape Verde to the confines of Abyssinia, even to some extent penetrating the latter. The "Eastern Horn" which ends in Cape Guardafui inhabited by the Hamitic Somali, while their kinsmen the Galla, and other tribes, probably more or less allied to them (Samburu, Rendile, Turkana, Nandi), spread out to the north, west and south, their fringes touching on the areas of Bantu and Negro tribes—Pokomo, Kikuyu, Kavirondo, and others.

"But these areas are not completely uniform. In South-Africa we have two non-Bantu elements, though both are now almost negligible except within a very limited area. The Bushmen, who would seem to have been the oldest inhabitants, are now practically confined to the Kalahari Desert and the adjacent regions, though a few (who have quite lost all memory of their own language and traditions) are to be found scattered about the Cape Province and Orange Free State. If they are the Troglodytes alluded to by Herodotus whose speech was 'like the squeaking of bats,' they must either have at one time overspread the greater part of the continent, or migrated southward from the Sahara within historic times.

"Whether the Bushmen have anything beyond their small stature and their mode of life, in common with the Pigmies of the Congo basin (the Batusis, the Bahutis and the Batwa Pigmies) and other small races known or reported to exist in various parts of Africa remains at least doubtful; but anatomists, I believe, hold that their physical evolution has proceeded on entirely different lines.

"We have already referred to the people whom we are accustomed to call 'Hottentots'—their own name for themselves, when speaking of the whole people and not of any particular tribe (*e.g.*, Nama, Kora), appears to be Khoi-khoin—'men,' par excellence.

"In Struck's language map, the green Bantu ground is diversified, in the Eastern Equatorial region by a large irregular yellow patch. This denotes the Masai, a nomad, pastoral people lighter coloured than the average Bantu, though darker than the pure Galla or Somali. The most probable theory of their language is that it is Hamitic by origin (which would account for its possessing gender-inflection) but has been strongly influenced by contact with Bantu and Sudanic idioms ('angenegert' is Meinhof's expression). The contact between their legends and those of the Hottentot's is one of the most interesting facts which have come to light in recent years.

"Besides these, we have to do, in East Africa, with some curious 'helot' tribes . . . such are the

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Dorobo among the Masai, the Wasanye among the Galla, the Midgan and Yibir in Somaliland. These are commonly hunters and have, in some ways, much in common with the South African Bushmen, though their physique differs widely from that of the latter, as we now know them . . . The Wasanye and Dorobo formerly had language of their own, which a few old men still know, but the former now speak Galla and the latter Masai. The Wasanye and the Yibir and some, at any rate, of the rest, have an uncanny reputation as sorcerers, and some of these helot tribes, *e.g.*, the Tumal and the Il-Kunono are blacksmiths. We cannot help being reminded of our own Gypsies and Tinkers."—Alice Werner, *African Mythology*, pp. 112-113. See also G. W. Stow, *Native Races of South Africa.*

In the Sanskrit Puranas mention is found of the seven *Dwipas* or Continents composing the earth. Of these 'Salmali' is one. Africa may be termed as 'Salmali Dwipa' as a great part of Asia has been known as the 'Jambu Dwipa.' These geographical divisions of the ancient Indians connote the knowledge of the continent of Africa to them.

India had good knowledge of Africa in ancient times, mainly through trade and commerce and partly due to other (cultural, racial and religious) reasons. National and individual efforts or activities also caused ancient Indian influences to be felt in Africa. Of this forgotten connection some are historical facts and some are only vague surmises.

———:O:———

HENRICK IBSEN—THE POET

By Prof. V. PUTTAMADAPPA,
University of Mysore

Man is the only animal, ratifies Hazlitt, that both laughs and weeps. These words are true, at least, in the case of writers such as Bernard Shaw, Charles Lamb, Jonathan Swift, Moliere, Gorky and Ibsen. Of these, the last, Henrick Ibsen, a Norwegian by birth and dramatist by profession, stands out like a beacon from the rest. The course of his life ran between the shores of tears and laughter. He laughed in his plays, and wept in his poems. The reading public hardly knows to-day that Ibsen loved to call himself a poet rather than a playwright. Unfortunately, the attention of his admirers was drawn more towards his plays than his poetry.

Ibsen did not write much poetry because he thought that "to be a poet is to see." In fact, was not a poet called "a seer" by the Greeks? He also said that "the poet's task is to see, not to reflect."

He became a dramatist by virtue of his irrepressible impulse to recreate invisible images that moved in his mind; but he did not become a poet of eminence by virtue of his adamant notion that "songs unsung are ever the sweetest." Incidentally, one might be reminded of what Keats said long ago, "Heard melodies are sweet, but those unheard are sweeter." And the fundamental difference between Ibsen and Keats was, the verses of the former were full of experiences, and those of the latter full of innocence.

Ibsen was born in the year 1828—the same year in which Tolstoy and Meredith were born. He was very adventurous as a child. According to his own brothers and sisters, he was an odd specimen of humanity. While he was a student, he was very studious and resourceful, and his mind was extraordinarily receptive. Later, when Ibsen became a man of letters, he sketched his own boyhood in his poem "Brand," and in his play *Peer Gynt.*

As a man Ibsen was shy of people, and as he advanced in age his love of seclusion increased almost proportionately. In the early days of his manhood, Ibsen had to face poverty and adversity. His illegal and temporary contact with a certain servant-maid, and his even begetting a child from her drew him away from morals, and finding him in that state no one ever thought that he would, in the capacity of a litterateur, excel the great Norwegian writers like Holberg, Wessel and Nordahl Brun.

As in so many others, in Ibsen too, the emotion of love awakened and excited the poetic talents that lay latent in him so far. The year 1849 steered the life of Ibsen from dullness to activity. In this year he seriously fell in love with a girl named Clara Ebbell who was a poetess herself. He wrote many poems in her memory.

His first poem appeared in black and white in the year 1849, and immediately it drew the attention of literary critics. Writing poetry did no more scare him; on the contrary, it became a temptation to him, and to that temptation, without any protest, he yielded. In his earlier poems there were bitterness and touches of despondency. Rank poverty that was gnawing like a leech at his flesh did not, however, lessen his passion for poetry nor was he a pessimist to be carried away by freak circumstances. He described his pitiable state in these words:

> "The wildness of the hurricane
> Doth rage within my soul
> Nor is there path or pilot known
> Upon the sea of doubt."

In his little poem named "Resignation", he recalled explicitly the operations of his feelings and cravings of his heart. At times he would doubt his talents and ask himself, "Did I then wrongly aspire, was my writing cold and vain?" He arrived at a conclusion within him-

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self that the duty of a poet was, "the poet should lead the people and solve their secret longings with his song." In his poem, "On the Falls," he represented the fight in his heart between poetry and personality and thereafter his whole attitude towards life changed, and he began to roam the streets, grew beard, and never attended to any personal cleanliness. All these conflicts in Ibsen's mind took place when he was hardly thirty-six years old. He longed for clarity of expression so much that he said once, "when he had attained the highest clarity he wished to die." In his poems, "Bird and Bird-catcher" and "The Eider Duck," Ibsen unreservedly disclosed his vain attempts at free self-expression in his poems. Sometimes he assured himself that he had the requisite talents to write good poetry—poetry which the world would not easily let go; and some other times he thought that he was incapable of writing poems of note, and that all his poems would be nothing but balderdash. This state of his mind, he described in his poem entitled "The Miner." The interval between the years 1849 anl 1856 was a sort of preparatory time in the life of the poet. During these years, he had his own hopes and fears about his talents. "Hopes sprang eternal in his breast", and "he never was but always to be blest". As days rolled on, his love of writing poetry increased by leaps and bounds, and in his poem, "In the Picture Gallery", printed in 1859, he wrote that "he seemed to hear the living stream of poetry rippling within him". With the march of time, Ibsen arrived at the conclusion that life and poetry were quite apart, and that it was impossible to represent real life in poetry. Though a facile verse-maker, he shunned writing poetry, and hence took to painting.

The year 1850 proved a turning point in the life if Ibsen. For, in that year, Ole Bull, a Norwegian enthusiast, and a great violinist himself, opened a national Norwegian theatre at Bergen and appointed Ibsen as his first "theatre poet". In the next year Ibsen was imprisoned by the Norwegian Government as he was concerned with the Norwegian working men's movement. This incident nipped Ibsen's enthusiasm for poetry, and after his release he seriously took to writing plays. "After he had once decided on the drama as his proper method, Ibsen's poems were infrequent and unimportant." The fire of his enthusiasm for writing plays was further fanned when his plays met with immediate success. In fact, it was his desire from the very early days of his life to portray in his works, "human beings, human emotions, and human destinies upon a groundwork of social conditions and principles of the present day." Ibsen first experienced his theatrical triumph through his play *The Feast at Solhug* on 2-1-1856, and his indomitable will having won its way forward he took a new grit on the ground under his feet.

During the years 1848 and 1849 Ibsen wrote many controversial poems and sonnets. In this period, he could have produced more poems, if he had only a will to do that. But there was that intellectual torpor which clouded his mind, and sapped completely the enthusiasm he had for writing poetry. He was so much afraid of his own [illegible] dramatist

self that he said once, "I hid in the darkest corner—a was terrible!". In his poems up to 1850, he dwelt "dreaming nothings, always imagining himself far from the madding crowd." If one reads in succession Ibsen's "In a Picture Gallery," "The Day Light Covered," and "With a Water Lily," one can easily trace the slow transition of the author's mind.

Between 1857 and 1863 Ibsen wrote—that is what biographers say, any way—not less than forty poems. Then followed a collection of poems entitled *Dighte*. This collection contained poems satiric, narrative, purely lyrical and mystical. In 1871, Ibsen published another collection of verses, in which many poems were included in memory of his wife Susannah Thorsen. After the year 1871, Ibsen's faith in his own talents changed. The caterpillar which was so far in the dormant stage came out suddenly as a butterfly, and began to dance with joy. To this period belongs the poem "The Spring Time of Life," one of the best poems of Ibsen, in which the poet sang the joy of life. Once he became confident of his talents he declared to the world boldly :

> "Everything which I have created as a poet has had its birth in a frame of mind and in a situation of life."

What we wrote, he said on another occasion, "had not been experienced but lived."

Ibsen wrote two long narrative poems—"On the Heights" and "King Haakon's Guildhall." The latter was left unfinished in spite of the writer's sincere and serious attempts at completing it. Another narrative poem of some note Ibsen wrote was "Terje Vigen" which outbeats all his other poems in its grandeur, writer's vivid experience, and in fact, Ibsen himself said that this poem was "born of a deep inner need."

Ibsen gave up writing poetry because he found out that he could express his thoughts and ideals better in plays rather than in poems. But it must be kept in mind that Ibsen could not have become a great dramaturgist had he not been first a poet. He had the vision of a poet which enabled him to conceive of innumerable images he made use of in his plays. That he was not an intuitive poet nobody could deny. "He often had to struggle hard and long before the images took clear shape in his mind. He was driven by an inner compulsion that would not let him rest until he could see his own thoughts standing before him in clear and tangible form. The impulse to form his mental images into self-existent shapes was, in a sense, the one pole of his genius." Both in poetry and plays, Ibsen accepted no master and had no disciple. His peculiar personal and professional idiosyncrasies he never gave up. As these idiosyncrasies could never be kept suppressed by the fiery-tempered poet they found a natural vent in his poetry and plays. In this respect he was one with Dickens, Turgenev, Hebbel, Balzac and De Coster.

It should be borne in mind that Ibsen always thought himself a poet, and that he was after all a poet first and

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THREE PIONEER FREE INSTITUTIONS IN CALCUTTA

By JOGESH C. BAGAL

I. The Anglo-Hindu School

The foremost of the free schools in Calcutta in early nineteenth century was that of Raja Rammohun Roy. Rammohun settled in Calcutta late in 1814. Distressed at the illiteracy and consequent drawbacks of his countrymen, especially of the poor, he founded for them a Bengali school at Suripara. Later, he opened an English class at his own garden-house in connection with this school. It must be sometime in 1817, for we have it on the authority of *Samachar Darpan* (October 8, 1831) that while Rammohun was refused participation in the management of the Hindu College owing to the opposition of the orthodox Hindus, he, instead of quarrelling with them, himself founded an English school in no time. This was, according to the paper, an instance of magnanimity which was found so largely in him. Instruction was given to the students free of charge, and such poor but meritorious students as Tarachand Chakravarty, took their lessons here. From the start Rammohun alone bore all the expenses of the school including the house-rent and the pay of the teachers.

As the school became popular in the locality, students flocked to it in larger number. Rammohun felt the necessity of erecting a house for his school. He procured a piece of land in Simla near Cornwallis Square, on which a new house was built. He removed his school to these premises in 1822. Henceforth it came to be known as the Anglo-Hindu School. It was from this time onward, perhaps, that he received monetary assistance from his friends and admirers in the town for the proper maintenance and efficient management of the school.

Rammohun tried hard to get the best possible men on the spot for teaching purposes, and in this he was fortunate enough. Sandfort Arnot, assistant editor of Mr. James Silk Buckingham's *Calcutta Journal*, was engaged in June, 1824, as a teacher of English for his school. But as Arnot was soon found guilty under the Press Ordinance of 1823, he had to leave the country at once. Some gentlemen of the locality, headed by Gurudas Mukherjee, sent in a memorial on 13th October, 1824, to the Government for getting the order rescinded, but to no purpose. Efficient teachers like Sinclair and Turnbul served the school sometime or other between 1824 and 1830 as Head Master. Mr. William Adam, friend and disciple of Rammohun, was one of the Visitors of this school. He wrote in 1827:

> "Two teachers are employed, one at a salary of Rs. 150 per month, and the other at a salary of Rs. 70 per month; and from 60 to 80 Hindu boys are instructed in the English language. The doctrines of Christianity are not inculcated, but the duties of morality are carefully enjoined, and the facts belonging to the history of Christianity are taught to those pupils who are capable of understanding general history."[1]

Though the school was especially meant for the children of the poor, yet Rammohun and his friends, Dwarkanath Tagore and others, who were also donors, ungrudgingly sent their wards to this institution. Sons of the poor and the rich were treated alike, no



distinction being made in respect of teaching or any other thing. This was noticed in newspapers, too. *The Bengal Chronicle* (January 10, 1828) in the course of an account of the annual examination and the prize distribution of the boys—and it was done at that time with some ceremony—says:

> "To the intelligent observer it must also have been an additional source of gratification to notice among the scholars several of the children of the native gentlemen who contribute to the support of the school, in no respect distinguished from those who receive their education gratuitously."[2]

1. For the early history of this school, the reader is referred to Mr. Brajendra Nath Banerjee's "Rammohun Roy as an Educational Pioneer" in the *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society* for June, 1930.

2. Cf. *Rammohun Roy and Progressive Movement* by Dr. J. K. Majumdar, p. 264.

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Progress shown by the students at the annual examinations, pleased those present very much. Prominent Europeans and Indians attended these functions. They included David Hare, Sir Edward Ryan, Dr. R. Tytler, William Adam, and Dwarkanath Tagore. Some of them used to examine the students while others distributed the prizes to the best of them. Boys received prizes for regular attendance also. Newspapers did not grudge space in reporting these functions in some detail. The account of the annual examination of 1829 in *Bengal Hurkaru* gives us a clue as regards the course of studies followed in this school. *Bengal Hurkaru* (February 28, 1829), writes:

> "A statement was put into the hands of the Examiners intimating that the pupils of the first class were competent to be examined in the first Book of Pope's Homer's Odyssey, in Goldsmith's History of England, in Joyce's Dialogue, in the first Book of Euclid's Elements, in Murray's English Grammar, in Goldsmith's Geography, in the solution of Problems on the Terrestrial Globe, in the Rules of Arithmetic as far as those which related to cases of compound proportion, and in the translation of passages from English to Bengalee and *vice-versa*, and in those books in which they were actually examined, they acquitted themselves to the high satisfaction of the gentlemen present. The other classes were examined according to their respective degrees of advancement and the whole was concluded by the recitation of a piece and by the presentation of the prizes consisting of several valuable and useful books provided by several gentlemen present for that purpose."[3]

There were altogether four classes in the school. The instruction commenced from the three R's. So the immense progress made by the students of the first class in so short a time was simply astonishing, and reflected great credit on their teachers as also on the management of the school. The *Hurkaru* also gives the names of the boys, class by class, who most distinguished themselves and who received the prizes both as rewards for proficiency and regularity of attendance:

> "First Class: Gunganarain Bhose, Bissonauth Mittre, Dwarkanauth Mitter, Mothooranauth Tagore, Bunnymudhub Day, Corraram Mittre and Brijonauth Chunder.
>
> "Second Class: Bholanauth Mittre, Nobinmaudub Day and Modoosudun Dhurr.
>
> "Third Class: Ramapersaud Roy and Debendranauth Tagore.
>
> "Fourth Class: Modoosoodun Chukerburtty, Raja Baboo, Hurrimohun Ghose and Jogeschunder Ghose."[4]

The editor of the *Calcutta Gazette* who was himself present and witnessed the examination of the boys, writes in the issue of above date, of the founder of the Institution in these glowing terms:

> "It becomes us to state here that although the Anglo-Indian school is partly assisted by public contributions, yet the greater portion of its expenses is paid by one of the most liberal and enlightened of native gentlemen—one whose name has been long before the world, whose talents are surpassed by his worth only, and whose efforts to ameliorate the intellectual condition of his countrymen, can never be too highly appreciated. As the founder of the Institution, he takes an active interest in its proceedings, and we know that he is not more desirous of anything than of its success, as a means of effecting the moral and intellectual regeneration of the Hindoos. We were sorry to learn that indisposition prevented his witnessing that success yesterday; but whatever may be his state, he must feel the satisfaction that every benevolent mind enjoys for having been useful to mankind,— and it must always be to him a pleasing prospect, that when millions yet unborn shall hail the return of knowledge to this country, they will associate that circumstance with the name of Rammohun Roy."[5]

The students of the school who included such stalwarts as Ramaprasad Roy and Debendranath Tagore, cultivated sympathy and love for one another by concerted action. They joined their brothers of the same age, of the Hindu College and the Pataldanga School in founding a debating society so far back as 1830. They gave it the name of Anglo-Indian Hindu Association and proposed to discuss subjects pertaining to learning. Discussion of religious subjects was precluded.

Two years later, in December 1832, we find the students of the Anglo-Hindu School alone taking initiative in starting another association with the sole object of 'the perfect cultivation of the Bengali language.' Associations had already been started by the elders for this purpose. But among the students with whom mastery of English was the only thing they wished for, establishment of such a society was very much surprising. But in the Raja's school an ideal of true culture was set before the students, so much so that even from their early days they contracted a love for their people and country and strove to ameliorate them to the best of their power. This association, called Sarbatattwa Dwipica Sabha, was formed at Raja Rammohun Roy's school at Simla on the 30th December, 1832, with Ramaprasad Roy as President and Debendranath Tagore as Secretary. The account of this inaugural meeting will show the currents and cross-currents of thought in the mind of the young students of the Raja's school. Let me quote in part from *Samachar Darpan*, dated January 19, 1833:

> "When the individuals present had taken their seats, Sreejoot Joygopal Bushoo observed that 'as no Society has been formed in Calcutta for the cultivation of the Bengalee language, we have proposed to establish one for that purpose, and we believe that the country will be greatly benefited by its influence.' Baboo Debendranath Thakoor

3. *Ibid*, p. 269.
4. *Ibid*, p. 270.
5. *Ibid*, p. 271.

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then observed that, 'It was most proper to thank those who had proposed to form this society and acknowledge their virtue; for if it be permanently established the literature of our country will be fully developed. At present we see many societies formed for the cultivation of the English language. You may therefore conclude, Gentlemen, that if this society be formed for the cultivation of pure Bengalee, its members will become perfectly versed in it."

When Raja Rammohun Roy left for England in November 1830, he made over the charge of the school to its head teacher Purna Chandra Mittra. Since then the school was run by him and came to be known as Purna Mittra's school. In 1834, the school was renamed the Indian Academy. The celebrated Bhudeb Mukherjee was a student of this school.

The Indian Academy was in existence for several years more. We find a notice of the annual examination of the students of the Academy in the *Samachar Darpan* of 19th September, 1835. The examination was held in the upper rooms of the *Hurkaru* Library on Wednesday, the 16th September. Bengali was made a subject of regular study in July-August 1838.[6] The Indian Academy was no longer a free school.

II. The Union School

In point of time Jagomohan Bose's Union School at Bhowanipore claims priority over Raja Rammohun Roy's Anglo-Hindu School. It was founded so early as in 1793. But it came to the public view long afterwards by 1828, by virtue of its intrinsic services to the cause of modern education. Of the origin of the Union School, William Adam writes in his first Report on the State of Education in Bengal (submitted to the Government on the 1st July, 1835) thus:

> "The first English School of this kind is situated at Bhowanipore, and is called the Union School, in consequence of its having been formed by the union of two such schools respectively established at Bhowanipore and Kidderpore. They were established without any communication with Europeans by Native gentlemen for the instruction of Hindoo children in English, and were at first supported by voluntary subscription." (P. 36).

It should be noted here that Adam gives Jagomohun Bose's school the credit of being the first English institution of its kind ever started by Indians in this part of the country. Students of this school made much progress in their studies, both Bengali and English. Special emphasis was given, however, on the proper study of English. It has been said that scarcely a person was found in Bhowanipore who was not some time or other instructed in this school. Respectable Europeans and Indians paid visits to it time and on and expressed great satisfaction at the progress of the students. Like the boys of the prominent seminaries of Calcutta, they too acquired proficiency in English. Reports of examinations held here found their way to newspapers, from which we learn that, at least up to 1829 Jagomohun Bose bore all the expenses of the school himself. The *Samachar Darpan* of October 28, 1828, writes to the following effect:

> "At Bhowanipore there is an English school. Many Englishmen went there to conduct the examination of its boys. On its roll are four hundred students. They one and all read English. All the expenses of this school are paid by a generous-hearted Bengali gentleman. His name has not been made public, but his generosity will evoke praise from everybody."

Another account appeared in the same paper on March 7, 1929. In this occurs:

> "In the last week examination of the boys of the Bhowanipur school took place. The school was founded about thirty years ago by Srijut Jagmohun Bose . . . . We learn that he is paying all the expenses of the school as a religious duty . . . . Boys of the Hindu College, of Srijut Rammohun Roy's and of Srijut Jagomohun Bose's schools are giving sufficient proof of their efficiency in English in the examinations held before the European gentlemen." (Free rendering from Bengali).

By the middle of 1829 the Union School was reorganised and opened to pay-scholars too. Of the subsequent career of the school, Adam again writes:

> "In May, 1829 they were placed upon an improved footing, and in the management of them Europeans and Natives were then first associated. They were opened to pay-scholars, and the Calcutta School Society made them a monthly grant towards their support; but that resource not proving adequate to their wants, they applied to the General Committee of Public Instruction for assistance. Their immediate wants extended only to about 500 rupees for the necessary school-furniture; but the General Committee placed 1,000 rupees at the disposal of the School Society for the use of each school considering it to be 'a great object to establish schools of this description which might in time serve as preparatory steps to the Hindoo College, and relieve that institution of part of the duty of elementary tuition.' The united school is supported partly by public subscriptions and partly by the fees of the scholars, of whom there are at present (that is, in 1835) about 150. This is a day-school, instruction being given every day of the week from ten to three except on Sundays." (*First Report*, P. 36.)

Jagomohan Bose, the founder of the Union School, died some time in January, 1853. I have found, in the files of *The Hindoo Intelligencer* of the 24th January, 1853, a letter by "An Inhabitant of Bhowanipore" dated January 20, evidently sent just after Jagomohan's death. From this letter we can learn much of the man and his institution. Let me give it here *in extenso*:

6. *Samachar Darpan*, 27th April, 1839: Events of 1245 B.S.

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"The sudden death of Baboo Jagomohon Bose of Bhowanipore, though at an advanced age, is deeply regretted by men of all classes. The eminent merits of the deceased; his placid and calm temper, his zeal for the cause of education; and his labours for its diffusion, are universally known. Throughout his whole life and throughout his connection with this place, no single inhabitant has ever had any cause but that of being pleased with his conversation and rejoiced at the pains he took disinterestedly for their welfare. The name of David Hare deserves to be embellished in letters of gold in the hearts of many of our countrymen at large and so is the name of Baboo Jagomohon Bose in a limited sphere. More than 37 years past, before many of the metropolitan Institutions had their existence. Babu Jagomohon Bose had a school at Bhowanipore where English lessons had been daily given and prepared. Though not a professional teacher, his talents and leisure hours were devoted to the improvement of children of all classes. With the cooperation of Sir Edward Ryan and his relative Major Ryan, with the assistance of David Hare and of the Ghosal Babus of Kidderpore he made his school attain a very respectable name among the educational establishments in the country,—and though the Institution is not now in a similar condition, it was only on account of a broken constitution and the infirmities of age hastened by family losses, that he was unable to take so much pains for it as he did before, and that too for the setting up of a Missionary Institution on a very large scale in the place where to the utter shame and loss of our countrymen many send their children. One circumstance must be added which is that almost all persons now holding respectable and creditable situations under Government and the agencies resident at Bhowanipore were educated in the Union School and formed their habits of life and business under the eyes of this man before whose time none of the middling and none of the higher classes set turbans on their heads and went to work. Such a man deserves to be remembered and his admirers are thinking of something best calculated to commemorate his memory in a measure suitable to their means."

The Union School continued for a long time after the death of its founder. It was again amalgamated with another school early in 1874. I find in the *Bharat Samaskarak*, a Bengali weekly, dated 10th April, 1874 that

"The Bhowanipore Union School has been amalgamated with the Tollygunge Suburban School. A beautiful site has been selected for the erection of a building for the school." (*Translated from Bengali.*)

This amalgamated institution is the modern South Suburban School of Bhowanipore. *In the Diamond Jubilee Report, 1934*, of the school I also find:

"A large number of Middle English and Primary schools catered to the educational needs. On the 13th of February, 1874, two such small schools, one located at Bhowanipore and the other at Kalighat, were incorporated by some of the public-spirited gentlemen of the locality into a High School, which ultimately came to be known as the South Suburban School." (P. 1).

The building for the school was not, however, erected on the site, as referred to by the *Bharat Samaskarak*. It sat for the first sixteen years in different rented premises. We learn from the *Golden Jubilee Report, 1934* that

"The newly-started school was originally located near the Hazra Tank, which was subsequently converted into the Hazra Square. Later in the same year (1874), however, the school was removed further north to a house in Gobinda Ghosh Lane. ....On the 1st of March, 1875, the school was removed further in the heart of Bhowanipore and was housed in the big barracks belonging to Moulvi Habibulla Hossain on Russa Road, a little to the north of the premises now owned by the Empress Theatre . . . The school continued to be located in this rented building till the 15th of June, 1890 .....The present site at Gopal Banerjee Street was acquired by the authorities in 1888 and the present building was constructed at a total cost of about Rs. 40,000.....The major portion of the amount required for acquiring the land and for erecting the building was met by public subscriptions." (Pp. 2-3).

Among those who were instrumental in incorporating the two schools into the South Suburban School, the names of Annada Prasad Banerjee, its Founder-Secretary, Dr. Ganga Prasad Mookerjee, the renowned physician of Bhowanipore and father of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, and Sir Ramesh Chandra Mittra, Justice of the Calcutta High Court, deserve special mention. Pandit Sivanath Sastri, one of the prominent Brahmo leaders and literary men of the late nineteenth century, was the first Headmaster of this institution and served as such from February 1874 to April 1876. Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, the great educationist and jurist, was one of the early alumni of the United South Suburban School. The school is still flourishing as a premier educational institution in Bengal with many a feature special to its own.

III. Hare's School

Like the Anglo-Hindu School and the Union School, Hare's School, too, did yeoman's service to the cause of education in the first half of the nineteenth century. The Calcutta School Society almost ceased to function as such early in 1833. David Hare was forced to abolish his famous Arpuli Pathsala for want of funds. The English School attached to the Pathsala was united with the Society's model English School at Pataldanga. This school contained a Bengali Department where Bengali was taught exclusively. David Hare undertook the management of this institution, which he did but too gladly till his death. The School flourished greatly as a free academy under Hare's personal care and supervision. It served as a feeder to the top classes of the Hindu College and the newly established Medical College. Its scholars in the Hindu College, better known as

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the School Society's scholars, were always among the best boys there.

The Government grant of Rs. 500 per mensem to the Calcutta School Society was originally intended to meet the expenses of the Society's indigenous schools. The diversion of the grant to the maintenance of the English School, a different purpose altogeher, was not officially taken into cognizance up till late 1840, by the General Committee of Public Instruction, who were charged with the control and management of the Government education funds. Apprised of the useful purposes for which the money was being spent for these years, the General Committee favourably wrote to the Government in a letter dated 30th October, 1840:

"With reference to the School Society, we called upon Mr. Hare for a report on its present state; including an account of its funds and expenses. This has been furnished to us up to the end of the past year. From this report we find that although the grant of Sicca Rupees five-hundred has been diverted from its original object, of improving the indigenous schools kept by private individuals, it has been most usefully employed in educating a certain number of students in the Hindoo College and in supporting a large and Preparatory School in the neighbourhood, which has been of much use to the Hindoo and Medical College. We therefore propose to continue to appropriate the assignment as at present, while Mr. Hare is connected with the School; and that he be required to furnish us with periodical reports on its state and prospects. When Mr. Hare discontinues his connection with the School the assignment may be paid directly to the Committee."

The Government intimated to the Committee on 15th December, 1840, in reply to the above letter that they had no objection in the proposed arrangements.[7]

But David Hare did not live long to act up to these arrangements. He was spared to submit only one report before his death. In November 1841, he sent an account of the school to the General Committee, a brief summary of which has been given only, in their *Report* for 1840-42 (p. 28). This speaks a good deal of the efficiency with which the school was being conducted. The summary runs as follows:

"438 boys were instructed in various branches of English and Vernacular learning under Native Teachers, (the further advanced being fit for admission into the Senior Department of the Hindoo College) for the sum of 530 Rs. of which the balance of 30 was paid by Mr. Hare. That gentleman informed us that it afforded him much pleasure to say that in his opinion the school was then in very good order; further that he was in the constant habit of visiting it daily, at irregular times, and frequently examined some of the boys and classes in their different lessons, which enabled him to speak with confidence as to the results.

"Of the 21 scholarships awarded in 1841-42 to the Hindoo College, seven[8] were gained by boys originally admitted from Mr. Hare's School. The School in question also furnishes numerous pupils to the Medical College."

Hare died on the 1st June, 1842. The General Committee of Public Instruction gave place to the Council of Education in January this year, with their powers somewhat circumscribed. According to previ-



David Hare

ous arrangements, the charge of Hare's school naturally fell on this Council. They found that

"The pupils of this school had hitherto been admitted entirely by Mr. Hare, that they paid nothing for Schooling, Books or Stationary, that the discipline was well maintained by Mr. Hare personally, and that he paid from his own funds any incidental expenses, in excess of the Government allowance of five-hundred rupees.

"There were on the 13th June, in this school 463 boys divided into 12 classes. Their ages are from 7 to 15 years." (*Report* for 1840-42, p. 28).

Regarding the management of the school, the Council of Education delegated their powers to its Section[9] for the Hindu College. The Section proceeded with their business in the following way:

7. Vide *Report of the General Committee of Public Instruction*, etc., for 1839-40, Appendix No. II. Both the letters of the General Committee and the Government of India have been inserted in it. I will mention the Report of the General Committee as simply *Report* hereafter.

8. Peary Churn Sircar stood first, and was one of the seven.

9. The Section of the Council of Education for the Hindoo College was its reconstituted Managing Committee. But it had less powers than formerly. Under the arrangement sanctioned by Government on the 20th October, 1841, two members of the Council of Education were elected members of the Hindoo College Managing Committee. Henceforward the President of the Council of Education acted also as the President of the Committee.

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"The Section considered it expedient to provide for the continuance of the School, making alteration in the system gradually, and with caution, so as ultimately to incorporate it with the Institutions subordinate to the Hindoo College, and recommended that a Visitor should be appointed to supply as far as possible the place of Mr. Hare in maintaining the discipline of the School. The Section proposed themselves to regulate the admissions, and to impose a rate of one rupee per month on future pupils, reserving to themselves a discretion to admit free Scholars and so regulating the admissions as to provide, that the free scholars of Mr. Hare's foundation should hereafter be reduced to, and remain at, one hundred, the total number of pupils being five hundred. They contemplated also appropriating the additional funds resulting from the introduction of the new system in providing salary for the Visitor and meeting the extra charges of the Institution. (*Ibid.* p. 28).

The Government sanctioned and approved the plan, 'subject to modification at any time by Government, whenever it might appear to be failing in maintaining the efficiency of the Institution.'

Work was commenced soon under the new system. Mr. R. Jones, Head Master of the Junior Department of the Hindu College, was appointed Visitor. The establishment, however, remained same as before. It is found that on the 28th December, 1842, there were 410 old free boys and 74 pay-scholars, the latter being the new admissions.[10]

Early in 1843 the school had to change its venue. It had got no building of its own. The school sat for upwards of twenty years in a house in Pataldanga owned by Raja Nrisinghachandra Roy on a monthly rental. The Section was asked in March 1843 to remove the school from there at a month's notice. They 'represented to him the impracticability of quitting it at such a short notice, and the injury to be apprehended to the institution by being turned out so abruptly from the house it had occupied for upwards of 20 years, in which his own relatives had been educated.' But these representations were of no avail. The authorities were compelled to remove the school, temporarily, to the premises of the Hindu College Pathsala and the Pathshala to the lower part of a neighbouring house,[11] occupied by the Principal of the Hindu College. The school was charged the same rent as it had to pay to Raja Nrisinghachandra. But this rent was earmarked by the Council of Education for building a house for the school. The grounds attached to the Pathsala to the west of the College Street belonged to the Hindu College. The managers of the College gladly parted with them for the erection of a building for the School over there. Public subscriptions were opened for the purpose. I find the school removed to its new buildings on the above site in 1847. The buildings were erected partly from public subscriptions, but mainly with Government money to be realised from the school in monthly instalments. It should be noted that the school also paid well over one thousand rupees from its own funds in the course of the construction.

During the transition period the school continued to maintain its reputation as a premier institution in Calcutta. V. L. Rees, Professor of Mathematics in the Hindu College, examined in 1844 the boys of the top classes of the school in Mathematics and reported that 'generally speaking, the boys have acquitted themselves well.' In conclusion he stated: 'It is but justice to add, the 2nd class of the Hindoo College receives annually from the school its best recruits and the greater number of my best scholars in the College were nursed in the Seminary."[12]

In the following year Mr. R. Jones, the Visitor of the School, also reported:

"The studies pursued in the first class correspond to those of the 2nd class of the Hindoo College, and the students who are annually admitted from this school enter into the second and third classes of the Hindoo College. In some instances they have been found qualified for the first class. Seven scholarships of the Hindoo College, *viz.*, 5 senior and 2 junior, are at present held by students of the School Society's School."[13]

Not only the Hindu College but the Calcutta Medical College, too, got their best recruits from this institution. To maintain its superior standard the Government sanctioned in 1845 four junior scholarships for the school.

The institution could no longer be regarded as a free school, its character as such having rapidly changed. In 1844 there were only 81 new admissions that is, pay-scholars, the remaining 369 enjoyed free studentships.[14] But there were only 182 free students in the school in 1845. This number fell to 167 in 1846. In these two years the number of pay-scholars rose from 313 to 350. A connected account of the later career of this institution, which had already turned a pay-school, is not warranted here. We will, however, note below some of its salient features.

It was a rule with Mr. Hare to appoint compe-

10. *Report* for 1842-43, p. LXXV.

11. The Principal of the Hindoo College had his quarters in this house, for which he got a monthly allowance of Rs. 140 as house rent from the College. Dewan Ramcomul Sen was the owner of this historic building. The Calcutta Medical College was first opened in this house and held its classes here for about a year. The Albert College of Keshub Chunder Sen, the grandson of Dewan Ramcomul, was also housed in these premises. The modern Albert Buildings, College Square, stand on this site.

12. *Report* for 1844-45, p. 33.

13. *Report* for 1845-46, pp. 44-45.

14. *Ibid.*, 1844-45, p. 34.

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best Indians as teachers of his school. Because he thought that the right sort of instruction in its elementary stages could be given to the Indian boys more efficiently by their own countrymen than by foreigners. Hare used to select teachers from amongst the best students of the Hindu College. Tarachand Chakravarty, Rasik Krishna Mallik and Krishna Mohun Banerjee all of the Hindu College served as teachers of the Pataldanga school, which was but the predecessor of this school. Durga Charan Banerjee, father of the famous Surendra Nath Banerjee, himself a meritorious student of the Hindu College and later a noted physician of Calcutta, was for some time in the late thirties and early forties of the last century, the Head Master of Mr. Hare's School. Barring a few exceptions, the tradition was kept up. Peary Charan Sircar, an ex-student of Hare's school, and one of the celebrated educationists of mid-nineteenth century, was appointed Head Master of this institution in August 1854 and continued in his post till 1863. His connection with the School did not cease before 1867.

Since its foundation the school had been open to the Hindus only. It was in 1852 that the School was thrown open to all. I find in the *Report of the Council of Education* (from 30th September, 1852 to 27th January, 1855):

> "School thrown open to all classes of the community. The exclusive footing on which the school had, from its foundation, been carried, has been abolished, and since November 1852, it has been thrown open to all classes of the community. Two European Christians, two Native converts and two Mussulman boys have been admitted and the Institution is conducted with as much order and harmony as it was previous to its being thrown open."

Now something should be said regarding the management of the School. We have seen that just after the death of Mr. Hare the 'Section of the Council of Education for the Hindoo College' took over its charge. Since then the school was also known as the 'Hindu College Branch School.' The Managing Committee or, to be more precise, its Indian members relinquished their charge of the Hindu College on 1st February, 1854. Henceforth, the Hindu College came directly under the Council of Education. The Branch School, too, became a full-fledged Government institution. On the 15th June, 1854, the Junior Department of the Hindu College was transformed into the Presidency College, and the Junior Department retained the name of the Hindu School. The College and the School were to be regarded as two distinct institutions. But the latter was subordinate to the former. Since then Hare's school was officially known as the Colootollah Branch School. The Council of Education again resigned on the 27th January, 1855, in favour of the Director of Public Instruction newly created by the Government. The Collotollah Branch School, like other Government institutions, came under the direct control of the Director of Public Instruction.[15]

It has already been said that when the new arrangements were made in 1842, the school was divided into 12 classes, and a flat rate of rupee one was charged as monthly fee of the new entrants. I find the classes increased to fourteen in 1844; but the rate of fees had remained the same. It was in May 1846 that the fees were enhanced for the first time in the following scale:

> "The students admitted before 1st May 1846, will continue to pay monthly, ... 1 Rupee.
>
> Students admitted or promoted to the 1st and 2nd classes from 1st May 1846, to pay monthly 3 Rupees.
>
> Students admitted to the lower classes from 1st May 1846, to pay monthly.....2 Rupees."[16]

These fees being still lower than those in many other schools of the same standard, poorer sections of the community resorted to this school in large numbers. For efficient teaching classes were increased to sixteen. By the year 1857 the number of students rose to 571. To cope with this unwieldy number, the authorities deemed it expedient to raise the fees again in 1857:

> "The number of pupils at the beginning of the past session had risen so high, that it was deemed expedient in October last to reduce it by raising the schooling fees in the last 13 classes from 2 Rupees to 3 Rupees monthly at which rate the three highest classes, or what constituted the Senior Department had been paying for some years."[17]

Many students of this school made a mark in Society as also in the respective spheres of their life. In this connection the names of such stalwarts and pioneers as the Rev. K. M. Banerjee, Peary Charan Sircar, Rajnarain Bose, Dr. Mahendra Lall Sircar, Dinabandhu Mitra, Sishir Kumar Ghose, Sir Gurudas Banerjee, Romesh Chunder Dutt and Sir P. C. Ray naturally came to one's mind. There were a good many others who acquired the same, if not more, repute.

The school, though always popularly known as Hare's School, had its name changed from time to time. In the official Reports, it was called the School Society's School, the Hindu College Branch School or, simply, Branch School, and the Colootollah Branch School. It was in 1867 that its name was finally changed to 'Hare School.' It was also removed to its present buildings that year. The school still exists, disseminating light and culture among our countrymen.

15. The last *Report of the Council of Education* from the 30th September, 1852 to 27th January, 1855.

16. *Report* for 1846-47, p. 34.

17. *Report* for 1857-58, Appendix A, p. 228.

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INDIA'S NATIONAL INCOME

By GIAN PARKASH KAPUR, M.A.

Concept of National Income

National income is the money equivalent of the aggregate net output of goods and services produced in a national economy over a period of time, usually a year. As distinct from the nation's accumulated capital wealth it is a fund which meets the yearly consumption needs and productive requirements of the community. Its size and allocation patterns are, therefore, the determinants of the nation's material welfare and the potentialities of its economic system. National income can be measured at various stages of the "flow-process of economic activity": at the point of production, distribution or consumption, but measured at all the three points the totals should be identical. This triple approach reveals the three basic aspects of the economy and affords a check on the correctness of the alternative national income estimates.

National income studies concentrate on currently produced resources and their allocation. They have been carried on in most countries for the last several years. In the beginning their scope was, however, limited to gauging certain broad trends in the economy but the shift of emphasis in economic thinking from classical "equilibrium analysis" to "national aggregates" evoked a much deeper interest in this direction. National income estimates are now designed to provide useful information on the levels of the generation, distribution and consumption of income in different sectors of the economy and their constituent transactions. A memorable development in this field was the emergence of social accounting—for which a model system was first presented by Dr. Richard Stone some years ago. Social accounting approaches national income studies by setting out the economically distinct transactions among different branches of the economy and obtains national aggregates by a suitable combination of these transactions. But though the presentation of social accounts is done by several Western countries like U.K. and France, Netherlands is perhaps the only country which may claim to have a proper social accounting system. A country like India has obviously to travel a long distance before it can construct any elaborate social accounts. The preparation of reliable social accounts and other national income estimates is a constant chase towards perfection. Numerous conceptual as well as practical problems, statistical difficulties and arbitrary judgments stem out during the process. Errors and omissions are common and the results obtained prone to criticism on the score of their reliability, coverage or completeness and the validity of the underlying assumptions. In the case of India there are special difficulties and the resulting imperfections greater as compared to the countries with longer traditions of national income studies. Nevertheless, national income estimates furnish a wide view of the anatomical and structural basis of the economy. They measure how much the various sectors of the economy have produced, distributed and consumed and if they are available over a number of years it becomes possible to appraise the trends in the country's economic growth and by dint of analysis to associate them with various factors. They yield data on such significant topics as capital formation and depreciation, personal income and expenditure, the productivity of various industries and the effect of capital investment on them—all indispensable for "testing in the light of a record of the past and the immediate present the over-changing theories of economic behaviour, diagnoses of economic problems and pleas for economic reform." But in order to be really useful national income estimates have to be so wide in their scope as to give all the relevant breakdowns; they have to be consistent in respect of their coverage, techniques and valuations computed; and they have to be carefully interpreted, the basic assumptions underlying them, the accuracy of the statistical data used and their levels, trends and short-term variations have to be scrutinised.

A Historical Prologue

The pioneer attempt to assess India's national income was made by Dr. Dadabhai Naoroji in his book *Poverty and Un-British Rule in India*. For the years 1867-70 he estimated the total income of British India at 340 million pounds per year and a per capita income of Rs. 20 or 40 shillings. He contended that the income available to people in India did not suffice for their bare needs and, therefore, led to the depletion of the country's capital resources. Dr. Naoroji's estimate was followed by several unofficial enquiries with reference to certain specific periods but they are of a heterogeneous character and too old and tentative for any clear-cut inferences. The most carefully worked out among these was Dr. V.K.R.V. Rao's estimate which placed the net income of British India in 1931-32 between Rs. 1600 and Rs. 1800 crores and estimated a per capita income of Rs. 65 with a margin of error of plus or minus 6 per cent.

The war-time and the post-war stresses and strains on the economies of the under-developed countries generated a feeling for a more positive approach to their economic problems and the role of the national income and related statistics in the preparation and formulation of economic policies came to be recognised more and more. Imbued with this spirit some fresh studies of India's national income were undertaken. About the year 1949 the Ministry of Commerce and *The Eastern Economist* published their estimates almost simultaneously. The former estimated the total income of British India in 1945-46 at Rs. 6234 crores. For the Indian United Provinces a total income of Rs. 4931 and Rs. 5542 crores or a per capita income of Rs. 204 and Rs. 228 was estimated for the years 1945-46 and 1946-47 respectively. The latter enquiry covered an eleven-year period from 1939-40 to 1949-50 and its main results nearly coincided with the Commerce Ministry estimates. No less important in this connection was Mr. R. C. Desai's essay on consumer expenditure in India which put the per capita income of British Indian Provinces at Rs. 70.2 in 1938-39 and Rs. 73 in 1940-41. Late in 1950 came United Nations' *National and Per Capita Incomes of Seventy Countries, 1949*. In this list of countries India with a per capita

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income of 57 dollars in 1949 ranked fifty-fifth. Compared to some other Asiatic countries like Siam, Indonesia and Pakistan she figured somewhat better but she had apparently much leeway to make considering United States' 1,453 dollars and Great Britain's 773 dollars.

1948-49 Estimates

It was against this setting that in the first week of May 1951 the first complete estimate of India's national income appeared in the *First Report of the National Income Committee*. The Committee have estimated the total income of the Indian Union in 1948-49 at Rs. 8710 crores and a per capita income of Rs. 255. The substance of the report is summarised in the following table :

Items	*Net output (Rs. crores)*	*Percentage to total*	*Number of persons engaged (lakhs)*	*Net output per engaged person (Rs.)*
1. Agriculture (including forests & fisheries)	4150	47.6	905	450
2. Mining & Factory Establishments ..	640	7.3	38	1700
3. Small Enterprises	860	9.9	149	600
4. Railways and Communications ..	230	2.6	12	1900
5. Banking, Insurance & other Commerce & Transport ..	1470	16.9	95	1500
6. Professions and Liberal Arts ..	320	3.7	50	600
7. Govt. Services (Administration)	460	5.3	36	1300
8. Domestic Service	150	1.7	42	400
9. House Property ..	450	5.2	—	—
Net output at factor cost	8730	100.2	1327	660
Net earned Income from abroad ..	—20	—0.2	—	—
National Income ..	8710	100.0	—	—

Thus nearly half of the national income accrues from agriculture and allied occupations, about a fifth from commerce, transport and communications, about a sixth from mining, factories and small enterprises and the remaining one-sixth from services and house-property. In the light of Dr. Rao's estimates it appears that the composition of the national income has not undergone any material change except for a small decline in the proportion of the income from agriculture and allied occupations and a slight increase in that of the income from commerce, banking and professions. The net output per engaged person is highest for railways and communications and factory establishments due to higher capital investmet in these spheres while agriculture, the nation's premier industry, ranks only second from the bottom. Government share in the generation of domestic product in 1948-49 amounted to Rs. 760 crores or 8.7 per cent and in national expenditure to Rs. 830 crores of 8.1 per cent. Government draft on private income amounted to Rs. 690 crores and gross capital formation on Government account to Rs. 210 crores. Exports and imports during the year valued Rs. 500 crores and Rs. 710 crores respectively. Net earnings from abroad being negative and donations from abroad Rs. 10 crores the deficit on current account was financed by net borrowings of the tune of Rs. 220 crores. Net national expenditure at market price is estimated at Rs. 9170 crores. One solitary figure about consumer expenditure indicating that 58 per cent or Rs. 4600 crores of the national product was spent on food is also given. In addition a frame-work for social accounts is presented for the first time but it is not of much use since symbols have been used for the missing items.

The methods employed have been, considering the circumstances, the least unsatisfactory but the gaps in information and data—which can be adequately filled only if there is a country-wide organisation to collect detailed information—have inevitably led to infirmities of an unknown magnitude. It is not possible to indicate the margin of error in the various estimates but they may be classified into some "reliability categories." Thus the estimates pertaining to mining and industry, Government Services, railways and communications and organised banking and insurance would pass on as "good estimates," those pertaining to agriculture and allied occupations as "rough estimates" and the remaining ones as "conjectures."

The findings of the National Income Committee have clarified many facts dimly realised before. They have borne out the slow rate of development in our economy, the 'shrunken' status of its secondary and tertiary sectors and the low productivity in the predominating primary factor. The Committee's estimate of the per capita income is higher than all previous estimates but in view of the rise in prices in recent years this does not reflect any more prosperity and the real income calculated by assuming constant prices for the net product would be scarcely different from pre-war standards. The Economic Adviser's Index Number of General Prices with the year ended August 1939 as the base stood at 381 in 1949. This means that the purchasing power of Rs. 3.8 equalled that of Re. 1 before the war. Assuming a similar ratio between the Committee's valuation of the net product and its value in pre-war prices the pre-war equivalent of a per capita income of Rs. 255 estimated by the Committee works out to be Rs. 67 which comes very close to Dr. Rao's estimate of Rs. 65 in 1931-32.

However, on several, other important matters the Committee's report throws no light. Of course, information on subjects like capital formation and provisions for depreciation, consumer expenditure and allocation of income was hard to collect but with regard to matters like small -and -corporate savings and distribution of income some ground could be covered. The available post-office and banking statistics and income-tax statistics on the size of the incomes coupled with the estimates of productivity and the standard of living offer a promising field for analysis. Moreover, breakdowns as to the regional, inter-state and urban-rural variations in national income and productivity and also about the components of income accruing to various sectors are useful guides to policy-making and will have to be attempted at an early stage.

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Book Reviews

Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

EDITOR, *The Modern Review*.

ENGLISH

GANDHI AS A SOCIAL REVOLUTIONARY: *By Wilfred Wellock. Published by the author from 12 Victoria Avenue, Quinton, Birmingham, 32. 1950. Pp. 39. Price one shilling.*

In India, when we write about Gandhiji, we usually slip into a sentimental mood of adoration or of hostility. Perhaps we have been too near him to be able to escape powerful emotional influences.

It is therefore refreshing to turn to an essay of the kind which Mr. Wellock presents here. He came to India as a delegate to the World Pacifist Meeting in 1949, and was also elected as Chairman of its Committee on Basic Education and World Peace. The findings of that Committee as well as the impressions gathered at the conference and in course of visits to centres of constructive work during the following months are presented in this pamphlet.

Mr. Wellock has expressed the opinion that the root cause of the sorrows of the world lies in an idolatrous worship of material comforts to the exclusion of the higher values of life. Even Communism has not escaped infection from this vicious product of the Industrial Revolution. He feels that if man is to be rescued from the impending threat of self-annihilation, Gandhism offers a supremely practical way. It will have to begin with a re-ordering of life in the personal sphere in accordance with non-violence, but very soon, the influence will spread to the social field; where obstructions to the creation of a new life shall have to be met by the supremely moral method of Satyagraha. Of course, the execution of the programme will vary from place to place, but unless the world accepts the fundamental values for which Gandhism stands, and which it shares in common with Christianity, there is hardly any hope left for mankind.

We do hope, the pamphlet, although small in size, will set men thinking earnestly not only in the West but also in India, where his influence is fast being lost by default. Perhaps we may remind that, as early as 1925, Gandhi wrote with perhaps a tinge of sorrow that in regard to non-violence, 'what seems to me to be so natural and feasible in India, may take longer to permeate the inert Indian masses than the active European masses' (*Young India*, 3-9-25, p. 304). The fact that Gandhism is gaining a more intelligent appreciation in the West, and more an emotional worship in the land of its origin may be a confirmation of Gandhiji's fears.

GLEANINGS GATHERED AT BAPU'S FEET: *By Mira. Pp. 26. Price six annas.*

SELECTED LETTERS (First Series): *By M. K. Gandhi. Published by Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad. Pp. 56. Price seven annas.*

These two pamphlets throw an intimate light on Gandhiji's character and his relation with co-workers. They will be valuable for any life of Gandhiji.

SATYAGRAHA IN SOUTH AFRICA: *By M. K. Gandhi. Revised Second Edition 1950. Ahmedabad: Published by Navajivan Publishing House. Pp. xv + 351. Price Rs. 4.*

The Navajivan Trust must be thanked for having brought out a new edition of this classic in Gandhian literature.

NIRMAL KUMAR BOSE

MY PHILOSOPHY AND OTHER ESSAYS ON THE MORAL AND POLITICAL PROBLEMS OF OUR TIME: *By Benedetto Croce. Selected by R. Klibansky. Translated by E. F. Carritt. George Allen and Unwin Ltd., London. 1949. Price 15s. net.*

Croce's writings have been much appreciated and equally criticised. In all his writings, political and philosophical, in his discourses on morals and in his other essays he has always placed emphasis on the individual. "The man has a real life to live; the life of classes is a fiction." It is needless to point out that emphasis on the individual does not mean encouragement of selfishness. His views on liberty coincide to some extent with those of Einstein on freedom. He also pleads for humanism but unlike Einstein he sought to justify his views on metaphysical grounds. He, therefore, could not approach the masses as Einstein did. It is not possible, neither is it necessary, to discuss in details his political views. That has been elaborately done before by professed philosophers and others. He himself has violently criticised 'dialectic materialism,' and protests against his being described as a Hegelian. In the essays on the problems of Ethics and Aesthetics he has boldly challenged the so-called theory of 'pure art.' "Though art is neither the slave nor the handmaid of morality or philosophy, it is always busied with both, for its business is that of the spiritual unity which in it comes to its own as a necessary and unique manifestation."

The collection of the essays is a timely publication. The Moral "Problem of our (his) Time" is still the moral problem of our time and the essay can be read with profit. It does not appear to the reader that he is reading a translation. Carritt, himself a noted writer on Aesthetics, has accomplished his task admirably.

S. C. MITRA

FOUR CHAPTERS: *By Rabindranath Tagore. Visva-Bharati, 2 College Square, Calcutta. Price Rs. 3-8.*

Char Adhyay, when the original Bengali first came out in 1934, created a sensation. The then Press Officer

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of the Bengal Government wanted to use it as a propaganda against popular anarchist movements. The situation now has completely changed and we can enjoy the book as a pure product of art. The translation was very ably done by the Poet's nephew, the late Surendranath Tagore and was serially published in the pages of the American magazine *Asia* in 1936-37. We are glad to get it now in a handy book form.

SHEAVES: *Poems and Songs by Rabindranath Tagore. Selected and translated by Nagendranath Gupta. Published by Hind Kitabs Ltd., Bombay. Price Rs. 4-12.*

This is a reprint of the first edition and is neatly printed. We reviewed the first edition in our pages long ago, when we wrote: "Mr. Nagendranath Gupta has earned the best thanks of the lovers of Rabindranath in India and abroad for his excellent translations of the great poet's songs and lyrics....Taking the poet's own matchless renderings as a standard, Mr. Gupta's achievement does not fall far short of it and there are occasions when the translation rises to the beauty and dignity of the original, as we find in his *Urvasi*." Going through the preface and the translation we can again recommend the book to the English-knowing lovers of Rabindranath's poetry.

B. N. B.

RUSSIAN IMPERIALISM—HOW TO STOP IT: *By R. Swarup. Read and approved by Sri Aurobindo. Published by Prachi Prakashan, 38, Netaji Subhas Road, Calcutta 1. Pp. 56. Price Rs. 2.*

This small book is an attempt to prick the pretension of the Soviet Union's claim that it is the upholder of peace in a world over which war-mongers and their dupes roam about. This is good work, but the experiences of the publishers with the conduct of Calcutta Presses, specifically named in their Note, demonstrate how the "vague fear of trouble" has paralysed even the professed enemies of the Soviet Union.

The key-note of the book is to be found in the philosophy of blood and iron, the use of force, which Marx had preached and which his followers have been practising. The writer should have brought these out more elaborately. And their "patriotic betrayal" of their own people should have been exposed. He does the next best thing when he quoted the Stalin thesis that "the existence of the Soviet Republic side by side with the imperialist States for a long time is unthinkable.....a series of most terrible collisions between the Soviet Republic and the bourgeoise State is (?) inevitable." From this follows the Soviet technique of expansion and disruption. This will require volumes to describe. We expect the publishers to do this needed work to remove the "moral indifference" to this evil to which they refer in their Note.

The price of the book is rather high.

SURESH CHANDRA DEB

SANKARADEVA: (A Study): *By Hara Mohan Das, B.A., L.T. Published by the author from Gauhati, Assam. Pp. 145. Price Rs. 2.*

In order to satisfy my heart's desire for studying the great lives of medieval Indian saints I had written last year to a brother monk in Shillong to send me an English book on Sankaradeva, the patron Saint of Assam. The Swami kindly sent me a copy of the very book which is under review. The learned author of this book, who is a retired member of the Assam School service and has about a dozen volumes to his credit on various subjects, makes in this work a short survey of the life, teachings and writings of Sankaradeva, a senior contemporary of Sri Chaitanya of Bengal. Like Sri Chaitanya in Bengal, Sankaradeva brought about a Bhakti revival in Assam and left his indelible impress on the art, literature and religion of the province. He was born in 1449 A.D. in Alipukhuri in the district of Nowgong and passed away in 1568 A.D. at Kakatkuta in Cooch Bihar. His father Kusumbara Bhuyian was the chief of the famous Bara Bhuyians of Assam and became powerful in the reign of king Viswa Singha. Sankaradeva married twice like Sri Chaitanya and preached Neo-Vaisanavism. Though these two Vaisanava reformers were contemporaries and appeared in adjacent provinces they never met. This view is also supported by Dr. Biman Bihari Majumdar in his monumental Bengali work on the biographical materials of Sri Chaitanya. The Neo-Vaisnavism preached by Sankaradeva is akin to Visistadvaitavada or Qualified Monism of Sri Ramanuja. It does not entertain the worship of a divine couple like Sita and Rama or Radha and Krishna. But it adores Sri Krishna alone as the supreme being and the primal cause of the Universe. It abhors animal sacrifice, idolatry and pseudo-esoteric rites, and upholds *dasyabhakti* as practised by Hanuman to Sri Ramachandra. In the temples of prayer founded by Sankaradeva no image but a sacred book especially the Bhagavata Purana is placed on a pedestal and worshipped like the Grantha Saheb in the Sikh temples. The ideal devotee according to Sankaradeva is Uddhava. The centres of religious activities established by Sankaradeva and his apostles are called Satras and the religion preached by him is known as Bhagavata Dharma or Mahapurusiya Dharma. The writings of Sankaradeva are numerous and consist of original compositions and translations from Sanskrit scriptures, mostly Puranas. Most of his writings in verse are in old Kamarupi language and form the foundations of the Assamese literature. In his literary activities he was greatly assisted by his eminent disciple Madhavadeva. His main poetical works are the Uddhava Sambad, Kirtan, the Bhagavata Purana, Guna-mala, Ramayana, etc. His twenty works and those of his apostles are the popular sacred books of the province.

The handy volume under review adorned with three important illustrations is an excellent introduction to the biography, philosophy and literature of Sankaradeva and the mighty movement started by him. It is indispensable to the students of Indian religion and deserves to be rendered into provincial languages for wider circulation. It is a pity that Sankaradeva is not well known even in the adjacent province of Bengal or Bihar for want of such books.

SWAMI JAGADISWARANANDA

PROBLEMS OF EDUCATIONAL RECONSTRUCTION: *By K. G. Saiyidain, Educational Adviser to the Government of Bombay. Published by Asia Publishing House, 17, Gunbow Street, Bombay 1. First Edition—1950. Pages 366. Price: Library Edition Rs. 7, Students' Edition Rs. 4-12.*

Reconstruction of education has for some time past been stirring the minds of the Indians and reforms are being effected in some branches of the educational system. But these piecemeal reforms in the nature of patchworks on a rotten piece of linen cannot be expected to produce desired results unless education is viewed in a wider perspective and educational institutions are considered as an integral part of socio-economic and political structure of the community. The learned author of this book who has had a varied experience as a teacher, an administrator and a keen observer of educational machinery in some Western countries has been in intimate touch with the pedagogical and administrative sides of Indian education. He has rightly conceived that 'the school is an integral part of the total social environment and the child's individuality is not nurtured in school only but is greatly influenced by our socio-economic system and by con-

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temporary ideological currents.' Education cannot be dissociated from life and the future citizens cannot be reared up in glass-houses amidst artificial environments.

The book consists of three parts under captions: (1) Building the School of the Future, (2) New Trends and Approaches and (3) The Education of Teachers, written in a perspicuous style and permeated throughout with boldness of ideals, awareness of modern trends in human values and inspired by the sincere zeal of an educator. The book is a class by itself. It provides much food for thought for drawers of educational schemes, for teachers who are to vitalize the schemes and for enlightened members of the public all of whom have to work in perfect harmony with each other for proper solution of the 'problems.' It will be a profitable and delightful study for lovers of education.

NARAYAN C. CHANDA

ROADS FOR INDIA : *By T. R. S. Kynnersley. Being the second in the series entitled "Tata Studies in Current Affairs." Published for Tata Sons Limited by Padma Publications Ltd., Bombay. Illustrations by A. R. Acott. Price Re. 1.*

Communications in India are still far from being satisfactory. In the matter of roads the country very urgently needs an "efficient network of roads, particularly in rural areas." This fact was brought to light during the Bengal Famine of 1943-44 when food could hardly be properly distributed all over the province within the shortest possible time. It is unfortunate that till to-day the situation has not improved very much.

Mr. Kynnersley, who has been a well-known road-engineer and was for some time the President of the Indian Roads and Transport Development Association, begins his brochure with defining "What is a road?" and closes the discussion with suggestions as to how an all-India Transport Board can solve our problem of roads.

The booklet is profusely illustrated with sketches and photographs that go to make its reading interesting and engaging as well.

SANTOSH KUMAR CHATTERJEE

CEYLON KICKS INDIA : *By J. S. Bright. Published by the Knowledge Emporium Publication, New Delhi. Price Rs. 4-4.*

If a catchy caption, a smart get-up and fine printing make a good book, J. S. Bright's *Ceylon Kicks India* is one. But if the quality of the reading matter is the criterion, it is not.

More than 400,000 of our nationals are scattered all over the world. They have played an important part in the development of many of the countries where they have gone. Yet as luck would have it, they are unwanted and treated as such in almost all these countries. Malan's South Africa, Thakin Nu's Burma, Senanayake's Ceylon, to name a few, all sail in the same bark. It was hoped in pre-independence days that Free India's nationals abroad would be shown the courtesy and consideration they deserve. The hope remains unrealised. On the contrary, the position of Indians in many cases has steadily deteriorated since independence.

Tiny Ceylon, which owes so much to India, has placed her 800,000 Indian population in an unenviable position by passing the Indian Citizenship Act which disfranchises Indians who have lived in the country for several generations, by making it difficult to remit money to India, by denying banking facilities to Indians, by attempting to Ceylonise trade and industry overnight and by introducing other discriminatory measures against Indians. Colombo hotels are unwilling to accommodate Indian guests. Visitors from India are shadowed and heckled by the police. The Ceylonese Press systematically blocks out Indian news and carries on a regular campaign of scurrilous calumny against India.

Mr. Bright's book fails to give a clear and comprehensive picture of Indians in Ceylon. The book is scrappy. Use of expressions such as "the mad rulers of Ceylon.....embellished with Ravana's donkey-head," "the frogs of Colombo" and the like are in bad literary taste. Mistakes—factual and linguistic—tip the scales definitely against the book under review.

SUDHANSU BIMAL MUKHERJI

BENGALI

PURANA-PRAVESA : *By Dr. Girindra Sekhar Basu. Published by Bangiya Sahitya Parishad, Calcutta. 1358 B.S. Pp. 306. Price Rs. 6.*

It is with genuine satisfaction that we welcome the appearance of this revised edition of a work which, we think, is one of the most important contributions made in recent years to the study of the historical material in the *Puranas*, and which involves in particular the first attempt to introduce order and consistency into the tangled maze of Puranic chronology. In the preliminary chapters the author deals with such important topics as the age, authenticity and methodology of the *Puranas*. These points are dealt with more fully in the concluding chapters. The most valuable part of this work, however, is concerned with the exposition, as original as it is profound, of the difficult and complicated Puranic chronological scheme. Here the author explains with remarkable care and thoroughness the different methods of time-reckoning in the *Puranas* such as the cycles (*yuga*) of different kinds ('divine,' 'ancestral' and 'human'), Manu-cycles (*manvantara* of 71 *yugas* or 355 years each), and Kalpa-cycles (of 14 Manu-cycles each). In so far as the ancient dynastic lists are concerned, the Puranic chronological scheme consists, as the author shows (pp. 31*f* and chart p. 195), by a brilliant combination of direct evidence and of inference, of a direct Kalpa-cycle of 5,000 years starting from Svayambhuva Manu. Into this is fitted the division into 14 Manu-cycles, since the time-reckonings from Svayambhuva to Vaivasvata in the first instance are made in these works in terms of *manvantaras*. As 5,000 years divided by 14 manvantaras of 355 years each would leave a margin of 30 years to be accounted for, the *Purana* authors postulated 15 junction-periods (*sandhi*) one at the beginning, one at the end and thirteen in the middle with two years for each *sandhi*. Accordingly 355+2+2=359 years are assigned to Svayambhuva Manu and 355+2=357 years to each of the rest. Into the same chronological scheme the *Purana* authors fit four time-divisions (*krita, treta, dvapara* and *kali*) and 30 'ancestral' or historical *yugas*, since these are used for the later time-reckoning from Vaivasvata to Yudhisthira. The result is a somewhat complicated time-scale comprising 5000 years divided into (a) one 359 and thirteen 357 time-periods (*manvontara*), (b) four time-divisions (*krita, treta, dvapara* and *kali*) in the proportion of 4:3:2:1, and (c) 30 time-divisions (ancestral *yugas*) of 2000 months or 166⅔ years each. Following a sound method of reasoning, the author further shows (p. 45*f*) how the independent statements in the *Puranas* about the chronological positions of a number of sages and kings wonderfully support the above scheme of chronology. Another and equally scientific method of testing the above scheme used by the author in this context is the probability or otherwise of average generation- and reign-periods deducible from the data from a known series

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of generations as well as of royal reigns, the author concludes that (*a*) the only safe basis of calculation of the average is the age at which the first child is born, (*b*) for a long series of generations in lineal succession the average duration is about 28 years, and (*c*) that where the royal succession is uninterrupted from father to son, the average reign-period approximates to this figure, but it is likely to be less when the succession is broken. Arguing from these premises the author maintains against Vincent Smith and Pargiter that (*a*) there is nothing incredible in the Puranic averages of reign-periods of the ancient kings and (*b*) it is wrong to apply a hypothetical average to their reigns. The author drives his conclusions home by showing that the average reign-period of English sovereigns from John to Edward III (35.6 years) is almost the same as the corresponding Puranic figures for the Saisunaka kings (33.2 years). It is not without interest to observe that the figure for the average duration of a generation in a long series given above, (viz., 28 years) was arrived at independently by another Indian scholar of recent times (Dr. S. N. Pradhan in *Chronology of Ancient India*, pp. 174-75).

With the relative chronology of ancient kings thus placed on a secure basis, the author turns next to the chronology of recent (the so-called 'future') dynasties down to the Andhras. With characteristic thoroughness the author sums up the Puranic data for fixing the chronology of the recent kings under five heads. Two of these comprise the methods of time-reckoning in terms of regnal years and of the Saptarshi cycle of 1000 years. To another category belongs the Puranic statement about the chronological interval separating Nanda's accession on the one hand from the accession of Parikshit (1015 years) and on the other hand from the end of the Andhra dynasty (436 years). From this the author quite plausibly argues in favour of an era starting from Nanda's accession (p. 88). As to the exact chronology of Nanda the author, by a brilliant hypothesis, conjectures (pp. 88-89) that (Mahapadma) Nanda, though living in the second *krita*-cycle according to the ancient Puranic reckoning, was held by later authors because of his Sudra birth and his extermination of Kshatriyas to have really belonged to a prolongation of the Kali-cycle. As the Nanda era was thus taken to be synonymous with the era of the Kali age, the *Purana* authors were led to push back the beginning of the creation-cycle by 2,700 years (the traditional antecedent period of 27 *yugas* reckoned according to the newly-accepted Saptarshi-cycle). Still later this initial date was taken to mark the beginning of the Kali age. Relying on these data the author has no difficulty in tracing the exact date of Nanda's accession by counting backwards from a fixed recent reckoning, say 1934 A.D.=5035 Kali era. The date would thus be 5035-2700-1934=401 B.C.

The results of these studies are summarised in a very valuable series of chronological and synchronistic tables (p. 96 *f.*). The author begins with the genealogy of the Ikshvakus, the longest and the most complete of royal genealogies in the *Puranas*. The list comprises 127 names arranged in order of generations from Vaivasvata Manu downwards. By calculating the average figure for each generation and by checking this up with other Puranic data, the author assigns dates in the Christian era to the whole series of kings of this dynasty. This is followed up by similar tables relating to the dynasties of the Purus and the Barhadrathas as well as those of the later dynasties (*viz.*, of Pradyota, Sisunaka, Nanda, Maurya, Sunga, Kanva and Andhra). Finally, we have a number of synchro-

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nistic tables of ancient as well as recent dynasties.

We propose to make a few remarks.

Pp. 3-5 and 154 *f*: *Composition and Historical Value of the Puranas*. The author thinks that the connotation of *Purana* as indicated by the well-known category of its five characteristics (*panchalakshana*) is just the same as that of history in the modern sense of the term. The addition of other features in the later works of this class so as to make them a complex of ten categories, he says, adds to their historical value. This importance, the author thinks, is not impaired by the language or even the slightly conflicting accounts and readings in the *Puranas*. The evidence of inscriptions, coins and monuments, he further observes, is incomplete, while by contrast the authenticity of the *Puranas* is proved by the internal evidence and is in agreement with the external evidence. With this last claim we shall have to deal presently. But meanwhile it is permissible to point out that modern history is something more than a "historical and geographical account together with the description of the manners, customs, traditions, governments, arts and sciences of the people." It further involves a careful sifting of the evidence, analysis of human motives and characters, and especially and above all, reconstruction of the past culture and civilisation with the aid of historical imagination. Again, though the earlier *Puranas* known to the Vedic literature doubtless contained legends of origin, there is nothing to show that they had any of the other characteristics indicated by the category of *panchalakshana* (Cf. *Beginnings of Indian Historiography*, etc., by the present writer, pp. 18-21). The author thinks that the *Puranas* had their original source in the truthful accounts of the *sutas* who, in their turn, drew their material from the *magadhas* ("State historians"). But in the Vedic age, *magadha* is not a professional title at all, while the functions of *sutas* are unknown except in so far as they are characterised as *arajano rajakritah* in two Brahmana texts and made to function in the rituals of the *Rajasuya* and the *Asvamedha* (see references in *Hindu Public Life*, Part I, by the present writer, pp. 104-6). Even in the later Epic and Puranic tradition, the *sutas* and *magadhas* are some times identified with each other (References in Pargiter, *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*, p. 17).

Chronology of Royal Dynasties: No praise is too high for the industry, ingenuity and the scientific thoroughness with which the author has tried to build up his great chronological tables relating to the Puranic dynasties. And yet there are very serious difficulties in the way of acceptance of his conclusions. Thus, how are we to reconcile his account with the well-attested early Buddhist tradition making out Suddhodana, and Prasenajit to have belonged to parallel dynasties and not to a single Ikshvaku line, as also with the evidence of the Sinhalese chronicles testifying to two successive dynasties (those of Bimbisara and Susunaga) instead of one single Magadha "Sisunaka" ruling house? Equally difficult it is to understand how Sakya, Suddhodana, Rahula and Prasenajit are to be regarded with the Puranas as kings of Kosala in this order of lineal succession. Again, while the Pradyotas and the Andhras, according to the author, were ruling dynasties of Magadha in two successive periods. they are shown by authentic evidence to have belonged to Avanti and the Deccan respectively. In so far as chronology is concerned, the author's dating of Pradyota (871 B.C.) Bimbisara (612 B.C.) and Prasenajit (753 B.C.) as conflict with the early Buddhist tradition shows them to have been contemporaries. In the same way the author's dates for Gautamiputra (340-361 A.D.) and (Vasisthiputra) Pulumayi (361-389 A.D.) are in conflict with the epigraphic or numismatic evidence both which makes out the former to have been the conqueror of the Kshaharata Nahapana (119-24 A.D. according to most scholars) and the latter to have been the son-in-law of Rudradaman (c. 150 A.D.).

Though we have far exceeded the limits of space in this Review, we cannot conclude without a word of praise for the high degree of scholarship shown by the author in this volume of which the value is enhanced by a complete analytical table of contents and a good Index.

U. N. GHOSHAL

RAMMOHUN-GRANTHABALI (Brahman Sebadhi, Padri-Sisya Sambad): *Edited by Brajendranath Banerjee and Sajanikanta Das. Bangiya Sahitya Parishad, 243-1 Upper Circular Road, Calcutta 6. Price Re. 1.*

This is the third part of Raja Rammohun Roy's works to be completed in seven volumes. The works are carefully edited. Books published, as far as available, in Rammohun's life-time have been consulted. It is to be noted that the works are characterised by the publication also of those writings in answer to which Rammohun's books or pamphlets were often written, so that the reader may follow the controversies in all their aspects.

SAILENDRAKRISHNA LAW

GUJARATI

RANCHHODLAL ANE BIJAN NATAKO: *By Yashodhar Narmadashankar Mehta, Bar-at-Law. Published by the Gujarat Sahitya Sabha, Ahmedabad, 1948. Thick cardboard. Pp. 136. Price Rs. 2-8.*

The writer of these plays is the son of a father, Dewan Bahadur Narmadashankar Mehta, who was a noted writer and thinker and was possessed of high literary qualities. The first of these plays *Ranchhodlal*, has secured a prize of Rs. 500 in a competitive presentation by the All-India Radio and a Gold Medal from a well-known literary magazine. It depicts the life and prominent incidents in the life of the maker of modern Ahmedabad, in more senses than one, i.e., by the foundation of Cotton Mills, Weaving and Spinning, by cleansing the city of unhealthy and unhygienic elements, as its Municipal Head. Amongst the city's three makers, Ahmedshah, Ranchhodlal and Gandhiji, Ranchhodlal holds the middle place. The author has woven romance round his life, by making him the political heir of Ahmedshah, who founded Ahmedabad. The other four plays, (1) *The Traveller from Denmark*, (2) *Bernier*, (3) *Sidi Ali* and (4) *Hiuen Sang*, have a historical background, and depict certain aspects of India's history and philosophy in a highly artistic manner. The one relating to the famous Chinese traveller is very human, and shows him at his best. A scholarly Introduction by Dewan Bahadur Prof. B. K. Thakore, adds to the value of the book. We are sure that Mr. Yashodhar will not rest on his oars but continue his valuable literary work.

K. M. J.

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INDIAN PERIODICALS

Freedom and Culture

Dr. K. R. Srinivasa Iyengar writes in the *Aryan Path*:

The time is now indeed out of joint, and what is needed to set it right is sense and sincerity and not mere scholarship and debating skill. Is civilization dying? Has humanity become powerless to give the right response to the challenge of the hour? Culture is one side of the sum of human achievement; civilization is the other. These words are often loosely used; it will be convenient here to restrict "civilization" to the glittering material aspects of human achievement and "culture" to its intellectual, moral, æsthetic and spiritual aspects. The "glory" that was Greece: the "grandeur" that was Rome—here we have the two in vivid contrast.

Of course, from matter to spirit is after all a single gamut. To use another metaphor, invisible arteries link the two and when the circulation is impeded serious consequences are inevitable. Modern civilization is an imposing facade, but our splendorous humanistic culture is its life, its soul. Are the fountains of this life slowly drying up? Is the life-giving spark being extinguished? We anxiously ask these questions, and are half-afraid to answer them.

The malady of our times is the failure of the conscience of mankind to keep in effective check the powers for destruction which the phenomenal scientific and technological advances of recent decades have unleashed.

Civilization is forging ahead; culture is limping behind.

The cords linking them threaten to snap, and the abyss yawns to devour them both. Material progress is ever faster outpacing moral regeneration, and our control over the outer world of Nature's processes is already far in excess of our control over the inner world of frenzy, fanaticism and unbridled lusts. Science is marching on with a deafening blare of trumpets, but the chords of authentic humanism are, alas, unheard, and attempts are not wanting to silence them altogether.

The scientific and technological revolution has doubtless achieved much. The landscape has been altered in many places almost beyond recognition. Our habits too have suffered a singular change. The abnormal has become normal, and artificiality has acquired an easy naturalness of its own. Horror and fascination now-a-days keep close company. How wonderful that one should be able to fly like the birds of the air—indeed, faster, faster—and how amazing that one could hear the music and news of the world from one's snug room in an obscure village! The marvels of modern medicine and surgery need no recapitulation. Civilization is a going concern; yet we know all the time that horror lurks just round the corner. Large-scale sabotage is easy; global destruction would be quick and the human material is cheap.

With the arts of life, the arts of death too have perfected themselves.

How has this Death-in-Life phenomenon come to be? Why are we gripped by the fear of darkness at the very moment of the noon-bright glory of the sun? May it be because the whole current of civilization is canalized along wrong lines? Is not *waste* the key-word of the atomic age? Is not industry pampering the weak, the vicious, the vainglorious? Are we not living on the capital accumulated by the earth in the course of ages? Are we not suicidally using up coal, oil and the mineral and forest wealth with no thought for the morrow? Are we not even criminally wasting our resources, producing either vain toys or instruments of destruction? Improvident, pugnacious, intoxicated with a false sense of power and security, mankind would appear to be racing down the steep path to Annihilation.

The technological revolution, if it is not to prove a Frankenstein consuming its creator, has to be followed by another, a revolution in the mind and soul of man. Reason should return to our life-ways, and our present notions about the "standard" of living should give place to healthy ideas regarding the meaning and method of life. We need not, of course, like the Erewhonians, repudiate science and its achievements altogether; but the real benefits of science can be rationally distributed, wastefulness eschewed and the emphasis laid everywhere on life rather than on death.

Civilization can be saved if man can be saved.

And man can save himself by undergoing a spiritual revolution and releasing its energies for the remaking of the world.

Food, clothing, a roof over our heads, order and good behaviour—these we need, no doubt; but no less do we need beauty and love, right aspiration and golden hours of enchantment and of ecstasy. Music and the dance, poetry and the drama, philosophy and religion, sport and healthy disputation, these are the roses of life, finely scented, beautifully tinted. Life is for living; and for man life is for living well, fruitfully, purposefully. To give the individual freedom to create values is to ensure the conditions under which the Good Life can achieve a natural and full efflorescence. To strait-jacket the individual is to seal up the fountains of the spirit.

Liberty and freedom, like civilization and culture, are terms often loosely used, but here again it would be wise to differentiate between intellectual and spiritual freedom on the one hand and political and economic liberty on the other. A nation may have gained political liberty and may have achieved independence in the economic sphere; and yet, as in Russia today, the people may enjoy little freedom in the personal, spiritual sense. Freedom is the source of all good, and, where freedom is valued and exercised, political slavery and economic inequality cannot long prevail. On the other hand, mere national independence without individual freedom is sure at last to bring about an armour-plated, police-run, totalitarian state sans light, sans hope, sans all that makes life worth living.

Today governments of whatever description—some with greater success, others with less, some aggressively, others apologetically—are trying to secure and exercise wide powers. This is, of course, especially true of the Soviet Leviathan today, as it was terribly true of Nazi Germany and of Mussolini's Italy. But, indeed, it is difficult for

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any modern state to resist the temptation to play Leviathan, with or without disguise. Planning and controls are the order of the day. Men are to be rendered wise and moral and studious and temperate through legislation and bureaucratic omniscience.

The individual and society—are basic; the state is but an offshoot, properly a helper and a servant, not a tyrannical master.

"The end of the state's compulsion," says Lord Lindsay, "is to give room for the kind of freedom and liberty which are possible only in social life." A state has the broad duty to ensure that law and order are maintained, and that goods are produced adequatley and distributed equitably. But the hierarchies of power and labour need to be reared on the foundations of justice and good-fellowship.

Again and again, when night has seemed unending, when the career of Evil Triumphant has seemed incapable of arrest, when the human race's power of revival seemed near extinction, great individuals—poets, mystics, philosophers, apostles, messiahs—have arisen, felt the failing pulse of civilization, withdrawn for a while into themselves to discover the key to regeneration, and, presently returning to the world, have taught the way to a new life of hope and aspiration and fresh achievement.

Bergson refers to those "privileged souls who have felt themselves related to all souls and....have addressed themselves to humanity in general in an *elan* of love. The apparition of each of these souls has been like the creation of a new species composed of one unique individual."

These privileged souls are the salt of the earth, and no human agency can foretell where or when they will make their appearance. Poetry and music, philosophy and prophecy cannot be made to order. A Christ, a Buddha, a Sankara, an Aurobindo, cannot be discovered by Public Service Commissions, and Working Parties cannot concoct the *Agamemnon* or *Sakuntala*, or *Hamlet*.

The bureaucrat may be efficient in his way, but the heights are not for him, he cannot see or reach them and it is but natural that in his blindness he should deny their very existence.

Christ said: "Render unto Cæsar the things which are Cæsar's, and to God the things that are God's." This exhortation is pertinent in the present context. The average politician's pretensions are boundless, and the politician in power is only too ready to demand both the things which are Cæsar's and those that are God's. Monopolist tyranny—as in the totalitarian countries—however it may have come into existence, soon degenerates into a monopoly of wrong, greed, cruelty and oppression. Both ends and means suffer a violent twist. Education becomes a means of perverting the human personality. Culture becomes a Department of State. The arts are mass-produced, and genius is regimented. The nightmare of Death-in-Life commences in dead earnest.

Lest such a fate overtake mankind—and this is by no means a chimerical fear—we shall do well to watch the portents and firmly refuse to acquiesce in the suppression of intellectual and spiritual freedom. The individual holds the key to our future destiny. He has carried the torch of culture down the ages, and in his hands it still burns with a steady glow. Nay, more, by achieving, in the fullness of time, individual transformation, he may open wide the doors of Possibility to the race as a whole. "The creative personality," says Toynbee, "is impelled to transfigure his fellow-men into fellow creators by recreating them in his own image."



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The Ideal of Liberty

Prabuddha Bharata writes editorially :

Every individual facing life is gifted with certain powers of body and mind. It is of vital importance to himself and the community that he be given full facility to develop his powers and to advance towards a consummation which he considers to be the goal of life. Freedom is not an end in itself but a means to an end. Man wants freedom to act, think, and express himself in order to achieve something he considers necessary and valuable for his progress which he undoubtedly desires. When man is under subjection he suffers materially, morally, and spiritually. Liberty rightly conceived and expressed in the individual's life makes for the security and happiness of all. Armies may fail, governments may collapse, but the Eternal Spirit of Freedom inherent in man's soul is unassailable. To the man who has attained to that state of supreme spiritual freedom where no honour or riches tempt him, where no success elates him and no failure depresses him, develops a spirit of equanimity, sagacity, and fearlessness which express the true ideal of liberty. 'He obtains self-rule' (*apnoti svarajyam*), (*Taittiriya Upanisad*, I. vi. 2).

In India we have the great heritage of the Sanatana Dharma which has given our national life its indomitable spiritual power and vitality. Dharma expresses the ideal of liberty, both for the individual citizen and the State, nay, it expresses much more. It suggests law, duty, righteousness, and religion. A truer understanding and practice of Dharma is the great need of the present day. That alone can set at naught the constant clash that is seen to occur between the sense of rights and privileges and the sense of duties and responsibilities. The *Bhagavad Gita*, the greatest epitome of liberty and freedom for Man says that it is better to pursue one's own duty, however imperfect, than to imitate another's, however perfect it may appear, lest there should be conflict and competition, consequently delaying the progress of all. Sri Krishna, who gave to humanity the greatest charter of liberty, says that the faithful performance of individual duty paves the way for the realization of the highest universal Dharma, which is the realization of complete freedom.

Oil Dilemma—Iranian Crisis

P. N. Kaul observes in *Careers and Courses* :

In order to understand the oil dispute, it is imperative one does not ignore the very history of Persia's Oil Industry. It was at the turn of the century, an Englishman named, William K. D'Arcy, who had made a fortune in Australia, got convinced that there was oil in the barren hills and plains of Iran. Accordingly, in 1901 he obtained a 50-year concession in return of $20,000 and a profit of 16 per cent, and formed a concern which later came to be known as Anglo-Iranian Oil Company. It was not until 1908, when, D'Arcy had nearly run out of money, that his company brought in the first gusher in the great oil-field of Masjid-i-Sulaiman. Last year's production of 35 556,000 tons of crude oil (all figures in net tons) was carried in 1718 miles of pipe-line to Abadan—the largest refinery in the world. In 1950 the output of the refinery was 27,000,000 tons. The Company owns 142 tankers plus 38 under construction, and markets the oil through its own distribution organisation. Anglo-Iranian Company holds a 23¼ per cent share in the Iraq Petroleum Company and a 50 per cent share in the Kuwait Oil Company —located below Iran on the Persian Gulf. The Anglo Iranian Company has refineries in Britain, France, Germany, Israel and Australia.

The Company's value is now variously estimated at $6,00,000,000 to $1,000 000,000. In 1932 the Iranians tried to cancel the concession, complaining that they were not receiving big enough royalties. In 1933 Iran gave the Oil Company another 60-year concession, under which it got a greatly increased and regular share of the profits. This share was further upped by 1949 supplementary agreement which Iran refused to ratify, although it has taken the first instalment of the $80 000,000 it would receive in 1951 under this new arrangement.

Iran with a population of 65 lakhs spread over an area of 6,28,000 square miles (1 lakh square miles being under A.I.O.C. control), like other Asian countries is a very backward country; only 5 per cent of so vast an area is under cultivation. Oil is the only main source of national income. It is estimated Iran possesses 85½ crore tons of oil of which three crore tons are produced every year, meaning thereby that the present oil wealth will last for thirty years. Another estimate puts it at 128,440 lakh barrels, out of which 2420 lakh barrels are produced every year, meaning thereby that the present stocks will go on till 53 years. The living standard of Iranians is disappointingly low. According to the findings of the United Nations the figures are :

Country	*Income per head in '49 in American Dollars*
1. Iran ..	85
2. Saudi Arabia ..	40
3. Iraq ..	85
4. Egypt and Syria ..	100
5. U.S.A. ..	1453
6. U.K. ..	773

NAKED EXPLOITATION

Iran presents yet another instance of imperialist's naked exploitation. Although the Anglo-Iranian Company



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has put forward the claim that they have, side by side, been trying their best to raise the living standard of Iranians and that in 1950, they spent 96.6 per cent of the total yield by way of customs, excise, royalties, capital expenditure, stores and materials, salaries, medical and public health, in Iran itself, yet the fact remains that the Iranians are the worst victims of their unabashed and criminal exploitation. It will not mean an exaggeration to say that the Company have from the very start tried to extract every drop of blood from Iran's national wealth. They have all along been aiming—and successfully too—to strengthen their hold on Iran. Accordingly, in 1914 Winston Churchill, as the First Lord of Admirality, started taking interest in the Company. In order that British Imperialism got its position deep-rooted in the Middle East, he advised the British Government to purchase as many shares of the Company as could achieve for her a dominating position. With the passing of years the production of oil also increased, thus adding to the profits of the share holders of the Company. In 1913, the Company produced 81 000 tons of the oil, in 1938, it went up to 1,000 000 tons and in 1950 to 30,000,000 tons. But the much exploited Iran got a nominal profit of 4 shillings per ton. For the past three years the Company earned a net profit of £1,42,000,000. It will be interesting to note that the Company have been paying many times more the income-tax to the British Government than the royalities paid to the Persian Government. This evident humiliating exploitation is aptly borne out by *Daily Compass*. "The cost of oil produced every year by the Britishers," writes the paper, "is hundred times more than Iran's present national income and ten thousand times more than the total income of Iranian labour." The most disappointing thing, in the words of the paper, is that "around the very oil fields of Iran live lakhs of naked, poverty-stricken, starving and diseased Iranian labourers." Only recently a member of the *Iranian Majlis* (Parliament) after his tour of Khuzistan which is directly under the jurisdiction of the Company revealed: "Not very long ago the population of Dashtistan—which is a part of the province—was 20,000 which is now reduced to 8 000. Owing to difficult living conditions the population of this part has come down to 50 per cent. Ninety five per cent of the population is suffering from eye diseases. Electricity, water taps, telephones are nowhere visible.....There is a network of Company's secret service agents and the poor Iranians have yet to know what freedom means."

Crux of the Problem

With this background it should not be difficult to determine the justification of Iran's decision to nationalize the Oil Industry. Of late, the British Government too have recognized the principle of Iran's right to nationalizing the Oil Industry. But the crux of the problem is: Has Iran the right to nationalize the oil plant together with the nationalization of the Industry? The British Government as also the A.I.O.C. hold that Iran has no right, whatsoever, to break the 1933 agreement unless the International Court of Justice permits her to do so. They also hold that under article 21 of the agreement, the Persian Government cannot cancel the agreement through any legislation of her own. On the other hand Persian Government hold that they have every right to nationalize the Industry. That is why she has outright rejected the decision of the Hague Court. Iranians also hold that 1933 agreement was, to some extent, the direct result of the pressure the British Government and A.I.O.C. brought upon them.

Whatever the legal position and whether it will be economically feasible, the nationalization of the A.I.O.C. is a foregone conclusion. Iran is adamant on her decision and knows full well that only through a military action can Britain make her retrace the step. And we know that Britain cannot afford any military action. If she does she will be provoking the Russians to cross into Iran according to Russo-Iranian agreement of 1921. Not only that, military intervention on the part of Britain, or any other country for that matter, means the beginning of world-wide conflagration, which will provoke all the Arab countries resulting in the total stoppage of oil production and supplies from Middle East.

The Solution

At the same time talking too much in terms of legal validity of the problem also will not deliver goods. This has clearly been demonstrated by Iran's outright rejection of the Hague Court's decision. This has incidentally, done an irrepairable loss to her authority. The only solution that presents itself to every sane thinking person is moderation and peaceful surrender on the part of the Britishers.

Even now it is not too late to make amends and offer such an agreement to the Iranians which would satisfy them, their economic conditions and over and above all, their national feelings and honour.

—

Kaviraj-Churamani Birendra Kumar Mallick's

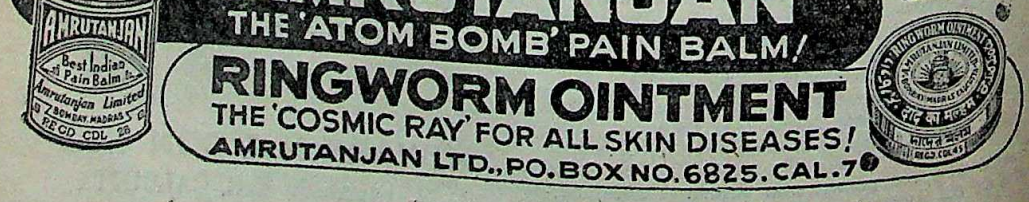
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Kaviraj-Churamani attends personally.



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Men and Machines

The following is a summary of the opening address, as published in *Science and Culture*, by Sir Ben Lockspeiser, Secretary of the D.S.I.R., Great Britain, to the Ergonomics Research Society Symposium held on April 18, 1951 at the University of Birmingham :

We can no longer afford to leave the human operator to get along with his machine as best he can. Scientists want the help of the men and women who use machines, such as lathe operators, mill hands, lorry drivers, and aircraft pilots or signalmen, for there is an intimate connection between the machine and the person who uses it. The study of this relationship between man and his working environment is Ergonomics.

Take our machines from us and most of us would starve, whilst the rest would eke out an existence on a level of comfort and amenity that few would willingly accept. Civilisation, on its material side, is thus largely a matter of tools and machines. This dependence on machines has given man a large measure of dominance over his environment but not without cost. In mind and body he has been subjected to the stresses and strains deriving inevitably from the way he has chosen to live. These consequences were perhaps unforeseeable and were for a long time either unrecognised or dismissed as of little account. But we are becoming increasingly concerned with them, and very properly so, because there is so much lee-way to make up. Relatively speaking, we know so much about how machines work and so little about how the mind and body work. This is not surprising, for we design the machines ourselves, and they are more amenable to measurement in operation than are the characteristics and behaviour of human beings. Yet there is an intimate connection between the machine and the person who uses it. "The machines of the engineer are becoming more and more complicated, with a corresponding tendeney to become more difficult to control."

Gathered here we have scientists from a wide range of disciplines—anatomists, physiologists and psychologists from the biological field, together with engineers, physicists, architects and those interested in production and management. All have a common interest in the study and avoidance of those strains to which the human organism is exposed in mind and body in the environment created by the engineer.

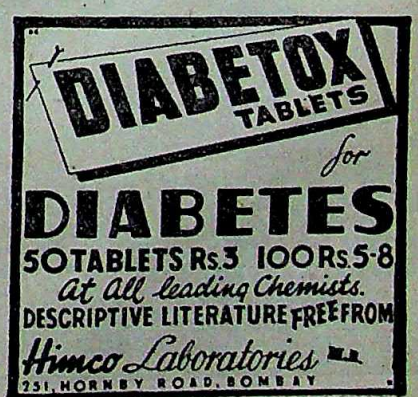
It is one of the misfortunes of science that it becomes burdened with so much jargon.

Necessary though it may be for scientists to understand each other, it has the unfortunate effect of frightening the layman. This is always a pity, but the more so in our case because we want to enlist the help of large numbers of people who are not scientists. It would be much better off if more were known about the business of doing more work with less effort. These problems come within our everyday experience whether it is the design of a door-handle to make it easy to open, whether our hands are empty or full, or the marking of the dials on an electricity meter to make it easy to read and to reduce the number of mistakes made in reading it. I note that one of your distinguished Honorary members is Professor Le Gros Clark of Oxford University, and it may well be that if he looked into the ergonomics of rowing we might look forward to an Oxford Boat Race victory in the near future.

It would be a mistake, therefore, to give the impression that, by giving the name of ergonomics to the study of the relation between man and his work environment, a new science has been invented. Rather it is, that the approach to the practical problems in this field has, until quite recently, been largely of an empirical character. Of the many problems thrown up during the war by the Fighting Services, one with which I was personally in touch arose in the course of design of the gyrogunsight for aircraft. This was designed and developed by a small group of engineers at Farnborough, who between them met and overcame a range of problems, most of them purely mechanical. One, however, was particularly linked with the human characteristics of the person using the gunsight, and was a problem of stability. The designers found that if the aircraft suffered a sudden disturbance, such as a bump, which threw the gunsight graticule off the target, the bump also disturbed the person using the gunsight causing him to over-correct for the disturbance. This led to "hunting" and was overcome by arranging that if the gunsight were "thrown off" the target by a sudden movement, the graticule was moved through a third of the angle of the sudden movement, to follow the target. This solution was found by trial and error.

No doubt empiricism will be with us for some time yet, but the more basic knowledge we have at our disposal, that is to say, the more informed our empiricism, the better.

This is not to say, however, that progress in the design of machinery is haphazard or without proper direction. Indeed it is much to the credit of the design engineer that he has, in the past, achieved so much with so little guidance from the biologist and with so little basic training himself in human anatomy, physiology and psychology. This brings us to the heart of our problem. What are the criteria by which a successful machine design is to be judged? It would appear that the engineer in the past has tended to rely too much on measures of engineering efficiency expressed as a ratio of work output to input. This has led to too exclusive an attention being paid to the reduction of the physical effort necessary by the operative. It is too readily believed that any equipment which reduces the physical effort of the operative, inevitably increases output and reduces fatigue. But in these matters of human activity at work, regard must be had to the whole man and particularly to the integrated action of the sensorimotor system. The reduction of the load placed on the motor system (*i.e.*, the reduction of muscular effort) has very often involved an *increase* in the load imposed on the sensory side. The operative is required to pay increasing attention to dials, indicators and controls, to an extent that is liable to overload the sensory



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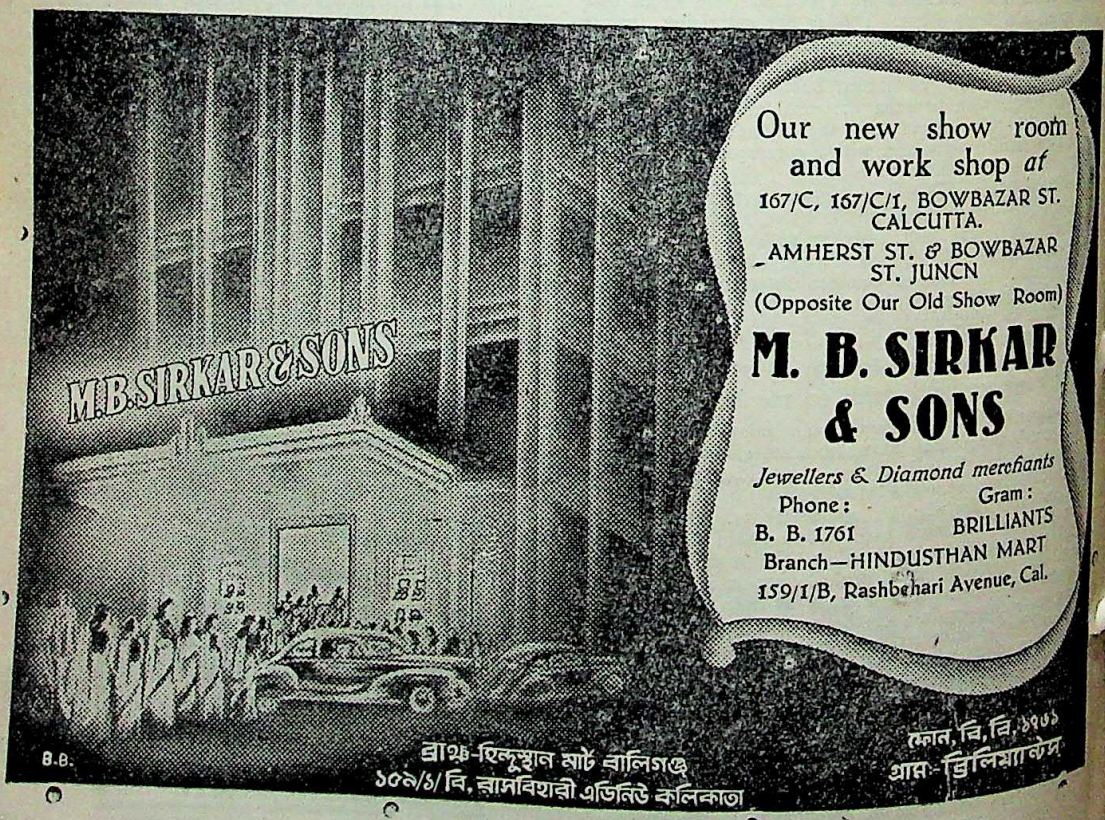
side of the nervous system or call for excessively intricate co-ordination of sensory and motor functions. Such a state of affairs, quite as much as sheer muscular effort, induces what is commonly called fatigue—a condition of which there is little scientific understanding but which must clearly involve both psychological and psysiological components.

One type of approach, through time and motion study, and the layout and management of factories, is made with the object of making the best use of such machines as we have. Ergonomics looks farther. It seeks to influence machine design and, although our knowledge of the fundamental biological problems involved is far from complete, enough is known to justify the introduction of biological considerations as a distinctive contribution to machine design. It is not much use, however, to bring the biologist into the problem when machinery and equipment have reached the stages of production and use. At the best he can then only reach a compromise by suggesting minor alterations in layout or operational routine. At the worst he may recommend scrapping it and redesigning. Clearly, the time when his advice should be sought is at the earliest stages of preliminary design, prototyping and field trial, when, if necessary, radical changes of design are economically possible.

Although the original interest in the field of ergonomics arose chiefly in relation to Service needs the Ergonomics Research Society has been quick to realise its applications to the needs of civilian life.

There are obvious features in common between the task of the operator watching a wartime radar display for "breaks" in the trace and the task of the operative in a cotton spinning-shed watching for breaks in the thread. This emphasis is the more welcome because of the special concern which the Department of Scientific and Industrial Research holds for scientific research and its application to civilian ends, both through the Department's own Research Stations and through the Industrial Research Associations which come under the aegis of the Department. We have recently been reviewing the extent to which the Research Stations and Research Associations are at present concerned with research within the "human factor" field; and it has been interesting to see the degree to which some of the Research Stations and the Research Associations, in providing a scientific service for their respective industries have been led by the needs of the day into the "human factor" field. I have noted, too, that these interests are best developed in that section of the field which lies within the scope of ergonomics. Concluding, Sir Ben said : "I look forward to the Ergonomics Research Society playing, in the years to come, an important part in *industrial research aimed, primarily, at the comfort and well-being of people engaged in their daily work.*"

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FOREIGN PERIODICALS

American Literature

The following article on American Literature written by Henry Seidal Canby, appearing in the *Saturday Review of Literature*, is reproduced from an issue of the United States Information Service "Feature" :

The literary history of the United States began when the first settler from abroad of sensitive mind paused in his adventure long enough to feel that he was under a different sky, breathing new air, and that a New World was all before him with only his strength and Providence for guides. With him began a new emphasis upon an old theme in literature, the theme of cutting loose and faring forth, renewed, under the powerful influence of a fresh continent for civilized man. It has provided, ever since those first days, a strong current in American native literature, whose other flow has come from a nostalgia for the rich culture of Europe which was left behind. Writers in the first three centuries of New World history were more often purveyors of this nostalgia than recorders of the new warmth of the American imagination kindling in novel scenes. They believed that their mission was to be importers and middle-men for America of this European culture. The first historians of American literature wrote of it as if they were describing English flowers and trees transplanted into a new environment. It was the approach of teachers, critics, and historians in general until the 1920's. From the academic point of view, American literature was simply a hoped-for extension of the great literature of the English-speaking peoples. A history of American literature exclusively in terms of democracy or the frontier is as false as is a history of American writing as a colonial extension. There is an inevitable blending of elements in American culture whether it be in a newspaper editorial or in a poem of Whitman's.

Obviously, American literature is a *transported* European culture, bringing with it the richness of its sources in the classic world, the Middle Ages, and the Renaissance. Its roots reach down into British literature which itself has absorbed so long and so much. Yet American literature is a *transformed* literary culture..... Slowly, yet inevitably, it has found its own accent, as has American speech. The divergence has been much greater than between American and British habits in the use of the English language, because literature is speech made expressive of values. The values, the expectations, the experience of life in America have been different from the beginning.

Whether we call it progress or change or development, increasing power and vitality are extraordinarily characteristic of the American 19th century. Never in history has nature been so rapidly and so extensively altered by the efforts of man in so brief a time. Never has conquest resulted in a more vigorous development of initiative, individualism, self-reliance, and demands for freedom. Never have the defects which preceded and accompanied this conquest of nature led to more surprising frustration, decadence, sterility, and dull standardization.

All this is in American literature, and the causes of both the successes and the failures are implicit, and often explicit, in early American books. James Fenimore Cooper, for Americans, is more significant than Sir Walter Scott, although it is only rarely that he equals him as a novelist. Herman Melville and Walt Whitman mean more to the American and are more revealing than the English writers, Thackeray and Wordsworth, although the English writers may have more often mastered their themes.

The objective of a history of American literature must be to record and explain the great men and women who have made this culture speak to the imagination. Literature can be used, and has been magnificently used by Americans, in the service of history, of science, of religion, or of political propaganda.....A history must focus within the margins of art, but the historian must cross them to follow the writers into the actualities of American life.

Inside these margins are so many notable writers that the emphasis must inevitably fall upon men rather than upon movements and institutions, although these must not be neglected. There is available for discussion the enlightened common sense of Benjamin Franklin, the first to make a modernizing Europe feel that there was a still more modern America. There are the astonishing intellects of Alexander Hamilton and Thomas Jefferson arguing great causes in letters and documents which became the political classics of their times. We have the communicable fire of Thomas Paine, the most effective propagandist of modern times. In the youth of the nation, the art of style was mastered by Washington Irving, suave in a tumultuous Commonwealth. In the same decades, the equally great art of story-telling was enriched by James Fenimore Cooper who added to the sagas of the world the heroic myth of Red Indian and pioneer.....There is the somber beauty of Nathaniel Hawthorne, the moral romancer of Puritanism; the fierce humor of Henry Thoreau's individualism; the shrewd saintliness of Ralph Waldo Emerson who spiritualized expansion; the soul-plunging adventures of Herman Melville's imagination; the prophetic Walt Whitman, seeking and finding new rhythms in which to sing democracy and the future of

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the Common Man. There are historians who were also men of letters, and statesmen like Abraham Lincoln who could say the word which makes aspiration articulate. There was Henry James, looking both ways across the sea from an 'Atlantis' of his own creating; and Emily Dickinson, who saw eternity through the windows of Amherst; and Mark Twain tasting the bitterness of unchartered freedom while he told tall tales of an expanding America. There was Henry Adams, one of the great mind-searchers of our age.....

After the Revolutionary War, and the establishing of independence, itself a modifying influence of tremendous force, the wall of the mountains was breached in a dozen places, and waves from the seaboard pool, and new waves from across the sea, swept into the Mississippi Valley and on toward the Western mountains and the Pacific. Here, in this vast frontier, the Colonial culture of the East and, later, the powerful literatures of what was now an old New England and a mature East and South, were fertilized by pioneer experience, dynamized and transformed by the needs and new imagination of a people no longer European. Sectional literature became national literature. And while new ideas from abroad were continually absorbed, currents typically American in their influences began to roll back toward Europe and the rest of the world, a process of reversal that had begun with Cooper and Emerson in the early 19th century. By the 20th century and especially after its first World War, the United States was no longer a New World. Culture was now not immigrant except on a basis of equal exchange.

Thus American literature differs from all the modern literatures of Europe in that it is consistently dual in the sources of its inspiration and its themes. It has a quality which will presumably be characteristic of the literature of the future in a world more mobile and yet more integrated.

Sweeping the Cobwebs out of Our Museums

Georges Fradier writes in *Unesco Courier* :

A town I know is proud of its schools, colleges and teachers' training institutions. Yet in its museum, which should be such an important part of the educational system, it takes little pride. Housed in a dark and unattractive-looking building, the museum is open to the public twice a week, yet most people use it as a means of passing dull Sunday afternoons in winter.

The museum does not lack exhibits; on the contrary, it overflows with masterpieces representing three centuries of craftsmanship, a fine natural history collection bequeathed by an old scholar, African and Chinese art treasures brought back by an explorer of former times, and canvasses and drawings by 17th and 18th century masters—all mixed up in dusty rooms, inaccessible and useless.

Meanwhile, in the schools and colleges, teachers wish they could show their pupils real works of art, masks, vases and authentic ivories; they would like to have samples of rock for the geology lectures, stone tools for history lessons. All these things are to be found in the local museum—along with many other treasures—but the teachers will perhaps never know this.

Thousands of towns, although provided with museums, are yet deprived of them in this way, for those which aim to attract the public are still rare, except possibly in the United States.

It is true that hardly a hundred years ago even the most famous museums were content simply to amass and then jealously guard treasures from all lands, but they have since made enormous progress as science in general has come to realize its social responsibilities.

Only the most modern, in certain large cities have, however, managed to adapt themselves to perform a truly educational mission among people of all ages and cultures.

All Can Help

A Paris professor has declared that he would not know how "to give his pupils a satisfactory cultural background with an insight into the lessons of the past supplemented by a proper technical education," without taking them on carefully-prepared visits to art, science and history museums.

"Let us hope for an increase in the number of museums like the Palais de la Decouverte, the Musee de l'Homme and the Musee des Colonies," he says. "These, in my opinion, represent the prototype of the modern museums."

All museums, no matter what their origins or specialities, can serve education and collaborate more and more actively with schools. Those who run them are no longer simply "curators" and they would undoubtedly agree with one of their predecessors, Sir Henry Cole, who wrote what in 1874 was then a bold statement :

"If you wish your schools of science and art to be effective, your health, the air, and your food to be wholesome, your life to be long, your manufactures to improve, and your people to be civilized, you must have museums of science and art to illustrate the principles of life, health, nature, science, art and beauty." Such museums must indeed be set up, and luckily the models exist.

The Paris professor referred to above picked out as his preference among the "prototypes" the Palais de la Decouverte. This was founded in 1937, and has become one of the world's finest examples in scientific museology.

All who visit the Palais do not come out with a bent for astronomy or medicine. But in the words of the well-known scientist Louis de Broglie: "School-children and students find magnificently real and living illustrations of what they have learned in their books and lessons."



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He adds: "It may be that when a young man comes to realize the beauty of science and its role in the future of man, he will decide to concentrate his efforts and perhaps his whole life to it." Numerous school-teachers have declared that apparently mediocre classes are amazingly transformed after a few visits to the Palais de la Decouverte.

An International Plan

It was in the Palais—or at least in the office of M. Andre Leveille, its director—that the "Museums Crusade" was started. A preliminary meeting of teachers had recognized that the ideas and methods used in his museum should be made available to all France's schools and colleges and that a plan to enable all museums to participate actively in educational programmes be drawn up.

But this is not meant only for France. From the beginning, the leaders of the Crusade conceived it as an international one; and, with this aim in mind, they approached Unesco.

As a result the American Museums Association is undertaking the same programme as the Paris museums. Its leaders are soon to meet some of their European colleagues to study the best ways to reach their common goal —the widest collaboration between museums and schools.

In the Netherlands, the Ministry of Education has ordered a special commission to study how museum resources can be put more fully at the disposal of youth and the people generally. These meetings, inquiries and studies are being followed closely by Unesco.

Meanwhile, the Crusade is gathering momentum. Unesco hopes soon to bring together at an international seminar, museum experts, educators, artists and scientists who can help extend this scheme to many other countries.

It is thanks to such a crusade that the most humble museums, as well as the richest, can render the service they owe to the community.

No longer will there be museums whose collections of useless brick-a-brac slowly waste away in deserted show cases. Instead, students, teachers and apprentices will go freely there at any hour of the day, alone or in groups, to find the indispensable concrete examples and tangible proofs.

Soviet Kazakhstan

N. Undasynov, Chairman, Council of Ministers of the Kazakh SSR, writes in the *News and Views from the Soviet Union* :

In the friendly family of Soviet nations, the Kazakh people, regenerated by the Great October Revolution, achieved unprecedented political, economic and cultural progress.

In Soviet years, Kazakhstan has developed from a backward borderland of Tsarist Russia into a republic with a powerful industry and a well-mechanized, collectivized agriculture based on large-scale farming. The share of industrial production in national economy has grown from 6.3 per cent in 1920 to 60 per cent under the prewar Stalin Five-Year Plans.

During the Great Patriotic War, the national economy of Kazakhstan, and of the entire Soviet Union for that matter, was completely subordinated to the efforts to win victory over the German-Fascist invaders. Kazakhstan became one of the important arsenals of the U.S.S.R.

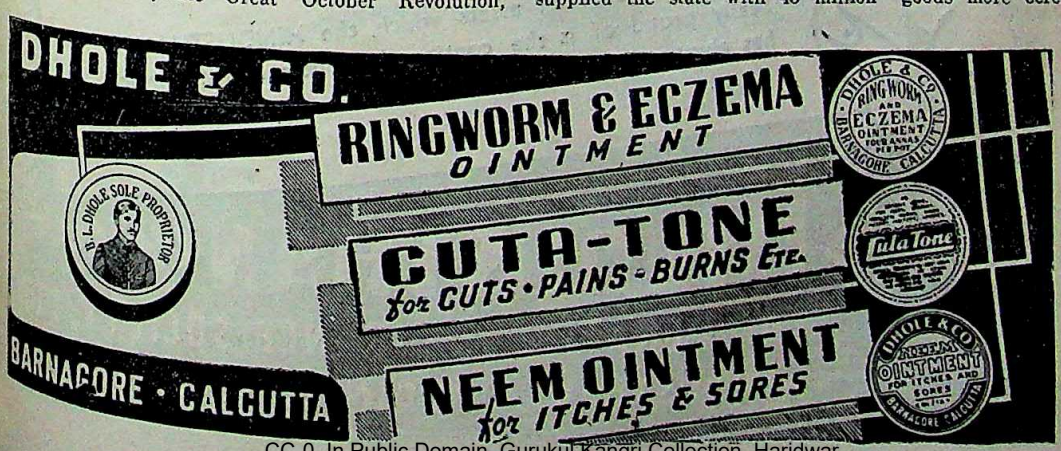
Through their selfless labours in the postwar years, the workers, collective farmers and intellectuals of Soviet Kazakhstan have considerably advanced the progress of national economy in their republic.

Industrial output has nearly doubled, as compared with the prewar year of 1940. Outstanding success has been achieved by the coal-mining and metallurgical workers of the republic who exceeded the Five-Year Plan provisions for the production of coal, steel and copper. Good work was also done by the electrical workers who fulfilled the five-year programme for electric power production in three years.

The five-year production plans were also completed ahead of schedule by many enterprises of the light and food industries. There has been a considerable increase in the production of general consumer goods in the republic. At the end of 1950 the production of woollen fabrics increased to 2.5 times the 1945 volume, the production of shoes was doubled, there was a fivefold increase in the production of hosiery, a 3.3fold increase in the output of confectionary products, a 3.2-fold increase in the output of vegetable oil and a threefold increase in the sugar production.

Soviet Kazakhstan is a republic with an advanced Socialist agriculture. Thanks to the solicitude of the Bolshevik Party and the Soviet Government, the collective and state farms of the republic attained noteworthy success under the postwar Five-Year Plan. The cultivated areas and the yields of the principal crops have increased far in excess of the corresponding Five-Year Plan provisions.

The efficiency of agriculture has been raised during the postwar Five-Year Plan period and the organization of labour has been improved in the collective farms. A bumper crop was harvested by the collective and state farms of Kazakhstan in 1950. The republic fulfilled the state grain deliveries ahead of the scheduled date and supplied the state with 45 million goods more cereals



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than in the prewar year of 1940. The collective farmers have been generously rewarded for their selfless labour. Many collective farms distributed as much as 5-10 kg. of cereals, large quantities of vegetables and potatoes per workday unit, apart from cash payments.

Kazakhstan's agriculture is well provided with up-to-date machinery and fertilizers. Thousands of specialists with a high school and college training are employed in the state and collective farms. The achievements of the Michurin Agrobiology and advanced practical experience are applied in farming. The extent to which field work has been mechanized on the farms may be illustrated by the following figures: in 1950 the machine and tractor stations performed 70 per cent of the sowing, 34 per cent of the grain harvesting and 94 of the fallow ploughing in the collective farm fields.

The amalgamation of the small collective farms opens still greater prospects for the advancement of collectivized agriculture. By January 1, 1951 more than 4,500 small agricultural artels pooled their resources, uniting into 1,670 big collective farms. These are truly powerful farms which have great prospects before them.

The realization of the Stalin plan for remaking nature will bring still greater progress to agriculture in Kazakhstan. Work is now under way in Western-Kazakhstan and Guryev regions on the Ura river on the creation of a more than 1,000 km. long state shelter zone extending from Mt. Vishnevaya to the Caspian shore. New canals are being built in the Kzyl-Orda and South-Kazakhstan regions. Great changes will be brought about by the Main Stalingrad Canal whose route lies largely through the steppes of Kazakhstan. 10-12 million

1950 Always in the Forefront

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Total Assets	,, 17,70,70,624
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Claims Paid (1950)	,, 72,92,850
New Business	**Rs. 13,75,39,851**

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hectares of inferior land will be converted into fertile tracts.

Kazakhstan is rightfully considered the most important livestock breeding centre in the East of the U.S.S.R. Livestock farming is now based on scientific methods and advanced practice, and extensive use of machinery. The first livestock farming machine stations have been set up in the republic and their number is constantly growing. As compared with 1945, the collective farms of the republic increased their common herds of dairy cattle by 47 per cent, the number of horses by 91 per cent, the flocks of sheep and goats have been doubled, and the number of pigs has grown fourfold. The state farms of the Ministry of State Farms of the Kazakh SSR, have achieved a 47 per cent increase in dairy stock, a 77 per cent increase in the sheep and goat flocks, a 94 per cent increase in the number of horses and a three-fold increase in the number of pigs.

The Bolshevik Party and the Soviet Government have taken all the necessary steps to promote the uninterrupted development of livestock farming in Kazakhstan. The great task set to the republic is that of achieving within the next five years a double increase in stock and a 34 fold rise in its marketable production.

Steps have been taken to effect a considerable increase in the number of scientific research institutions, and of the schools for training animal husbandry specialists. There will be an additional number of experimental research stations, a second animal husbandry and veterinary institute and a number of animal husbandry schools, hydro-technical and mechanization schools. The extensive use of up-to-date machinery and the creation of a stable fodder base in all the districts will make it possible to solve in a new way the pasture problem, and to transfer the cattle to a ranch and semi-ranch system.

The postwar Stalin Five-Year Plan period witnessed new remarkable achievements in science and culture. There were no more than two literate people per 100 inhabitants in Kazakhstan before the Great October Revolution. Only children of the Bais, Kulaks and merchants attended school, and there was not a single school where the native language was used, nor were there any colleges. In Soviet years Kazakhstan has developed into a republic with total literacy. About 1.5 million children are now attending the 9,000 Kazakh and Russian schools. There are 26 institutions of higher learning, 108 specialized secondary schools and thousands of young men and women of Kazakhstan are attending college in Moscow, Leningrad, Kiev and other cities of the U.S.S.R.

The Academy of Sciences of the Kazakh S.S.R. was founded in 1946 and many scientific research institutes were organized. Institutes for the mechanization and collectivization of agriculture, fodder and pasture research, forestry and irrigation have been founded in the past three years under the auspices of the Kazakh branch of the Lenin Academy of Agricultural Science of the U.S.S.R. alone.

Kazakh letters and arts are advancing along the highroad of progress. Fullfiling the historic decisions of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. (B) on questions of literature and art, the writers and art workers of Kazakhstan achieved noteworthy success. Themes showing the leading and guiding role of the Party of Lenin and Stalin, the characters of the Soviet leaders, the characters of ordinary people, their heroic Socialist labour, their ardent Soviet patriotism, their love of and devotion to the Motherland, to the Bolshevik Party, to J. V. Stalin, have become the principal theme in the arts.



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The success of Socialist industry, agriculture and culture brought about a great improvement in the living and cultural standards of the working people. The Soviet Government allocates tremendous funds for financing social and economic undertakings. This may be seen from the fact that the budget of the Kazakh S.S.R alone allocated for education, health protection and other social and cultural purposes in 1950 more than 2.5 times the 1940 appropriations for the same purpose.

The most gratifying result of the postwar Five-Year Plan is the progress of the people, the advancement of their Communist consciousness and culture. The new Communist features are becoming increasingly conspicuous in the psychology of the Soviet citizens. The nation-wide Socialist emulation movement, the wide initiative of the working people intended to raise labour productivity —all this characterizes the Soviet people as masters of their Socialist State concerned over its might and progress. Just as in all other parts of the U.S.S.R., the postwar Five-Year Plan period has brought to light in Kazakhstan thousands upon thousands of Stakhanovites, innovators in production and agriculture. There are in the republic more than 800 heroes of Socialist labour, innovators in production, experts in boosting the crop yields and Socialist livestock farming.

The Stalin Prize Winner Mukhtar Kaptagayev, a locomotive engineer, the distinguished miner Saken Shakenov, the steel maker Altynbek Daribayev; the copper smelter Ulyan Koshik; the distinguished rice-grower Ibrai Zhakhayev, a Stalin Prize Winner; the distinguished collective farmers Olga Gonazhenko, Darikha Dzhantokhova and Bitai Tatenova, all Heroes of Socialist Labour who raised world record crops of sugar beet; Heroes of Socialist Labour, Zhamal Manapbayeva and Moldakym Musraliev, expert livestock specialists, and many others have won countrywide renown by dint of their selfless labour.

The workers, collective farmers and intellectuals of Soviet Kazakhstan are successfully advancing economy and culture, helping through their peaceful constructive labour to strengthen the might of their Socialist Motherland which is advancing towards Communism.—*Tass News Agency of the U.S.S.R.*

Royal Society Plans Memorial Scholarships for Lord Rutherford

Britain's famed Royal Society is seeking to establish memorial scholarships in honour of Lord Rutherford, the pioneer of nuclear physics. An appeal has been issued for subscriptions to a memorial fund which, it is hoped, will reach a total of £100,000.

The money will be used to set up Rutherford Scholarships tenable for three years, to be awarded to postgraduate students within the British Commonwealth, and a Rutherford Memorial Lecture to be delivered in New Zealand—where the great scientist was born in 1871—and elsewhere in the Commonwealth overseas. It is also proposed to arrange for the publication of his collected papers and for the collection, arrangement and binding of copies of his correspondence.

Rutherford's inspired interpretation of his observations and his genius for experiment, led to practically all we know about the structure of atoms. He developed the theory of the atom in Montreal; the final convincing proof he provided at Manchester, where he showed conclusively that an atom contains a central nucleus which is the seat of intense electric forces.

Through his investigations of the structure of the nucleus itself, he founded in the Cavendish Laboratory, Cambridge, the modern science of nuclear physics. He always worked on problems at the limits of human knowledge, inventing and developing the methods used for observation in these new fields. His uncanny judgement and his sheer energy made him the greatest physical scientist of his age. The practical results of his work—atomic energy and its by-products—followed a lifetime of devotion to the pursuit of knowledge.

It is probable that Rutherford will be remembered equally for his great powers of inspiring others. By his personality and forceful leadership his colleagues and students were stimulated to reach heights of acheivement which they could not have reached alone.

From his laboratories came many of the world's leaders of physical science to-day: all countries have felt the impact of his inspiration through the influence of scientific men trained by him. Moreover he did not confine his interest to purely academic science. For many years, as Chairman of the Advisory Council of the Department of Scientific and Industrial Research, he gave wise guidance to the Government in the encouragement and extension of the use of the scientific method in industry.—*Unesco Courier*

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UNESCO's 6th General Conference

"It is for tomorrow that we are working, but tomorrow begins today." Under this emblem of urgency, the official government representatives of 59 nations will gather together in Paris from June 18 to July 12 to decide on Unesco's course of action for the months to come.

This is the sixth time that delegates will be meeting at a Unesco General Conference. But 1951 is a critical year in which threats of war call more than ever before for co-operative international effort to help construct and guard intact the living fabric of world peace.

Conscious of these pressing requirements, the Executive Board of Unesco has drawn up a new draft programme for submission to the General Conference. It is a programme conceived not in terms of Unesco's theoretical potentialities but in the light of the practical experience of trial and searching gained in recent years. It is a programme that has been scaled down to permit concentration on a number of major practical problems facing the peoples of the world today in education, science and culture. (The 1951 programme contained 294 resolutions; the new draft programme has reduced these by 50 per cent.)

Ignorance is one of the deep-lying causes of conflict and war. Lack of fundamental knowledge for living breeds poverty, disease, under-nourishment and with these despair and violence. Perhaps the boldest and most far-reaching new proposal to be placed before delegates at the 6th General Conference will be a special $20-million, 12-year project for launching a world-wide campaign against ignorance and low standards of living. It has been called "the great campaign of men against their common enemy."

Enemies of the fundamental rights of men and women must resort to oppression which ultimately results in friction and conflict. The widest of the central themes running through the proposed 1952 programme is therefore action in the service of Human Rights. Thus, for example, the conference will be asked to approve new plans first for making these rights more widely known and understood by the peoples of the world. Specific projects, too, will be considered for studying methods of reducing racial discrimination; for an agreement to lift barriers to the free movement between countries of persons travelling for educational, scientific and cultural purposes; and for promoting the effective application of free and compulsory education as set forth in Article 26 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

Three groups of peoples have a special claim to attention in the modern world. They are the workers, women and young people; and special efforts on their behalf dominate the proposed Unesco programme for 1952.

To take one example, the many problems of men and women workers are the focal point of the new adult education programme. One project calls for the establishment in 1952 of an international centre for improving workers' educational methods and for training specialists in this field. The proposed centre which is to be set up in co-operation with international trade unions, will also organize courses for workers, laying special stress on understanding among peoples of the world and the necessity of international co-operation within the framework of the United Nations.



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In addition, Unesco has been working on a broad programme for extending fellowship and travel opportunities for workers. In 1952 individual and group travel grants for them to study abroad are to be arranged through workers' organizations in different countries.

In the same way as for workers, the 1952 programme includes fellowship projects specially designed for young persons, and programmes in every department of Unesco for practical work to be done by young people, outside of school, through youth movements, voluntary work camps, science clubs, etc.

Working for the improvement of the status of women, Unesco will accentuate in 1952 ways of providing them with greater access to education and practical suggestions for the education of women everywhere for world citizenship.

The above examples are intended to convey only an idea of some of the practical themes which Unesco proposes to develop in 1952. There are of course others which are equally important and urgent. No mention, for example, has been made of the technical assistance plan for economic development in which Unesco in already providing and will continue to provide practical help to remedy inequalities of opportunity and means in education, science and culture, which today hamper under-developed countries. Mention should be made, too, of projects proposed for 1952 for increasing Unesco's campaign to teach and explain the principles of collective security and the contribution of the United Nations to peace.

In general, it can be said that in the 1952 programme to be submitted this month for approval by the General Conference, projects of academic interest have been sacrificed to those which have a direct or indirect effect upon present-day world problems and the programme has been given more practical direction throughout.—*Unesco Courier*, June 1951.

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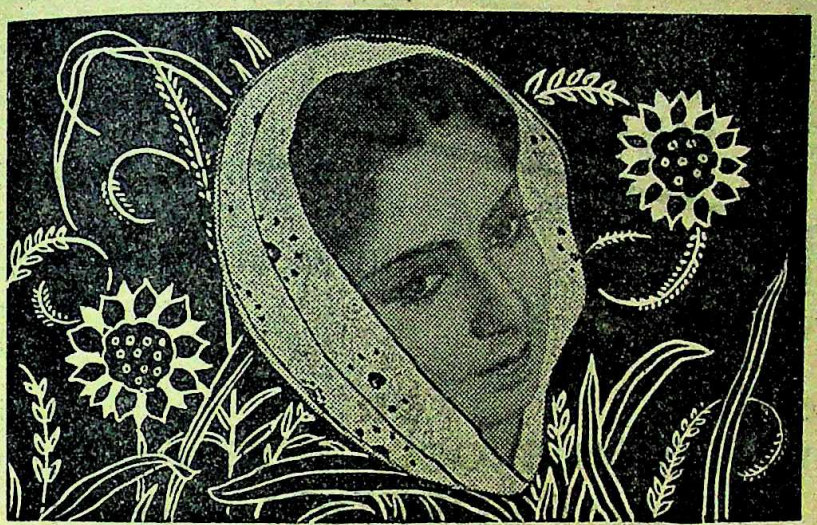
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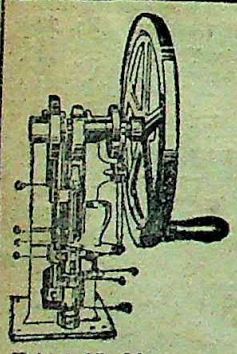
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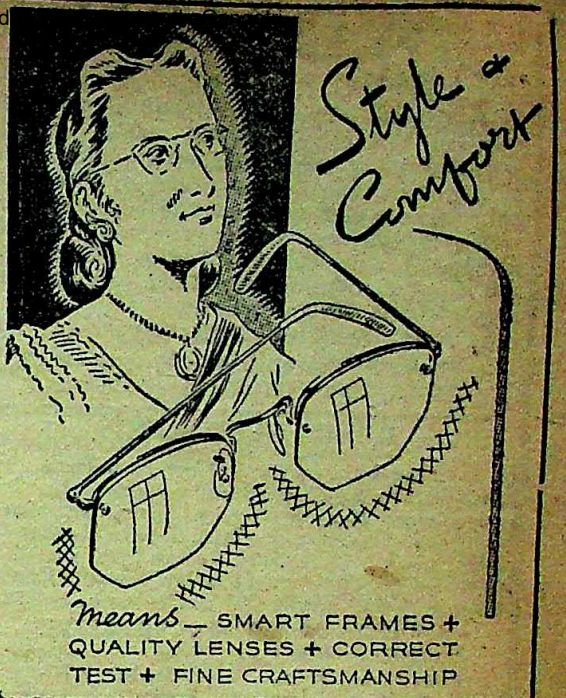
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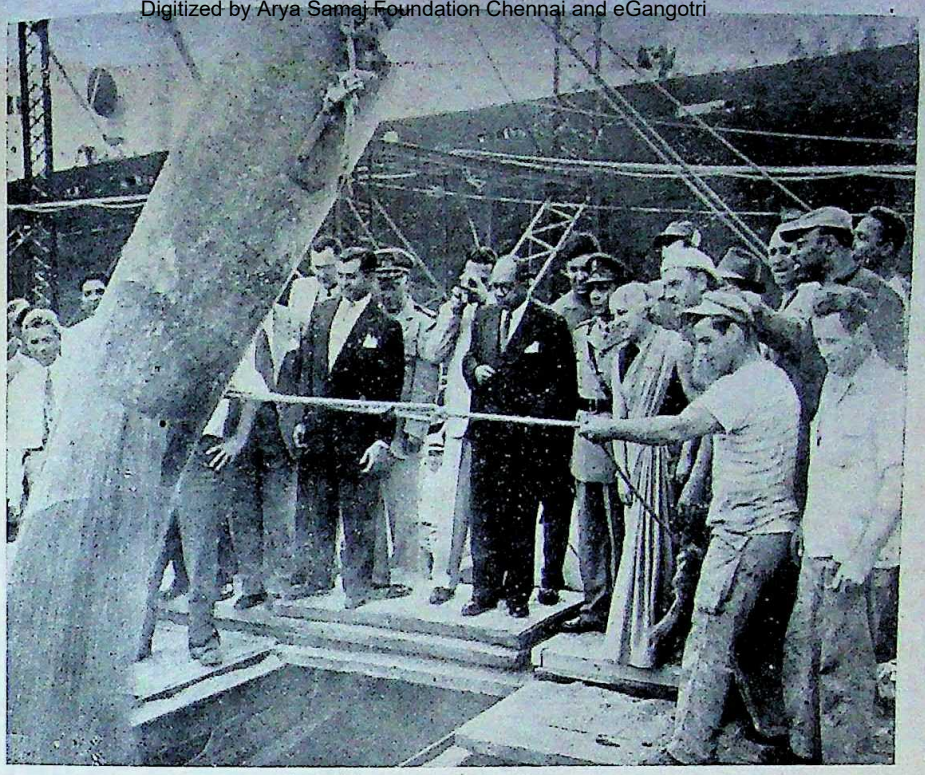
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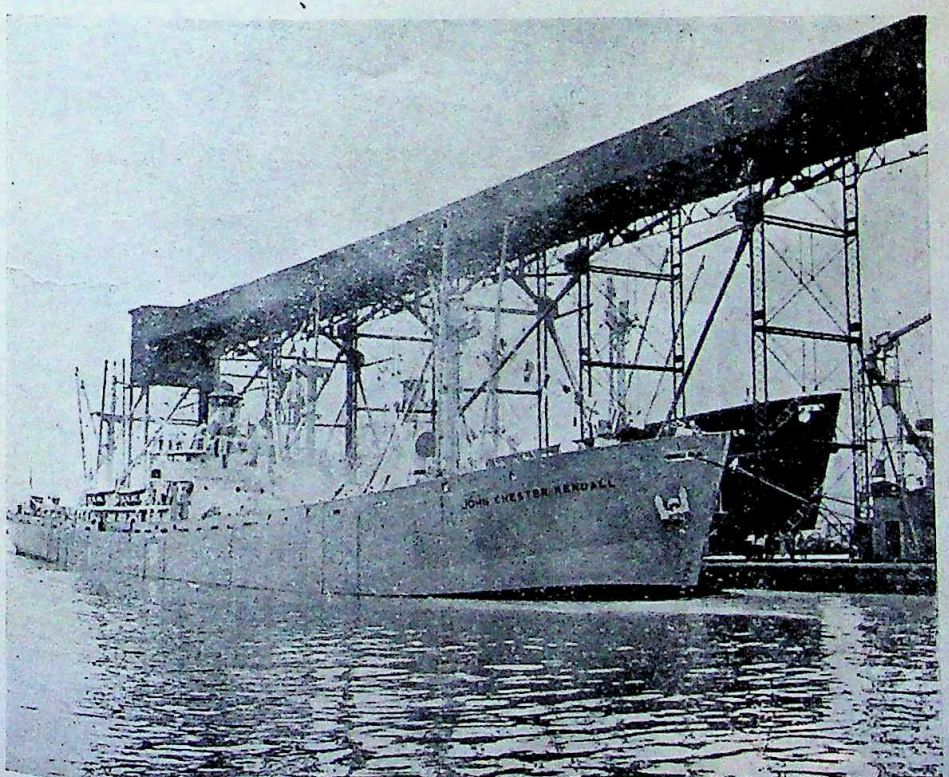
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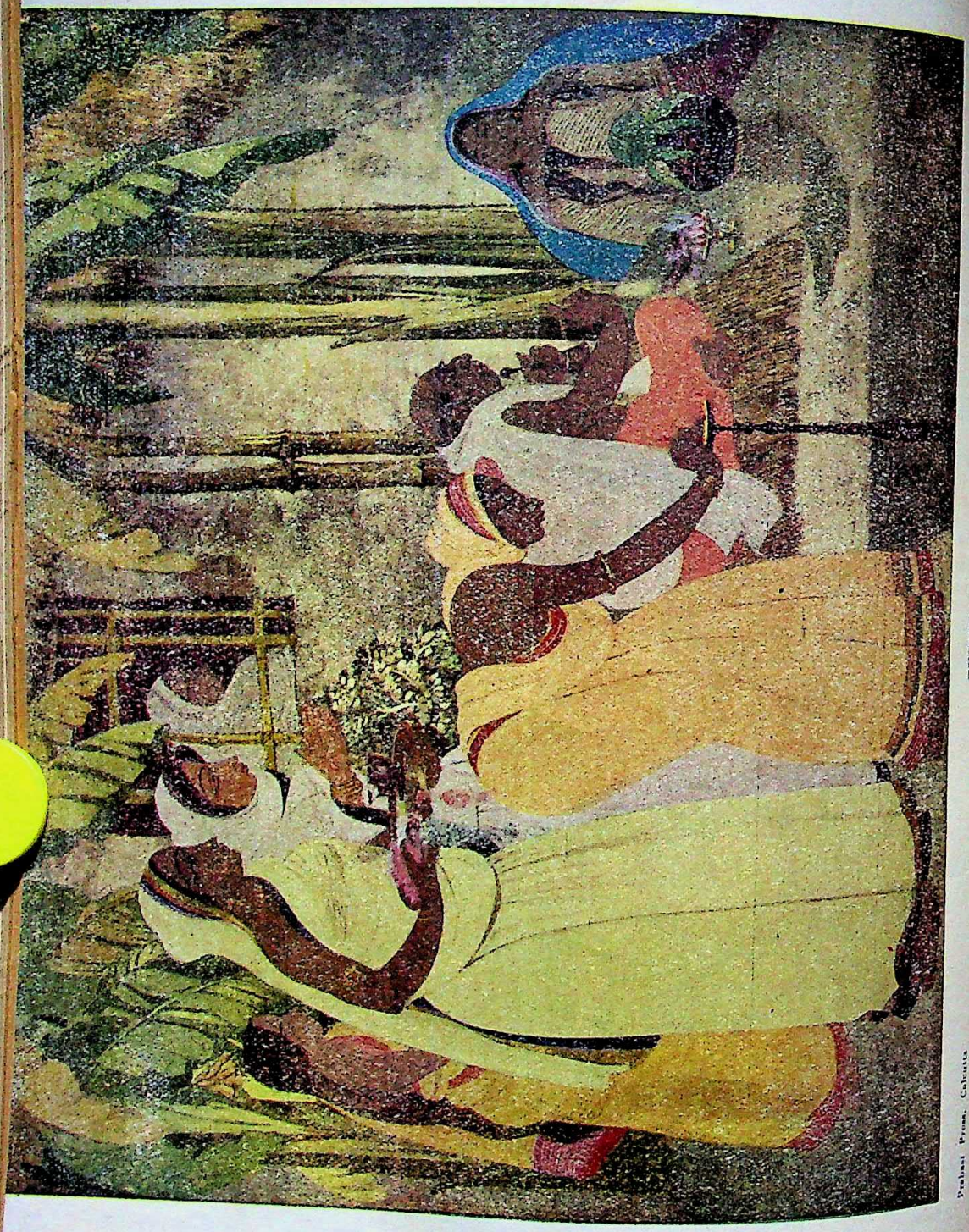
Mrs. Vijayalakshmi Pandit at the Philadelphia dockside ceremony marking the first Emergency Food Aid to India Act shipment of American grain



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By Devipresad Roy Chowdhury

FESTIVAL

Prabasi Press, Calcutta

THE MODERN REVIEW

OCTOBER 1951

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NOTES

Change in Congress Policy

The forthcoming elections are the main headache of the Congress High Command. How Pandit Nehru views the situation is well explained in the following news-items that are culled from the daily press:

"Sri Jawaharlal Nehru, in a speech at Lucknow after his election as Congress President, enunciated the change that would necessarily come in the Congress policy. His effort to bring the seceders back to the Congress-fold and to revitalise the organisation by selecting for the coming elections men of action and integrity who could fight for economic changes and a new social order marked a new and comprehensive change in policy pursued by the Congress for the past few years. It seems that the new President believes more in bringing in and increasing the number of new active and good men into the organisation rather than in a policy of purge. The new President insisted on unity inside the Congress and creating conditions for those who left the Congress to return. He said, 'that would be equal to half the victory at the polls.'

The Congress President, Pandit Nehru, asked members of the U. P. State Congress committee to select men of integrity and ability for the State legislatures and Parliament. He said that the legislators should be men of ability because they were expected to do some work and not merely to raise their hands according to the Party whip. But he declared, amidst thunderous applause from the thousands of visitors present in the hall, above everything else honesty should be the criterion of their selection. He opined that public servants should not only be honest but they should have the reputation of being honest.

Continuing, the Congress President said that the other criterion for the selection of Congress candidates should be their acceptance of the economic programme of the Congress and its approach to the communal question. He warned them that with the Congress coming to power, some opportunists who were formerly opposed to the Congress and even some anti-social elements were trying to join it. They should take into consideration the past of the candidates they selected.

Pandit Nehru said that for him election was not the main issue: It was only a side issue. He wanted to revitalise the Congress and restore the confidence of the people in the Congress. The selection of good candidates would restore the confidence of the people in the Congress and give the Congressmen self-confidence, the lack of which was one of the reasons of the state of affairs that now prevailed in the organisation.

The Congress President said that he was keen on strengthening the Congress, because the Congress had still a role to play in the country, and a vital role. Had there been no Congress today it would have become necessary to build an organisation like that to solve the problems that faced the country at the moment.

He was pained to see that the Congress was becoming an organisation where people did not act, did not even believe, in the resolutions that they passed. In this connection he referred to the case of Sri D. P. Mishra. He added that whatever happened to the Congress was going to affect the destiny of the country as a whole.

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Referring once again to the seceders from the Congress, Pandit Nehru said that some of them wanted to come back while others were indecisive. But they should always keep their doors open and be prepared to welcome them warmheartedly, so that they could come back with honour."

As we gather from the above, Pandit Nehru has confused the issues. It is one thing to bring in "new active and good men," and another matter altogether to bring back those who left the Congress. He has declared "above everything else *honesty should be the criterion of their selection.*" We would ask as to how the honest men could be persuaded to join the ranks of the Congress unless they were sure that a distinction will be made as between them and the dishonest ones who crowd the ranks of the Congress, and who are actively trying to keep them out? Secondly, this affair of the "Prodigal Sons" who left the Congress and are now being welcomed back with open arms. We know and the public knows—indeed Pandit Nehru seems to be the only one that does not know—that a large number of unscrupulous political adventurers, who are adept weather-cocks, are now hurrying to make terms with the Congress for nominations, making that a condition precedent of their return to the fold. We know of notorious political adventurers who are now being backed by Pandit Nehru on that count alone. Unless Pandit Nehru shows discrimination in this matter all his efforts, and all his promises to the country, will end in futility.

The new Congress Executive nominated by him brings in a small infusion of fresh blood as is given in the following news-item:

"Sri Jawaharlal Nehru, Congress President, has nominated the following members to the Working Committee: Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Sri Purushottam Das Tandon, Pandit Govind Vallabh Pant, Sri Morarji Desai, Sri Kamraj Nadar, Sri Shankarrao Deo, Sri Neelam Sanjiva Reddi, Sri Nabakrushna Chaudhuri, Sri Pratap Singh Kairon, Sri B. S. Hiray, Sri Gulzarilal Nanda, Sri Manikyalal Varma, Sri V. I. Muniswami Pillay, Sri Lal Bahadur Shastri and Sri U. Srinivasa Mallayya.

Sri Morarji Desai will be the Treasurer.

Sri Lal Bahadur Shastri and Sri U. Srinivasa Mallayya will be the General Secretaries.

There are still five vacancies in the Committee which will be filled later."

There is nothing in this new committee to show that a new chapter has begun. Perhaps the five places, as yet vacant, are for the new stalwarts. The inclusion of Tandonji is good but it means little in the present set-up.

How the seceders view Pandit Nehru's move is clearly indicated in the following extracts from the editorial of the *Vigil* of September 22:

"It appears that the main task of the new Congress President will be, at least until the coming general elections, to create and sustain an illusion in the country, namely, that the Congress by accepting his stewardship and its concomitants has undergone a basic, qualitative change. In politics, an illusion at times can be a very potent weapon, and in this case, the effectiveness of Pandit Nehru as a vote-getter for the Congress will depend a great deal on how well he succeeds in sustaining the illusion mentioned above. He has set about this task with characteristic energy, employing all his great gifts and the various means at his disposal to create the impression that under his presidentship the Congress is going to be, in moral and ideological overtones, something very different from what it was under Sri Tandon's. He has reshuffled the Congress Working Committee and is endeavouring to secure some changes in the Congress organisation further down at the State level also.

But what can these personnel changes amount to in terms of a real new orientation of the Congress? At the moment Pandit Nehru's mind seems concentrated on the idea that if he can bring back a notable few among those who left the Congress and formed the Praja Party he will have persuaded the country that the Congress has reformed itself. He is trying to achieve this by putting pressure on the Pradesh Congress bosses to receive a few of the more prominent dissidents back in their old places. This strategy, however, is not likely to succeed except to a very limited extent. . . . It seems the majority groups in all the States, after having bowed low to Pandit Nehru in Delhi, have on their return to their own territories stiffened their backs. This reaction was inevitable."

Without subscribing to the general tenor of the editorial, we are inclined to agree that at present the change in the Congress is illusory. A man cannot be said to have reformed by merely turning his coat twice. The contract getting, permit selling and corruption inducing factors will remain unless the corrupt men are purged. In this matter the following extracts from the resolutions passed by the Kerala Round Table Group, as published in the *Harijan* of September 22, are of considerable import, if good men are to come in. A man who would earn lakhs by illicit means through his position in the Parliament or the Legislature will more readily spend thousands for his own election than he whose sole motive is service to the nation. And the same applies to political groups:

Resolution No. 4.—"A declaration and practical demonstration should be made by right-thinking people that a life based on Truth *in every department* of life can be a practical, workable proposition on this earth."

"The practice of collecting political funds needs more vigilant watching. Political propaganda in the form of newspapers, pamphlets, etc., are highly commendable. The provision for public speeches before

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elections and the supply of agents at election booths have nothing wrong in them. But the candidates providing transport and paying money to influence voting is unmitigated corruption. Success at such a cost is not worth having. Because there is not sufficient public opinion against such corrupt practices, political funds are built up by questionable channels. A political party with Gandhiji as the ideal has no justification to tolerate, not even connive at, such practices. Public opinion is to be created that we shall not have candidates elected under such conditions."

"Newspaper propaganda has considerably deteriorated in the country. Exaggerations and misrepresentations and indecent personal attacks have to be eradicated."

"Controls have often become similarly items of disruption and corruptoin. In any case, permit-holders and contractors to Government should not be nominated as candidates and if they stand should not be supported by the electorate."

Resolution No. 11.—"If the public are to support any nominees in the next election, the parties or local bodies are to insist on a written undertaking by the candidate—

(i) that he would spend at least 5 days in a month in the constituency, addressing the public bodies in the area and meeting them during weeks when the Assembly or its Committee, of which he is a member, is not in session; and

(ii) that he would resign within a week in case three-fourths of the elected *Panchayat* or Municipal members of the constituency in a meeting, after offering him a chance to explain any alleged misconduct or neglect, calls on him to resign. Notice may be given also for the above meeting to any party on whose ticket the candidate was elected.

"It is also stipulated that preference will be given to candidates who undertake to maintain truthfully in detail their election expenses and earnings as Assembly members or Ministers, including daily or travelling allowances, remunerations got for representations before Ministers and the Government on behalf of others, and place them before the public."

Kashmir Consembly

The National Conference Election Board has announced the names of 45 candidates who will contest the Constituent Assembly Elections on behalf of the National Conference from Kashmir Province. The Conference is contesting all the 45 seats allotted to the province by the Delimitation Committee. Applications from the Jammu Province are being considered. Kaushak Bakula, head Lama of Ladakh, will contest from Leh as a National Conference Candidate.

The foreign reaction to this election is mixed. On one hand we have forced disregard and on the other a garbled presentation as in the *Newsweek* of New York of September 17:

"The State Department is worried over India's apparent determination to force the Kashmir issue. An *India-sponsored Kashmir leader* now is calling for immediate election of what he calls a Kashmir constituent assembly which would determine the fate of the territory, claimed by both India and Pakistan. Since this election would permit only a single slate of candidates and would be held in an area dominated by the Indian army, there isn't much doubt about how the voting would turn out."

We do not know what is the source from which the *Newsweek* got this curiously twisted information. It shows total ignorance about the election conditions, both in Kashmir and in India, where the Congress is facing an extremely difficult and uphill task. As for terming Sheikh Abdullah "an India-sponsored Kashmir leader," we would only say that if the *Newsweek's* presentation of European and Asiatic news is on the same level, then it should caption all such news as fiction. Evidently such comments are made—rather manufactured—within the four walls of the office without the least effort at securing or looking up background material.

Meanwhile Pakistan has turned on heat again. Perhaps that is because of the dilemma in which Liaquat Ali and others of the same ilk have been placed in, with regard to the rebellious Pakhtoons and discontented refugees. With regard to the latter Sri Ramani gives the following figures in the *Vigil* of September 22:

Unit	*Muslim Refugees*	*Evacuees.*	*Increase or Decrease*
Punjab	48,82,000	39,40,000	plus 9,42,000
NWF Province	51,000	2,69,000	—2,18,000
Sind	5,61,000	9,00,000	—3,39,000
Baluchistan	29,000	31,000	— 2,100
Khairpur	11,000	46,000	— 35,100
Karachi	5,43,000	1,72,000	plus 3,71,000

Europe and the Cold War

The situation in Europe is well summed up, by the *World Interpreter* of August 10. Little has changed since then. We give the relevant extracts:

"Washington's desperate outcries over a possible letdown in the arms effort are directed less to the American people than to the peoples and governments of West Europe. Despite General Eisenhower's personal persuasiveness and ability, the military assistance program has fostered jealousy instead of unity, is running behind schedule, and is still widely unpopular.

"The truth is hard to estimate because of optimistic propaganda and numerous contradictions. *Life* magazine says, 'Ike revives Western Europe's will power and makes real progress toward restoring her fighting

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strength.' *Newsweek*, more accurately, asserts U. S. defense officials are heavy-hearted, having assessed the situation with unwarranted optimism from the first.

"A measure of unification has been obtained, and five countries—Italy, France, Belgium, Luxemberg and West Germany—have signed a statement calling for an eventual pooling of arms. But even this limited plan, which leaves out other North Atlantic Pact nations, had to list under "disagreements" the vital questions of how many troops each country would supply, and how much of the cost each would bear.

"Although Eisenhower has made a few blunders, such as holding one important press conference entirely in English without an interpreter, he has been well liked and has met the many problems with vigor. Off the record, however, European leaders are already stating that their worst fears have been proved well grounded. No one has yet found a way by which the European countries, even with American help, can maintain the arms drive and keep a standard of living high enough to retain support for several of the most deeply involved governments. It was to stiffen these functionaries that Secretary Acheson told Congress no less than 25 billion dollars in arms help would be required during the next three years.

"Admission of Greece and Turkey to NATO (North Atlantic Treaty Organisation) continues to divide Pact countries. The Americans see this step as one which would bring added strength; other NATO countries believe it would result in weakness."

Regarding the wooing of Franco's Spain we get the following from the same source :

"More than bases for possible wartime use was involved in the discussions and arrangements between the Spanish Fascist regime and the late Admiral Forrest Sherman. Spain, ostensibly a pure anti-Communist country, had been shipping substantial quantities of copper, and probably mercury, to Russia. The sales were made through secret channels, but were known to Washington, which wanted to get the precious minerals for the West."

We also get the following information regarding the armed forces of the Soviet satellites in the same issue:

"Although precise information on the extent of the armed forces in the Russian satellite countries is difficult to get, the authoritative Royal Institute of International Affairs at London has published new figures. These coincide with those obtained by *Worldover Press* correspondents, and are a bit more conservative than estimates recently made public by Marshal Tito in Yugoslavia. The figures run as follows : Polish army, 450,000 plus 200,000 armed police; Czechoslovak army, 250,000 plus 150,000 armed police; Hungarian army, 180,000 plus 120,000 armed police; Bulgarian army, 180,000 plus 100,000 armed police; Albanian army, 60,000 plus 20,000 armed police; Romanian army, 280,000 plus 150,000 armed police. These units total more than 2,000,000."

Korea

The position in Korea is well summed up in the following extracts from the *Newsweek* of New York in its September 17 issue :

A new unknown soldier, identified only as "GI-X," was killed somewhere in Korea last week. He was the 1,000,000th American fighting man to fall in battle since the first Minute Man died at Lexington on April 19, 1775. He would not be the last. The end of the Korean war, which had already cost 81,766 American casualties (including 13,707 dead and 10,632 missing) seemed farther away than at any time since the Kaesong truce talks began July 10.

Already Gen. Matthew B. Ridgway's GHQ was charging: "Kaesong is a prime example of how a 'peace' conference can be dragged out ad infinitum when the Reds have no intention of doing more than play politics with human lives." On September 6 Ridgway himself told the Red high command that their "baseless and intentionally false" accusations of United Nations violations of Kaesong's neutrality made it "plainly evident" that any further use of Kaesong was foredoomed. He proposed "the selection of a new site" as soon as the Reds, who broke off the talks August 23, were ready to resume.

Pending genuine truce talks, the battle, not the green baize table, was again the payoff. In Korea's mountainous spine, the U.S. Second Infantry Division climaxed a limited U.N. offensive, involving also the First Marine, Seventh Infantry, and three ROK divisions and the Ethiopian Battalion, by grabbing the mile-long hog-back "Bloody Ridge," north of Yanggu, on which one-third of a million shells had rained. In the Western flatlands, the Chinese broke an unofficial, two-month-long cease-fire. Buttressed by Russian-made tanks for the first time since winter, they threw sudden, savage assaults against U.N. outposts. Ominously, a T-34 tank regiment was reported rumbling into the Kaesong neutral zone itself.

Whatever weakness American intelligence may have shown in the past, there is not the slightest disposition today to discount the evidence—presumably based on information from Allied agents behind enemy lines, prisoner-of-war interrogation, aerial reconnaissance, intricate G-2 formulas applied to truck traffic, etc.—that the Communists have made use of the truce-talk lull to carry out their biggest build-up to date.

Manpower : The once battered North Korean and Chinese divisions had been fleshed out, refitted, and reinforced from replacement depots stretching all the way to Mukden in Manchuria. Also, the Reds now have what General Ridgway's GHQ calls "large numbers of Caucasian Soviet puppet troops." Although their number is secret, Tokyo censorship has cleared a perhaps conservative guess that they total 5,000. They come from the European satellites.

Whereas they used to be able to keep going for only a week, they might now sustain a big push for three

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or four times as long. Ammo dumps have been piled up in forward areas as if to beef up a renewed assault. Of the 500 Red tanks, 50 to 100, which possibly are operated by Caucasians, have been massed near the Imjin River's big bend close to the invasion corridors leading to the South Korean capital of Seoul.

Ack-Ack : Caucasians are believed to be manning the anti-aircraft batteries now protecting three key urban areas, especially Pyongyang, the North Korean capital. Although only 4 per cent of U.N. aircraft losses are due to Red planes, 30 per cent are caused by ground fire.

Aircraft : To obtain longer range for the 1,000 aircraft (a rock-bottom estimate) in Manchuria, the Reds are using some Caucasian engineers to help keep ten Korean airbases, plus ten small strips, operational in the face of almost clockwork plastering from the air.

Press Laws Bill

The Press Laws Bill has been introduced in the Parliament. Prime Minister Nehru has assured Press men that he would consider the question of appointing a Press Commission as early as possible. He said that he had given up thinking about it because the representatives of the Press did not show any enthusiasm about it. But as the working journalists had pressed for it, he would consider it again. But he said that the Commission could not be set up before bringing the proposed Press Laws Bill before the Parliament, as it would then involve some delay in the consideration of the Bill. The Prime Minister said that if a Commission was appointed it would take six months or more to submit its report. But the government thought that without waiting for its appointment or report, they should introduce the Press Laws Bill and repeal certain out-of-date laws, etc.

Meanwhile, Press reports indicate that the Press Laws Bill drafted by the Home Ministry is not confined to repeal of existing obnoxious Press Laws. Demand and forfeiture of security deposits has been provided for in the Bill, the only reassuring feature being that this will be done under a process of law and appeal will lie to High Court against the decisions. Security deposit could be demanded under the following objectionable matters: (a) Indecent scurrilous writings, (b) To overthrow the government by violent means, (c) To undermine the administration of law, *i.e.*, Law Courts and law and order of the states and the centre, (d) Creating hatred and enmity among classes of citizens, (e) Not to tamper with procurement of foodstuffs, (f) Not to tamper with the duty and services of the police, army and government servants.

If it be the desire of the government as expressed by the Prime Minister, to introduce the Press Laws Bill for the purpose of repealing obnoxious Press Laws, there should be no two opinion about it. But when the Bill contains positive and penal provisions, it will be wise and worthy of the Government to wait for the report of the proposed Press Commission. Six months' delay will be much less harmful than the imposition of unpopular Press Laws.

Press Bill in Select Committee

The Home Minister, Sri C. Rajagopalachari, on September 7, moved reference of the Press Bill to a Select Committee. He proposed a Committee of 34 members. Sri Deshbandhu Gupta, President of the All-India Newspaper Editors' Conference declined to serve on the Select Committee because he did not agree with the very principle of the Bill. He said that it was a discriminating Bill. It discriminated between the freedom of expression allowed to the individual and the freedom allowed to a newspaper. That was a very dangerous principle.

In the concluding portion of his speech, Sri Gupta said, Sri Rajagopalachari said that members of the Press had asked for special privileges but when Government brought forward special legislation, the Press took a different stand.

"I want to make it clear," said Sri Gupta, "that the Press of India has never demanded any special privileges. All that they demanded at the time of Constitution-making, when the Fundamental Rights were being considered by the Constituent Assembly, was that there should be a specific provision guaranteeing the freedom of the Press."

"There was nothing special about it. When it was explained by the Law Minister that freedom of expression included freedom of the Press the representatives of the Press in the House and the Press in general in the country were satisfied."

As a matter of fact, Sri Gupta continued, "The stand that the Press of India, the Commonwealth and other democratically governed countries have taken is that the same amount of freedom which is guaranteed to an individual citizen should also be guaranteed to the Press. We want neither special privileges nor special penalties. We want neither any special treatment by way of concessions nor any special laws to fetter our freedom."

Government, he said, should consider whether, after having made "so many assertions here and outside the House that the Press of India is a free Press and no disability attaches to it," there was any need for any special legislation to deal with the Press.

Sri Gupta said that sufficient time had not been given to the House, to the Press and to the country to consider this very important Bill. The measure was not textually brought before the Standing Committee attached to the Home Ministry. He was indebted to the Home Minister for having agreed to meet the members of the Standing Committee of the All-India Newspaper Editors' Conference but there also the text was not available. That was why he had tabled a motion for circulation.

Obviously, the main object of bringing forward the Bill was to allay the fears or apprehensions of the Press, which it entertained at the time of the amendment of the Constitution if that was so, what objec-

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tion could Government have to give time to the Press and to the country to express their views on the measure?

The impression created by the speech of the Minister, said Sri Gupta, was that the bill was a very liberal one and that some fundamental changes had been made in the Press Laws of India in favour of the Press.

To meet that argument, he added, it was necessary to go into the history of Press Laws in India. It was in 1857, after India's first War of Independence, that the British Government, for the first time, introduced a measure which imposed absolute control on newspapers. That measure was just for one year and no more. In 1878, the Vernacular Press Act was passed, confined to the language papers. That law was limited to three years.

Except for that brief interval, the Press of India was governed by the ordinary law of the land until 1908. In 1908, the first important Press Act, called the Newspapers (Incitement to Offences) Act was passed. That Act introduced for the first time the principle of imposing previous restraints on newspapers in the form of demanding securities. It was followed by the hated Press Act of 1910, which gave much wider power to Government. Those two Acts held the field for about twelve years until 1921.

In 1921, a committee was appointed by Government to consider the question of repealing these two Acts. On the recommendations of that Committee, the two Acts were repealed in 1922 on the ground that they were emergency measures and that the political situation had undergone great changes since 1910.

From 1922 to 1930, the Press of India was again governed by the ordinary law of the land. That was a fact which had, perhaps, escaped the attention of the Home Minister.

During the Civil Disobedience Movement in 1930, again the British Government issued an ordinance to deal with the Press. That ordinance was followed in 1931 by the Emergency Powers Act. That was the Act on which the Home Minister had based his bill.

Sri Gupta said it was noteworthy that that Act was to remain in force for one year only, though it could be extended from time to time and later made part of the permanent law. The Legislature, which passed the original Act, conceived that a measure like that could not be on the Statute permanently.

In the original Act, he continued, there were only two clauses. Other clauses were added later. "Objectionable matter" was defined and Government were empowered to require the keeper of a press and the publisher of a newspaper respectively to deposit security up to Rs. 1,000 which might be increased to Rs. 3,000 if any previous keeper or publisher had been required to deposit security. It was provided further that the security should be refunded if no offence was committed within a period of three months.

Sri Gupta said, he did not have the figures, but he was sure that securities were forfeited in very few cases during that three-month period.

Another measure affecting the Press, which replaced the Ordinance of 1931, was the Foreign Relations Act of 1932, he added. In 1934, the Indian States Protection Act was passed. Then came the Second World War and the Defence of India Rules were promulgated. Those rules, of course, gave wide powers to Government for controlling the Press. On September 30, 1946, the Defence of India Rules came to an end. During the course of 1946 and 1947, most of the Provincial Governments enacted ordinances to deal with the situation. Those ordinances were in due course replaced by temporary emergency legislation—the Public Safety Acts—by the State Legislatures.

Sri Gupta stated the provisions of those emergency enactments, in so far as they related to the Press, referred to the imposition of precensorship, control of publication, etc. The Home Minister seemed to think that pre-censorship had been part of the Press Law for all time in the country.

"It has never been so," said Sri Gupta, "precensorship was no part of the Emergency Powers Act of 1931. It was no part of the Press Act of 1910. It was no part of the Act of 1908. Of course, during the war, the Defence Rules were there but they were an emergency measure and we have already got ample emergency powers to deal with such a situation."

"It was only in 1946 and 1947 that the Provincial Governments, probably in order to deal with the after-effects of the war introduced this element of precensorship in the Statute. Is it contended seriously that these emergency measures, which for the first time provided for precensorship, are to last for ever? Is it really a concession if that precensorship is withdrawn? On the other hand, Government should not have waited for so long to withdraw this previous restraint which is so undemocratic and which interferes with the Press."

When the Defence of India Rules ceased to operate, Sri Gupta added, Press of India renewed its demand for removal of the objectionable features of the Press Law. The late Sardar Patel was kind enough to agree to the appointment of a Press Law Enquiry Committee which reported in May, 1948. The recommendations of the Committee had been before Government since May, 1948. But when he, Sri Gupta, asked the Prime Minister during the debate on the Constitution (First Amendment) Bill what had happened to the recommendations of the Committee, the Prime Minister replied that he had not seen them. The Home Minister, however, had said earlier that since the Constitution had given full freedom to the Press, most of the recommendations of the Committee

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had become unnecessary. That was the position before the Constitution was amended.

Sri Gupta moved for incubation of the Bill for eliciting public opinion. He warned that if the Bill was passed "the little reputation we have built upon the eyes of the world will be tarnished." In his second day's speech he pointed out that out of the 34 clauses of the Bill as many as 16 had been bodily lifted from the Press Ememgency Powers Act of 1931 without caring for the effect they would create.

He added Clause 3 relating to "objectionable matters" was "not only most important but also most objectionable." It was very wide and extensive and if it was passed in this form "it will amount to perpetual injunction on the Press not to publish anything which may be covered by this Clause." Impression had been given to the House that Government was repealing the Act of 1931 and the other repressive laws, but "I find in these eight sub-clauses there is nothing which will not cover the existing repressive measures."

In fact the sub-clauses were "much wider than they are to be found anywhere in the existing law. They would be able to gag any criticism of the Government." "Any agitation against continuation of control or that control which breeds corruption can be brought within the purview of the sub-clause of Clause 3. Sub-clause 6 dealt with 153A of the Penal Code which had been declared unconstitutional by the Punjab High Court. But it had not only been reviewed but significant change had been made in the wording widening the scope of the offence. Sub-clause 7 corresponded to section 363 of the Indian Penal Code. This sub-clause was not to be found in the Press Emergency Powers Act, this was a new clause which gave wide power to the Government to take action against newspapers. It would thus be found that not only Clause 3 included substantially all the repressive provisions of the existing law but new clauses had been added to widen its scope. It is for the House to decide whether the Minister is right in claiming that the Emergency Powers Act of 1931 has been repealed and the recommendations of the Press Laws Enquiry Committee in this regard have been carried out."

Sri Gupta quoted the *Hindu* of Madras which said that Clause 3 was provided out of "suspicion and distrust of the Press which was the characteristic feature of the British rule." The *Hindu* said that the present law was sufficient to meet the situation.

Rajaji: But *Hindu* has said that the present law is bad. The Hon'ble Member's argument was better.

Sri Gupta: All imaginable things which a paper can comment have been brought within the purview of the "objectionable matters."

Referring to clauses 4 and 5 he asked, "Is it the intention of the Government not to make it possible for a newspaper to reappear if it has committed an offence? Is it also the intention of the Government that the Press, which was used to print that paper should be closed for printing all other matters?"

"That shows," he added, "the disregard from the practical point of view which Government has for printing press proprietors. The Section said if a publication printed an objectionable matter, the editor and the keeper of the Press be asked to deposit securities and if securities were not deposited the press be prevented from doing any work. I wonder if the Minister has pictured in his mind the working of small papers which are printed in small press. It is not expected that the keeper of the press is to act as censor on what is printed in them."

Sri Gupta said that the whole conception of the Bill was based on vicarious liability. He added that Clause 32 was the most objectionable feature of the Bill. It provided for the editor or the keeper of the press being prosecuted and punished twice for the same offence which was obviously contrary to the letter and spirit of the Constitution.

On September 12 the debate on the Press Bill took a new turn when Congress Party members came out in support of the measure. The only opposition that day came from Dr. S. P. Mookerjee who, in a powerful speech, described the Bill as a "revised version of the notorious Press Act of 1931." The mailed fist might be covered with a little velvet, he said, but the mailed fist was there nonetheless.

Pandit H. N. Kunzru supported the motion for circulation and said that the Government had failed to make out any case in favour of the Bill.

In his reply the Home Minister said that the ordinary law was inadequate to deal with the Press. He said that reference had been made to the proposed Press Commission. The Press Commission, referred to by the Prime Minister, was intended for certain purposes which had nothing to do with the matter of this Bill. The aims and objects of such a Commission had been explained by the Prime Minister. It has to go round, take evidence and see things as to how newspapers are produced and managed and things of that kind and not much to do with the content of newspapers.

Hindu Code Bill

The Indian Parliament resumed consideration of Clause 2 of the Hindu Code Bill which had been carried forward from the last Session. 32 amendments to the clause were moved, Dr. S. P. Mookerjee strongly supported the demand for making the application of the Code optional. He raised a very pertinent question when he said that it was nobody's case that monogamy was good for the Hindus or Buddhists or Sikhs alone. Why not have a separate Bill dealing only with monogamy and make it applicable to all citizens. The real reason was that the Government dared not touch the Muslim

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Community. Let the Law Minister declare that at least the portion of this Bill dealing with monogamy will be made applicable to all.

A piquant situation has arisen over the Bill. It is understood that President Rajendra Prasad recently discussed the Bill with the Prime Minister. His views appear to be that the present Parliament has no mandate to pass the Bill which would be almost a revolutionary measure and deeply affect the structure of the Hindu society. The President is understood to have requested the Prime Minister to drop the Bill. But Sri Nehru is determined to go ahead with it in the current session. Probably this was the background when Dr. Ambedkar stated in the Parliament that as soon as the end of Chapter 2 of the Bill dealing with monogamy, marriage and divorce was reached it was his intention to move certain suitable amendments to make that chapter self-contained and get that part of the Code passed. The intention of the government, he said, was to make that chapter an independent Code.

With regard to the other sections of the Code, he added, under the Rules, two courses were open. One was at the end of Chapter 2 a closure might be moved and the rest of the Code be negatived, so that Government might withdraw the rest of the portion and take their own time to bring in another self-contained code later on other subjects such as inheritance, adoption, etc.

The second course, Dr. Ambedkar explained, which was also permissible under the existing rules of procedure would be to take up the whole Code part by part and pass them by stages. That procedure, if adopted, would mean that when they reached the end of Chapter 2, they could have that Chapter adopted and leave the rest of the Code for the future Parliament to pass.

This clarification was given by the Law Minister when the Chair requested him to make it clear as to whether the scope of Clause 2 of the Bill, which related to the applicability of the Code would be restricted only to provisions relating to marriage and divorce or would also apply to other sections of the Code dealing inheritance and property. It was necessitated when Sardar Bhopinder Singh Mann in his remarks on Clause 2 began to deal with the general principles and sought to exclude the Sikhs from the purview of the Code.

The Deputy Speaker said that if the scope of Clause 2 would apply to other provisions of the code also other than to the clauses relating to marriage and divorce, he could not preclude members from referring to the general principles. Then passage of even the limited provisions of the Bill during the current session would become difficult for want of time.

The Prime Minister also intervened and said that so far as Government was concerned, they stood by the whole of the Bill. But due to difficulty of time and other difficulties, they had decided to adopt Part 2 of the Bill during the current session and leave the other parts to some subsequent date. That did not mean that they had dropped the other parts of the Code. But speaking from practical experience as there was no chance they should adopt the said procedure.

We consider that it would have been much better to extend the scope of this portion of the Code, make it an all-embracing Marriage, Divorce and Monogamy Bill applicable to all sections of the citizens irrespective of religion. This would have gone a great way to lay the foundation of a unified citizenship in this country.

India and Japan

India has refused to sign the American Draft of the Japanese Peace Treaty placed at the San Francisco Conference. Prior to this Conference, the Prime Minister of India announced that India would not claim any war reparations from Japan. India chose her own line of action in respect of the Jap Peace Treaty and announced that the State of War with Japan would end as soon as the Peace Treaty signed at San Francisco came into force.

Meanwhile ludicrous comments—displaying the magnitude of American ignorance about Asia and the Asiatics—are appearing in the U.S.A. press. For example, the following appears in the *Newsweek* of September 17 :

The gap left by India and Burma is something for them to worry about. Nehru's claim to speak for the free peoples of Asia has been repudiated as sharply as Gromyko's.

The following is the text of the correspondence between India and Japan :

Letter dated 8th September, 1951, to the Japanese Acting Foreign Minister, Mr. S. Matsuani, from Sri K. K. Chettur :

"In accordance with the statements made by the Prime Minister of India in regard to the Japanese Peace Treaty and the declared intention of the Government of India to terminate the State of War between India and Japan at the earliest possible date and to establish full diplomatic relations between the two countries, I have the honour to enclose herewith a draft notification which the Government of India propose to issue simultaneously with the coming into force of the peace treaty which is scheduled for signature at the conference now in session at San Francisco.

"In expressing the hope that the above proposal will be acceptable to the Government of Japan, the Government of India would be grateful for an early reply."

Letter dated Sepember 10, 1951 from Mr. Matsuani to Sri Chettur:

"I have the honour to acknowledge with thanks the receipt of your letter dated September 8, 1951, with which you enclosed a draft notification which the Government of India propose to issue simultaneously with the coming into force of the Japanese Peace Treaty which has just been signed at San Francisco.

"On behalf of the Japanese Government I have the honour to state that the Japanese Government heartily welcomes the intention of the Government of India to

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terminate the state of war between Japan and India and to establish full diplomatic relations between the two countries."

Following is the text of the draft notification which India proposes to make :

"It is hereby notified for general information that the Government of India, bearing in mind that active hostilities with Japan were ended by Japan's signature of the instrument of surrender nearly six years ago and that a Treaty of Peace with Japan has been concluded and signed at San Francisco on the 8th September, 1951, by a large number of the Allied Powers, have determined that the State of War between India and Japan shall cease to exist as soon as the said Treaty of Peace comes into force for any State in accordance with the provisions contained in Article 23 thereof.

The Government of India propose to conclude at the earliest practicable date a separate bilateral Treaty of Peace with Japan whereby the relations between themselves and the Government of Japan could be brought into conformity with the amity which existed between them before the declaration of war with Japan.

In that treaty the Government of India intend to stipulate provisions which will secure to themselves and the nationals of India all the rights, privileges, indemnities and advantages, together with the right to enforce the same, which under the Treaty of San Francisco have been stipulated in favour of the Allied Powers and their nationals."

The following is Article 23 of the Japanese Peace Treaty which is referred to in India's notification terminating the State of War between India and Japan :

(a) "The present treaty shall be ratified by the States which sign it, including Japan, and will come into force for all the States which have then ratified it, when instruments of ratification have been deposited by Japan and by a majority, including the United States of America as the principal occupying Power, or for the following States, namely, Australia, Burma, Canada, Ceylon, France, India, Indonesia, the Netherland, New Zealand, Pakistan, the Philippines, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, and the United States of America. The present treaty shall come into force for each State which subsequently ratifies it, on the date of the deposit of the instrument or ratification.

(c) If the treaty has not come into force within nine months after the date of the deposit of Japan's ratifioation, any State which has ratified it may bring the treaty into force between itself and Japan by a notification to that effect given to the Government of Japan and of the United States of America not later than three years after the date of deposit of Japan's ratification."

Education of "Our Masters"

We do not know whether or not the British Conservative Party's Education Minister was serious when he used these words where the 'masses' in Britain were first restored votes in 1867. But the words have taken root; and modern science has put in the hands of States instruments to 'educate' the voters and mould their opinion. Our Information Minister, Shree R. R. Diwaker, is fully conscious of this new opportunity. In course of a recent broadcast he referred to 'documentaries' as a means of mass education.

"I do not think we have any other medium by which we can approach the rural masses who live in the villages. Today the documentaries that we produce and our news-reels are shown in 3000 cinemas, 900 of them being rural mobile cinemas which go from place to place. In addition 250 Publicity vans of the different States also take advantage of these films and on a modest calculation it is computed that about 50 crores see these films and news-reels every year. If the value and importance of documentaries and newsreels are realised by the India Government, they should also try to raise their tone and expand their scope. For documentaries there is a vast field as indicated above. If we really feel proud of our getting the Venice prize on 'Rajasthan,' let us take a pledge to make more documentaries like that in the vast field before us."

A Politician's Plight

Pandit Dwarka Prasad Mishra, Madhya Pradesh's ex-Home Minister, has brought down some amount of unpopularity on himself. If he had resigned, as dictated to by his political conscience, made the customary statement explaining his desire to retire from the Congress, people would have been only sorry. But his Press interview on the eve of resignation, and the statement made to the Assembly, has resulted in the Nagpurians burning his effigy after a procession. He wanted his statements to administer a few 'shocks' to India's Prime Minister as would 'knock off dictatorship out of his mind.'

But, he need not despair. If he can keep silent only for a few years, we have no doubt that his present detractors will welcome him as the prodigal son returned with Pandit Govindas at their head. But the silence must be sincere. And our recipe is a course of constructive work. It will make a new man of him.

Estimates Committee Recommendations

Action has been taken by the Central Government on a number of recommendations made by the Estimates Committee. Detailed information about the actions taken has been placed in the Parliament by Sri Mahabir Tyagi, Minister of State for Finance:

"In pursuance of an important recommendation, the External Affairs Ministry has closed down a number of commercial establishments abroad including those in Baghdad, Prague, Toronto (Canada), and Brussels. Reduction in the commercial staff was effected in Tokyo, Kabul, Teheran and Rio-de-Janeiro.

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"As a result of these measures the national exchequer would be saved from an expenditure of Rs. 12,10,000 annually.

"The Ministry of Works, Mines and Power has accepted the recommendation that private enterprise should be encouraged to take up the work of discovering and developing the sources of wealth in addition to the work done by the Geological Department.

"Another suggestion of the Committee that a special mining cess should be imposed for the development of the Geological Survey of India has, however, been turned down by the Government.

"The recommendation made regarding a thorough overhaul of the C.P.W.D. with a number of retrenchments was still under examination.

"The Hydro-Electric Branch of the Central Water, Irrigation and Navigation Commission (C.W.I.N.C.) has been abolished in accordance with another recommendation of the Committee.

"Enquiries have also been instituted into the working of the stores purchase machinery and that of the uneconomic salt factories of the Government.

"An economy of Rs. 25,000 a year has been brought about by reorganising the Estate Office on the lines suggested by the Committee.

"A number of journals published by the Commerce Ministry have been wound up and 'only the important and necessary ones' had been retained, as recommended by the Committee.

"Recommendations regarding the reduction of staff in various branches of the Commerce Ministry have been partially implemented.

"A recommendation regarding the Import-Export Directorate which has not been accepted, was that the names of the firms black-listed by the Department should be published in the Official Gazette. It is pointed out in the statement that there is no statutory provision for black-listing firms. Such an action is taken on the basis of executive authority and therefore publishing the names of such firms in the Gazette without adequate legal sanction might lead the Government to litigation and difficulties.

"The former Jute Commissioner was replaced by an 'experienced person', according to another recommendation.

"Steps have been taken to concentrate the statistical sections of the Ministry in one branch with the ultimate object of merging them with the Central statistical organisation under the Cabinet Secretariat as stipulated by the Estimates Committee.

"The Government had also accepted the recommendation of the Estimates Committee for greater efforts to increase India's trade with Asian countries.

"A directory was under preparation, as recommended by the Committee which would contain a list of names of all importers of Indian goods in foreign countries and all the exporters in the countries.

"Other recommendations of the Committee accepted by the Government were: *Tea broking*: Three Indians would be selected by each of the four non-Indian tea-broking firms in Calcutta, for training in tea-broking by next year.

"*Import Licences*: It had been decided that the minimum value of a license to a new-comer should be Rs. 10,000, unless a license happens to be for items which were received in small consignments such as razor blades. In these cases, the minimum would be Rs. 5,000.

"It had also been prescribed that the qualification for an applicant to receive consideration as a new-comer would be that he had dealt within the country in the particular commodity, which he wished to import, for at least two years.

"Following the recommendations of the Mehta Committee, the maximum value of a new-comer's license had been fixed at Rs. 25,000."

India's Note to Pakistan

The Government of India in a Note handed over to the Pakistan High Commissioner in Delhi has taken strong exception to the baseless insinuations and statements appearing frequently in the Pakistan Press, the sole object of which is to "embroil the relation of India with her friendly neighbours."

The Note, which also answers allegations made by the Pakistan Government against the Indian Press and All-India Radio on the subject of Pakhtoonistan dispute between Pakistan and Afghanistan states :

"The Government of India are unable to accept the contention of the Government of Pakistan that the Press in India has been other than impartial and neutral with regard to the dispute between Pakistan and Afghanistan. The differences between Pakistan and Afghanistan on this subject have received wide publicity through the radio and the newspapers both of Pakistan and of Afghanistan and in other countries, and it is not surprising therefore that they should have attracted interest in India.

"The Government of India have again carefully examined the material published in the Indian Press and are satisfied that the Indian Press has on the whole maintained and continue to maintain an attitude of objective and impartial presentation of news regarding Pakhtoonistan movement. All important statements in regard to this subject made by the Government of Pakistan or by persons in authority in Pakistan have been carefully and faithfully reported in the Indian Press. As already pointed out by the Government of India the Press in India is, within the limit set by the Constitution and the laws of India perfectly free to express opinions or comments, including those which are hostile to the Government of India themselves. The Government of India cannot compel or coerce the Press or the public in India to hold any particular opinion."

The Note also rejects Pakistan's allegations that the All-India Radio contains hereditary partiality in favour of

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Afghanistan in this dispute or broadcast "fabricated news." The All-India Radio, the Note points out, makes use of news-items available from the Bakhtar News Agency or the Kabul Radio in the same way as it uses news-items emanating from the Pakistan Radio. All-India Radio, for example, on January 24, 1951, January 22, 1951, and April 10, 1951, broadcast statements and contradictions issued respectively by the N.-W.F.P. Government, by the Pakistan Prime Minister and the Pakistan Minister of frontier regions regarding clashes between Pakhtoons and Pakistan forces. "These examples could be multiplied and they will show," the Note points out, "that the All-India Radio puts forword the Pakistan views on these questions with equal impartiality. The sole criterion for putting out any item is its intrinsic news value."

"The Government of India have also carefully examined the commentaries, news-items and other items forming the enclosure to the Pakistan High Commissioner's Note under reply. They would point out that in regard to several of these items the translations as given in the enclosure to the Pakistan High Commissioner's Note under reply are incorrect. Apart from this, the material given in the enclosure shows conclusively that the broadcasts of the All-India Radio on this subject have been restricted mainly to factual news. In so far as any comments have been made with regard to the issues in this dispute, these merely point out that while the Government of Pakistan talk of self-determination for the people of Kashmir, they take an entirely different attitude towards the demand for self-determination by Pakhtoons."

The Note, continuing, states that the question of breach of the Inter-Dominion Agreement of December 14, 1950, can hardly arise. In the view of the Government of India that agreement is intended to ensure that the Press of either country does not support demand in one country for an acquisition of territory included in the other country. The agreement does not cover any questions regarding relations between either of these two countries and a third country. No question of international law arises in this context and the Government of India entirely dissents from the proposition that the publication within India of news and views regarding a dispute between Pakistan and Afghanistan, with both of whom they have friendly relations, amounts to a violation of international law or usage.

"The Government of India take this opportunity of drawing attention to the fact that both the Pakistan Press and the Pakistan Radio have frequently indulged in vilification and in some cases explicit statements to the effect that the support of the Government of Afghanistan to the claim of the Pakhtoons that they be given the right of self-determination with regard to their future, originates from inspiration from India. The Government of India strongly protest against such baseless insinuations and statements which are extremely detrimental to the friendly relations between India and Pakistan on the one hand and India and Afghanistan on the other. The Government of India are also unable to accept the contention that the Pakistan Press has been sober and objective in regard to its coverage of events relating to India's relations with Nepal, Tibet and China. The actual facts of past events are by now well established and the Government of India are no longer exercised in regard to several completely false and fabricated items of news which appeared in the Pakistan Press at that time. They would, however, point out that the sole object of these insinuations and allegations was to embroil the relations of India with her friendly neighbours and that such efforts reveal anything but a friendly attitude towards India."

Within a fortnight of this Note, the Pakistan Government have banned the entry of two of the leading Calcutta newspapers the Ananda Badar Patrika and Hindusthan Standard into Pakistan. The Pakistan Government are incessantly complaining about Press propaganda in India in spite of the fact that the governments here are doing their best to prevent any breach of the joint Press Code. When Pakistan persistently refuses to follow the joint Code, we believe India can now rightfully consider herself relieved of any obligation to follow the joint Press Agreement.

Minorities in Pakistan

Two news appeared in the Press towards the end of August last which demonstrate the falsity of the claim that the minorities in Pakistan are fairly and honourably treated. We use the word "minorities" advisedly. The Muslim League's congenital animus to Hindus and Sikhs is fairly known to the world. Not so the conditions under which Indian Christians have been living there.

The first news referred to the release by the Barisal Magistrate of the Muslims charged during the riots of February, 1950, with murder, rape and loot in the village Madhabpasa, well-known all over Bengal since the Swadeshi days. They, six Muslims, Seraj Maulana, and his helpers, Majir Meah, Gafur Meah, Kanchan Mollah, Nawab Ali Mena, Syed Ali, Palan Sardar were charged under Sections 148, 302-34 of the Penal Code. The Magistrate was helped by three assessors; two were for acquittal; one was in doubt; and the Additional District Judge, H. Ullah, accepted the verdict of trying Magistrate Huda.

The case started on July 23rd last. A fact that should be known in connection with the Madhabpasa tragedy, relieving it of its bestiality, was that a neighbouring zaminder, Janab Altaf Ali, lost his life at the hands of his co-religionists in his vain attempt to save the Hindus. All honour to his memory!

The other news was sent out on August 30 last from Lahore, and we do not propose to make any comment on it.

Mr. Justice Kanji Dalpatram Thakkar, Christian member of the

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Punjab (Pak.) Assembly, said here on Wednesday, 29th August, that the reasons for the recent attack by Muslims on Christian residents of village Matta in Lahore district were 'primarily economic.'

"While I have deep appreciation for the manner in which the Government and the people, both Muslims and Christians, have behaved, I cannot help saying that to secure complete goodwill and understanding between Muslims and Christians in Pakistan for all times, the Muslim League must give a lead and try to develop the national platform where Muslims and Christians could meet to discuss matters of common interest to the state and its people.

"True, Pakistan is an Islamic State, but Muslims and Christians have lived together for the last 1,300 years and more, and I see no reason why the traditions of common nationality of other Muslim countries, where Muslims and Christians live as one people, would not be revived in Pakistan also."

A Memorandum

The Press of the world has been forced to recognize the significance of the Memorandum that 14 Muslim leaders of thought, administrators, leaders of public opinion, and leaders of trade, commerce and industries, submitted to Dr. Frank Graham, U.N.O. representative on the Kashmir dispute on the 14th of August last—the anniversary of day on which Pakistan was born. There is a hint of historic revenge on the choice of this particular day for two reasons. One is that the Memorandum questions the validity of the reasoning on which the Pakistan theory was built up. It attacked the "two-nation" theory that has resulted in murder, rape, destruction of property to more than two millions of men, women and children of Indian birth. The other reason is that many of the signatories to the Memorandum were in sympathy, open or implicit, with the Muslim League's pretensions; some of them supplied money to Muslim League propagandists and otherwise helped to finance the agitation.

We hope that the world will realize even at this late hour that Pakistan or the theory that upheld it is a distortion of India's traditions, of the joint life that Hindu and Muslim, men and women, had built up in our continental country. We also hope that Pakistanis will yet realize that the disruption of India's unity and integrity has weakened Hindus and Muslims alike and would keep them weak.

On more than one occasions we have emphasized the point that without consultation with President Truman, the Prime Minister of Britain, Mr. Attlee, could not have announced on February 15, 1947, that British power would be withdrawn from India at a date which was earlier by 12 months than what had been fixed when the declaration of the Cabinet Mission was made on March 15, 1946. The Secretary of State for India, Lord Pethic Lawrence, indicated much later in various speeches made specially in the House of Lords after the June 3rd, 1947 decision that an unreconciled India would require more British military formations to defend and control, the enlistment of more troops from the "martial" races of India. And as an act of faith his Government believed that as a Dominion or even as a Republic in the British Commonwealth, India would be a better proposition to handle.

But British policy had publicly mortgaged itself to the Muslim League in October 1, 1906, when the Aga Khan Deputation had waited on the then Governor-General Lord Minto. And since 1939 the Muslim League had been demanding the pound of flesh for helping to betray Indian Nationalism and its natural culmination. This is only history today, and would have been forgotten if the Pakistanis had not started their Kashmir adventure. Today they have received on their face the cruellest slap in the form of a 1600-word Memorandum. That they have been feeling the sting of it is proved by the apologetic tone in which Janab Zafarullah Khan, Pakistan's Foreign Minister, has tried to off-set its reasoning. At the annual dinner of the Karachi Institute, held on the 17th August last, he could not but refer to it. He is reported to have said that the Memorandum proved that "but for Pakistan a hundred million Muslims would have been living in that state of inward terror in which 35 or 40 million Muslims are now living there (India)."

"The memorandum amounts to this that if you and I had been in India today we would have been compelled to say what they (fourteen Muslims) are saying and that constitutes before man and God a complete justification for Pakistan which they have condemned in harsh words." Further he felt in "all seriousness" that "it is an extremely painful move not on account of what it says," but because "these gentlemen, who have occupied higher positions and rendered services, who have been eminent in their respective walks of life should have been reduced to the necessity of putting their signatures to a document of that character." He tried to assume a mock attitude of sympathy for the signatories to this Memorandum, and assured them that he proposed "to say nothing that should cause them pain. I feel for them. I feel for them the deepest sympathy. People like them, unless placed in the most painful position of a dilemma, would not have subscribed to a document like that. They need, deserve, our sympathy. Our sympathy goes out to them. I still hold them in the highest esteem."

"I can, therefore, in some small measure gauge the feeling of frustration, the feeling of being on the horns of a dilemma, through which they must be

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suffering. This document shows they are continually suffering."

In this 120-minute speech, the "Qadiani" dupe of Pakistan has excelled his previous performances. But those who know about the feelings of the majority of Muslim masses against his sect with its "Holy of Holies" in India, will not fail to notice that in referring to the "frustration" of Indian Muslims, Pakistan's Foreign Minister was giving voice to his own feelings. If there be any substance in this argument of his, it applies with equal logic to the position of his sect in Pakistan.

We have been tempted to devote more space to Janab Zafarulla Khan's crude attempts at distortion that it deserves. We now have to return to the Memorandum. It is as follows:

"It is a remarkable fact that while the Security Council and its various agencies have devoted so much time to the study of the Kashmir dispute, and made various suggestions for its resolution, none of them has tried to ascertain the views of Indian Muslims nor the possible effect of any hasty step in Kashmir, however well-intentioned, on the interests and well-being of the Indian Muslims. We are convinced that no lasting solution of the problem can be found unless the position of Muslims in Indian society is clearly understood.

"Supporters of the idea of Pakistan, before this sub-continent was partitioned, discouraged any attempt to define Pakistan clearly and did little to anticipate the conflicting problems which were bound to arise as a result of the advocacy of the 'two-nation' theory. The concept of Pakistan, therefore, became an emotional slogan with little rational content. It never occurred to the Muslim League or its leaders that if a minority was not prepared to live with a majority on the sub-continent, how could the majority be expected to tolerate the minority.

"It is, therefore, small wonder that the result of partition has been disastrous to Muslims. In undivided India their strength lay about ten million. Partition split up the Muslim people, confining them to three isolated regions. Thus, Muslims number two and half crores in West Pakistan, three and half to four crores in India and the rest in Eastern Pakistan. A single undivided community has been broken into three fragments, each faced with its own problems.

"Pakistan was not created on a religious basis. If it had been, our fate as well as the fate of other minorities would have been settled at that time. Nor would the division of the sub-continent for reasons of religion, have left large minorities in India or Pakistan. This merely illustrates what we have said above that the concept of Pakistan was vague, obscure and never clearly defined, or its likely consequences foreseen by the Muslim League, even when some of these should have been obvious.

"When the partition took place, Muslims in India were left in the lurch by the Muslim League and its leaders. Most of them departed to Pakistan and a few, who stayed behind, stayed long enough to wind up their affairs and dispose of their property. Those who went over to Pakistan left a large number of their co-religionists behind. Having brought about a division of the country Pakistan leaders proclaimed that they would convert Pakistan into a land where people would live a life according to the tenets of Islam. This created nervousness and alarm among the minorities living in Pakistan. Not satisfied with this, Pakistan leaders went further and announced again and again their determniation to protect and safeguard the interests of Muslims in India. This naturally aroused suspicion amongst the Hindus against us, and our loyalty to India was questioned.

"Pakistan has made our position weaker by driving out Hindus from Western Pakistan in utter disregard of the consequences of such a policy to us and our welfare. A similar process is in operation in Eastern Pakistan from which Hindus are coming over to India in a large and larger number.

"If Hindus are not welcome in Pakistan, how can we, in all fairness, expect Muslims to be welcome in India? Such a policy must inevitably, as the past has already shown, result in the uprooting of Muslims in this country, and their migration to Pakistan, where, as it became clear last year, they are no longer welcome, lest their influx should destroy Pakistan's economy.

"Neither some of those Muslims who have migrated to Pakistan after the partition and following the widespread bloodshed and conflict on both sides of the Indo-Pakistan border in the north-west, have been able to find a happy asylum in what they had been told would be their homeland. Consequently some of them have had to return to India, *e.g.*, the Meos who are now being rehabilitated in their former areas.

"If we are living honourably in India today it is, therefore, certainly not due to Pakistan which, if anything, had by her policy and action weakened our position. The credit goes to the broad-minded leadership of India—to Mahatma Gandhi and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, to the traditions of tolerance in this country and to the Constitution which ensures equal rights to all citizens of India irrespective of their religion, caste, creed, colour or sex.

"We, therefore, feel that tragically as Muslims were misled by the Muslim League and subsequently by Pakistan causing unnecessary suffering to us and our Hindu brethren in Pakistan and in India since partition, we must be gvien an opportunity to settle down to a life of tolerance and understanding to the mutual benefit of Hindus and Muslims in our country; if only Pakistan would let us do it.

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"To us it is a matter of no small consequence. Despite continuous provocation, first from the Muslim League and since then from Pakistan, the Hindu majority in India has not thrown us or members of other minorities out of civil services, armed forces, the judiciary, trade, commerce, business and industry. There are Muslim Ministers in the Union and States Cabinets, Muslim Governors, Muslim Ambassadors representing India in foreign countries, fully enjoying the confidence of the Indian Nation, Muslim Members in Parliament and State Legislatures, Muslim Judges serving on the Supreme Court and High Courts, high ranking officers in the armed forces and Civil Services, including the Police.

"Muslims have large landed estates, run big business and commercial houses in various parts of the country, notably in Bombay and Calcutta, have their share in industrial production and enterprise, in export and import trade. Our famous sacred shrines and places of cultural interest are mostly in India.

"Not that our lot is entirely happy. We wish some of the State Governments showed a little greater sympathy to us in the field of education and employment. Nevertheless, we feel we have an honourable place in India.

"Under the law of the land our religious and cultural life is protected and we shall share in the opportunities open to all citizens to ensure progress for the people of this country.'

"It is, therefore, clear that our interests and welfare do not coincide with Pakistan's conception of the welfare and interests of Muslims in Pakistan. This is clear from Pakistan's attitude towards Kashmir. Pakistan claims Kashmir first on the ground of the majority of the State's people being Muslims, and secondly on the ground of the State being essential to its economy and defence. To achieve her object she has been threatening to launch *Jehad* against Kashmir and India.

"It is a strange commentary on political beliefs that the same Muslims of Pakistan, who would like the Muslims of Kashmir to join them, invaded the State in October 1947, killing and plundering Muslims in the State and dishonouring Muslim women, all in the interests of what they described as the liberation of Muslims of the State. In her oft-proclaimed anxiety to rescue the three million Muslims from what she describes as the tyranny of a handful of Hindus in the State, Pakistan evidently is prepared to sacrifice the interests of forty million Muslims in India.

"A strange exhibition of concern for the welfare of fellow-Muslims: Our misguided brothers in Pakistan do not realise that if Muslims in Pakistan can wage a war against Hindus in Kashmir, why should not Hindus, sooner or later, retaliate against Muslims in India?

"Does Pakistan seriously think that she could give us any help if such an emergency arose or that we would deserve any help, thanks to her own follies? She is incapable of providing room and livelihood to the forty million Muslims of India, should they migrate to Pakistan. Yet her policy and action, if not changed soon, may well produce the result which she dreads.

"We are convinced that India will never attack our interests. First of all, it would be contrary to the spirit animating the political movement in this country. Secondly, it would be opposed to the Constitution and to the sincere leadership of the Prime Minister. Thirdly, India by committing such a folly would be playing straight into the hands of Pakistan. We wish we were equally convinced of the soundness of Pakistan's policy.

"So completely oblivious are they of our present problems and of our future that they are willing to sell us into slavery if only they can secure Kashmir. They ignore the fact that Muslims in Kashmir may also have a point of view of their own, that there is a democratic movement with a democratic leadership in the State, both inspired by the progress of a broad-minded, secularly democratic movement in India and both naturally being in sympathy with India. Otherwise, the Muslim raiders should have been welcome with open arms by the Muslims of the State when the invasion took place in 1947.

"Persistent propaganda about *Jehad* is intended, among other things, to inflame religious passions in this country. For, it would, of course, be in Pakistan's interests to promote communal rioting in India to show to Kashmir Muslims how they can find security only in Pakistan. Such a policy, however, can only bring untold misery and suffering to India and Pakistan generally, and to Indian Muslims particularly.

"Pakistan never tires of asserting that she is determined to protect the interests of Muslims in Kashmir and India. Why does not Pakistan express the same concern for Pathans who are fighting for Paklitoonistan, an independent homeland of their own? The freedom-loving Pathans under the leadership of Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan and Dr. Khan Sahib, both nurtured in the traditions of democratic tolerance of the Indian National Congress, are being subjected to political repression of the worst possible kind by their Muslim brethren in power in Pakistan and in the North-West-Frontier Province. Contradictory as Pakistan's policy genreally is, it is no surprise to us that while she insists on a fair and impartial plebiscite in Kashmir, she denies a fair and impartial plebiscite to the Pathans.

"Pakistan's policy in general and her attitude towards Kashmir in particular thus tend to create conditions in this country which in the long run can

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only bring to us Muslims widespread suffering and destruction. Her policy prevents us from settling down, from being honourable citizens of a State, free from the suspicion of our fellow-countrymen and adapting ourselves to changing conditions to promote the interests and welfare of India.

"Her sabre-rattling interferes with her own economy and ours. She expects us to be loyal to her despite her impotence to give us any protection, believing at the same time that we can still claim all the rights of citizenship in a secular democracy. In the event of a war, it is extremely doubtful whether she will be able to protect the Muslims of East Bengal who are completely cut off from Western Pakistan. Are the Muslims of India and Eastern Pakistan to sacrifice themselves completely to enable the 25 million Muslims in Western Pakistan to embark upon mad self-destructive adventures?

"We should, therefore, like to impress upon you with all the emphasis at our command that Pakistan's policy towards Kashmir is fraught with the gravest peril to the forty million Muslims of India. If the Security Council is really interested in peace, human brotherhood and international understanding it should heed this warning while there is still time."

The signatories to the Memorandum are: Dr. Zakir Hussain, Vice-Chancellor, Muslim University, Aligarh; Sir Sultan Ahmed, formerly Member of the Governor-General's Executive Council; Ahmed Said Khan, Nawab of Chattari, formerly Acting Governor of the United Provinces, and Prime Minister of Hyderabad; Sir Mohammad Osman, formerly Member of the Governor-General's Executive Council, Acting Governor of Madras, and Vice-Chancellor, University of Madras; Sir Iqbal Ahmed, formerly Chief Justice, Allahabad High Court; Sir Fazal Rahimtoola, formerly Sheriff of Bombay; Maulana Hifz-ur-Rehman, Member of Parliament, General Secretary, Anjuman-i-Jamiat-ul-Ulema Hind; Nawab Zain Yar Jang, Minister for Public Works Department, Government of Hyderabad; A. M. Khwaja, Barrister-at-Law, ex-President, Muslim Majlis; T. M. Zarif, General Secretary, Daudi Bohra Muslim Community, West Bengal; H. Qamar Faruqi, Preisdent, Jamiat-ul-Ulema, Hyderabad; M. A. Kazmi, Advocate; M. L. Hashim Premji, ex-Sheriff of Bombay; Col. B. H. Zaidi, Member of Parliament, and formerly Prime Minister of Rampur State.

"Mission with Mountbatten"

Articles entitled as above have been appearing in the *Hindu* of Madras and the *Hindusthan Times* of Delhi, since September 2 last. As we write eight or nine articles have already appeared, and we propose to summarize or make small quotations therefrom for the benefit of our readers. These throw very valuable light on developments that happened during the days —24th March, 1947 to June 3, 1947—the period of Mountbatten negotiations consummating in the partition of India, the birth of Pakistan, and finally in the invasion of Kashmir. It has been announced that the articles will appear in book-form from London.

The writer, Mr. Alan Campbell-Johnson, landed at Palan with Lord Ismay, Chief of Staff of the New Viceroy, after a temporary visit to Britain, and the first letter is dated October 28, 1947. He was not given opportunity to rest, but was called in by the Viceroy to be briefed "at once on the latest Kashmir developments." This appears to suggest that Alan was in a position of the utmost trust, though we are not told for whom he was being briefed. Figures of men like V. P. Menon, State Ministry's Secretary, of Major-General Rees, Commander, Punjab Boundary Force (July to September 1947) and Commander of the Governor-General's Military Emergency Staff (September to December), flit through these letters, not to mention Gandhiji, Nehru, Patel. Campbell-Johnson gives facts in place of the rumours and speculations which fed the public during those dangerous days.

The new emergency in relation to Kashmir has made the publication quite timely. At his first briefing Mountbatten gave the information that it was at his suggestion and under pressure from him that the Nehru Cabinet agreed to accept "accession" of Kashmir when the request came from Maharaja Hari Singh for it, as it was a condition precedent to the sending of India's military formations to the help of the State. Without this accession India would have been as much an invader as Pakistan has been. "The legality of the accession is beyond doubt," says Campbell-Johnson, and continues that on this particular issue Jinnah has been 'hoist with his own petard,' as it was he who chose, over Junagad, to take his stand on "the over-riding validity of the ruler's personal decision." Before the 'transfer of power,' the ruler's choice became the people's, but after it the position changed—the people's voice was determining. It was Maharaja Hari Singh's "chronic indecision" that must be "accounted a big factor" in the Kashmir crisis.

Campbell-Johnson has showered flowers of praise on Mountbatten's "canniness" and "extraordinary vitality" while Nehru is shown as wasted by worry, and "collapsed" on October 28 on reaching his own house. Gandhiji had blessed the Kashmir accession; and Mountbatten's "90-minute" interview helped to tide over all difficulties. And he struck a "Churchillian note" in referring to the fight of the Indian "regiment of infantry" flown to Kashmir and compared it to "Thermopylae."

Jinnah had ordered on October 27, 'that Pakistan troops "be moved in to Kashmir;" only Auchinleck's persuasion and pressure could move him

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to cancel the order. It had reached "General Gracey, the Acting Pakistan Commander-in-Chief, in the temporary absence of General Messevy, through the Military Secretary of the Governor of West Punjab with whom Jinnah had been staying. Gracey replied that he was not prepared to issue any such order without the approval of the Supreme Commander. At Gracey's urgent request Auchinleck flew to Lahore this morning and explained to Jinnah that as Kashmir had acceded to India, the Government of India had a perfect right to send in troops in response to the Maharaja's request."

Mountbatten's Public Relations Officer thus describes the "Ian Stephen episode":

> Mountbatten is disturbed by the editorial attitude of the *Statesman* which in its anxiety over the decline in Indo-Pakistan relations has denounced the injection of Indian troops into Kashmir, and he asked me to arrange for Ian Stephen, the editor, to come and see him. About an hour later Stephen was with us, and Mountbatten began by saying: 'You can't build a nation on tricks.'

We do not propose to bring out the significance of this angry exclamation. Was Ian helping in this trickery by his articles? Or, was it expected that the words would be conveyed to the Pakistani bosses. This is, however, mere guess-work. But the *Statesman's* attitude has not changed during these four years. Its Pakistani slant is unmistakable. It cannot be otherwise in a paper owned by British shareholders. As long as their country feels that her interests will be served by Pakistan, she will pamper her pretensions.

Working of Indo-Pak Trade Pact

India's Commerce and Industry Minister laid on the table of the Parliament figures relating to certain items of imports from and exports to Pakistan under the Indo-Pakistan Trade Pact of February last. According to these figures, Pakistan supplied 5,35,163 bales of raw jute up to the end of June 1951 and 7,10,633 bales up to the end of July.

The Government of Pakistan has since come out with a different set of figures. It states that the actual export of Pakistani jute to India up to the end of July was 8,79,953 bales. The Karachi Press Note claims that Pakistan had done its best to honour the commitments to India and that it was India which had not given its contracted quantities of goods. It says that goods valued at Rs. 4.06 crores were exported by India to Pakistan during March-June 1951, while Pakistan exported goods worth Rs. 27.64 crores. The Press Note also says that its Government delivered 1,09,544 tons of rice against 1,18,800 tons contracted for and arrangements for the remaining 9000 tons had also been made. Meanwhile, when the Pakistan rice began to come it was reported that most of them were weevil-eaten and therefore worthless. With regard to the export of Indian Coal, the Press Note states that India's exports of coal by sea amounted to only 2,74,350 tons up to the end of June and 3,46,788 tons up to the end of July and not 4,16,801 and 4,98,871 tons as claimed by India's Industry Minister. Exports from all routes up to the end of June amounted 3,39,421 tons against 6,09,000 tons agreed to be supplied by that date. The total quantity of Indian Coal supplied to Pakistan up to the end of July was 4,28,031 tons.

With these conflicting statements before us it is difficult to make any correct assessment of the Indo-Pak trade position. The political pact in respect of minorities has not been successful as is evident from the White Papers issued by the Government of India and the public statements and counter statements made on both sides of the Radcliffe Line. A correct assessment of the trade figures may be considered essential for a lasting solution of the Indo-Pak problem.

Books in Essential Goods List

Various representations from Chambers of Commerce, individuals and associations have reached the Ministry of Finance of the Government of India in regard to the inclusion of certain items in the list of commodities to be declared as essential for the life of the community under the essential goods (Declaration and Regulation of Tax on Sales or Purchase) Bill 1951, introduced in the last session of the Parliament. While these suggestions are receiving the attention of the Government, official circles point out that it is not possible to incorporate any of the suggested items on the list because the Bill has already been placed before the Parliament. We fail to understand why it will not be possible to add a few more items on the list when the Bill is on the Legislative anvil. This can certainly be done on a Government motion. Nothing prevented the government from amending the Fundamental Right clauses of the constitution in clear disregard of popular opinion when the government considered it necessary to do so.

The following goods have been listed as essential under the Bill :

1. Cereals and pulses in all forms, including bread and flour including atta, maida, suji and bran (except when any such article is sold in sealed containers).
2. Green or dried vegetables and flower seeds, bulbs and plants and fresh and dried fruits, other than medical preparations (except when any such article is sold in sealed containers).
3. Fresh milk, whole or separate, and milk products.
4. Salt.
5. Coarse and medium, handloom and mill-made, cotton cloth and handloom woollen cloth.
6. Fertilizers and agricultural machinery and implements.
7. Raw cotton, including ginned and un-ginned cotton or kapas or cotton thread, cotton seed, raw jute and sugarcane.
8. Coal, including coke and other derivatives, petroleum and petroleum products, including motor spirit and electrical energy, except energy intended for domestic use.
9. Iron and Steel.

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When the Bill becomes law, imposition of Sale or Purchase tax on any of these commodities has to be reserved for consideration of the President and will be legal only when the President's consent has been received.

The Bill, according to our opinion, has two vital defects. Firstly, omission of books from the list is a glaring one. Even in most of advanced democratic countries books have been excluded from the scope of Sales or Purchase Tax. India has just started building up a democratic tradition. Exclusion of books from the Sales Tax list, reduction in postal rates on books and special concessional rate on the air freight of books are three things that the government can immediately do. The second defect of the Bill is that it will not have any retrospective effect and therefore the existing taxes will not be affected. This will frustrate the purpose of the Bill for a very long time to come. The exclusion ought to be given an immediate effect on the present taxes as soon as it becomes law. If Rs. 40 crores of revenue could be lost on the prohibition schemes which are of doubtful utility and success, there is no reason why the government should not forego a little more revenue by placing books on the essential list.

India Government Plane Misused

We have got so used to the misuse of Government property by its officers and even by the Ministers that the people register mere disgust. That we are not far wrong in our estimate is borne out in the remarks of a Nagpur contemporary appearing in one of its articles of a recent date. The names of Ministers are not mentioned—an editorial practice which leads nowhere, as the Minister or Ministers concerned are saved from a public exposure. We share these comments with our readers so that they may be enabled to understand the sorry state of things.

"Defects in Government accounting and submission of supplementary demands before Parliament have been found by the Auditing officers of Government. They have found that in eleven cases supplementary demands presented to Parliament proved to be unnecessary. They have also brought to light misuse of Government planes by some of the Ministers. They say that while travelling on duty by planes chartered by Government, certain Cabinet Ministers allowed some non-entitled persons to travel along with them. Under the rules, a Minister while making journey by air in a Government machine has to pay first class full or half railway fare as the case may be. In some cases recovery of small sums due from two Ministers on the above account was waived by Government. But another Minister has incurred an expenditure of Rs. 51,462 by such use of Government planes. Some confusion has arisen in this regard and it is not possible to assess the exact amount. Some attempts were made early this session to raise the matter on the floor of the House but Rajaji cleverly evaded questions."

Leprosy Relief at Gorakhpur

From September 1 to September 9, the Leprosy Association of India had a "Leprosy Week." Rich and poor co-operated in making it a success. From Gorakhpur in the Uttar Pradesh comes the news that a sum of Rs. 55,000 was sanctioned for leprosy relief by the executive committee of the provincial Gandhi Smarak Nidhi at its meeting held on August 18 under the presidentship of Baba Raghav Das, its convener, at Lucknow, and Shri Dharm Deo Shastri was requested to start leprosy relief work at Hrishikesh. The Gandhi Memorial Fund has taken this work up as a special charge. In other States also grants from this Fund for Leprosy Relief must have been made. We wait their reports.

"Problem" Province of Assam

Administrators and newspaper-men have developed a habit of dubbing a particular area as a "problem" if it had any particular set of grievances that confuse them. The following news sent from Gauhati on September 2 last explains the difference between political and natural problems :

> "Most of rivers in the north-east Frontier are now forming new courses due to the heavy and rapid silting up and consequent elevation of their beds as a result of the great earthquake of August 1950 and the later floods.
>
> Reports of air survey and land reconnaissance parties show that the Dibang, Lohit, Deopani, Digaru, Kundil and scores of smaller rivers that flow down the Mishmi hills (which was battered by the earthquake killing 900 people) are running in a wayward manner and at places are spreading like spider webs on account of big landslips blocking their original routes. Old rivers' courses are now untraceable in many areas as they have given place to a network of turbulent and wild running streams. Because of the changes in their beds, these once-deep rivers are not able to hold the volume of rain and floodwater discharged into them by hundreds of streams and rivulets and they are therefore forcing their way through places heretofore high and dry.
>
> This has brought in its wake serious problems of flood and erosion resulting in considerable loss to property and life."

Hindi "Sammelan Politics"

The use of the words within quotation marks in the issue of the Allahabad *Leader* dated August 29 last has an ominous ring to people who have the cause of general literature in India at heart. To those who aspire to make Hindi the State Language in fact the introduction of "politics" must be extremely painful.

We do not understand why Shree Jaychandra Vidyalankar, the President of the Sammelan, should have his little quarrel with the General Secretary, Shree Ram Charan Agarwal. The two are thus centres of factions which are engaged in unending quibbles and insinuations not often within the bounds of decency. The *Leader* publishes statements made by a member of the Sammelan's Constitution Committee, followed by statements by the General Secretary and the President. The High Court being called to decide, has issued a restraint order !

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The inevitable "fast unto death" has been undertaken by Shree Suman Vatsayan in far-off Wardha; he demands an "impartial enquiry" into the workings of the Rashtra Bhasha Prachar Samiti. These are signs of disintegration in the spirit of Sammelan workers. And we have no doubts that the present controversy will not spread the Rashtra Bhasha. It may enrich the vocabulary of the controversialists.

"Indian Problem" in Fiji

We do not know why the *Press Trust of India and Reuter's* correspondent in Fiji should have featured their news with these words:

"An 'Indian problem' is raising its head in Fiji, the Sugarcane Islands, which owe their prosperity to indentured Indian labour.

"Indians constitute the majority community on the Islands, exceeding the combined Fijian and European population. According to the British Administration in Fiji, the Indian birth-rate has increased steadily, 'threatening the standard of living of other races on the Islands.'

"Fiji's population figures are: Fijians 130,000; Europeans 6,500; Indians 140,000.

"The Administration has reported that Fiji's important social services, including health and education, 'are bursting at the seams,' as the Islands' population had increased by 8,000 in the last 12 months.

"There is little racial conflict in Fiji today, but sources close to the Administration believe a testing time will come when the pressure of increasing numbers leads to a steady Indian demand for more land. This claim for land, they think, will overshadow the issue of increased Indian political representation, probably at the expense of the Europeans.

"According to the Administration's policy, Fijian interests will remain paramount and land reservations are being made to cater to the immediate and future needs of the Islands' native population.

"The Administration is also reported to be concerned over the political feelings of Fiji's large Indian population. Though the majority of 'Fiji Indians have little interest in their homeland, they look to India for political inspiration and guidance. The Administration, therefore, is likely to be confronted with an embarrassing situation in the event of India adopting a policy different from that of Britain or the Commonwealth on any major issue."

The correspondent has gathered his news from 'sources close to the Administration' which being European, have the initial anti-Indian bias. In the ultimate analysis, Indians who had made their homes during the last 125 years, are as good as native Fijians; they must sink or swim with the latter. It is only the 'Malan spirit' that can set and keep the peoples apart.

In Malan's Realm

South Africa is geographically far-off. But it is not allowing us to forget it. The Boer-Briton combination has reduced this sun-kissed land to a hell for its native peoples and the men and women of other lands whose labour has made what it is today.

The 3rd August issue of the *Indian Opinion*, founded by Gandhiji nearly 50 years ago, and now edited by Shree Manilal Gandhi enables us to realise something of the spirit of that rule and of the revolt in reaction.

"The National Executives of the African National Congress and the South African Indian Congress decided at a joint meeting in Johannesburg last 20th July to set up a Planning Council for a mass campaign by Natives, Indians and Coloured people against oppressive measures that have been recently passed by the present Government.

Dr. J. S. Moroka, president-general of the African National Congress, in welcoming the delegates said: "It is my contention that no matter where a man comes from, if he has made South Africa his home, then he is a South African. We want to live in co-operation with all in this country. We have come together to find ways and means of how we can fight this great fight which is before us....."

The Conference unanimously adopted the following resolution:

This joint Conference of the Executive Committees of the African National Congress and the South African Indian Congress and the representatives of the Franchise Action Council, convened at the invitation of the African National Congress, meeting in Johannesburg on the 29th July, 1951, having carefully considered the report of the African National Congress on the present political situation and its plan of action; and in particular realising:

(*a*) That the rising tide of Nationalist oppression against the people of South Africa has reached unbearable limits especially among the Union's non-White people;

(*b*) That the brutal enforcement of the inhuman and enslaving Pass Law and the further impoverishment of the African people by the policy of Stock Limitation and the so-called Rehabilitation Scheme and the recent legislation such as the Group Areas Act, the Voters Representation Act, the Suppression of Communism Act, and the Bantu Authorities Act, have caused untold misery and bitter resentment among the non-white people of South Africa;

(*c*) That the Nationalist Government in its mad desire to enforce 'Apartheid' has at every opportunity incited the people to racial strife and has attempted to crush their legitimate protests by ruthless Police Action.

This Conference declares its firm conviction that all people of South Africa, irrespective of race, colour or creed have the inalienable and fundamental right to participate directly, and equally in the Governing Councils of the State and in pursuance of this objective, this Conference welcomes the decision of the African National Congress and resolves:

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(1) To declare war on the Pass Laws and Stock Limitation, the Group Areas Act, the Voters Representation Act, the Suppression of Commission Act, and the Bantu Authorities Act;

(2) To embark upon an immediate mass campaign for the repeal of these oppressive measures, and

(3) To establish a Joint Planning Council to co-ordinate the efforts of the National Organisations of the African, Indian and Coloured peoples in this mass campaign."

Federal Plans for Africa

There have for sometime past been many plans propagated by Europeans to federalize the various countries of the African continent. In themselves these may be desirable. But the European purpose is so crudely manifest that even a foreigner is struck by it. Therefore, we are not surprised that the plan for the federation of Northern and Southern Rhodesia, sponsored by the British Government, has received no welcome from the native peoples. News sent out on September 7 last gives us some information about it :

The Memorandum presented to the British Colonial Secretary, Mr. James Griffiths, was issued on behalf of the Ndola Africa Advisory Council by the Council's Working Committee.

It said the proposals suggested a form of Federation which would give Europeans all effective political power and the natives only token representation.

The natives numbering over six million, compared with 169,080 Europeans, would have only four out of 35 Federal Parliament members.

The proposed protective measures were 'undemocratic' and similar measures had proved worthless in Southern Rhodesia and the Union of South Africa.

If the settlers had all the political power, the Federation was bound to result in discrimination against Africans. The natives would only agree to Federation if certain conditions were fulfilled.

These included: native representations in the Legislative and Executive Councils in proportion to population; native members of the Legislative Council to be given portfolios; immediate introduction of universal adult suffrage without changing the status of British subjects; nationalisation of all major industries; the 'Africanisation' of public services; and the out-lawing of all forms of colour bar.

European businessmen, on the other hand, told Mr. Griffiths that Federation would bring great economic advantages to Northern and Southern Rhodesia and Nyasaland.

Mr. Griffiths had met the Associated Chambers of Commerce and Industry of Northern Rhodesia and the Northern Rhodesian Master Builders' Association here on 26th August.

Mr. S. A. Hyatt, President of the Associated Chambers, told him that Federation would greatly increase the three territories' bargaining power—particularly in negotiating for an outlet to the sea. It would also offer a much more attractive field for over-seas investors than at present and would stimulate European immigration.

Mr. Griffiths said Africans insisted very strongly that land settlement questions should remain under the control of territorial Governments.

Immigration was closely linked with land settlement and there might have to be further consideration of whether the Federal or territorial Governments should control immigration.

Burma's Demand for the Andamans

A Burman businessman has started a stunt for the return of the Andamans to the possession of the Union of Burma. A labour leader before the last world war, a businessman after it, U Ba Hlaing has been a rather severe critic of the Burma Government's import policy. In an article in the *Burman*, entitled, "Whose Islands—the Andamans?"—he gave certain reasons why these islands should be part of Burma. "Burma has contributed a great deal to the development of the islands because a number of Burman convicts had been transported to these islands and even a civil servant of Burma acted as the Chief Commissioner for some time. These islands have all along been geologically and otherwise a part of Burma, although they were occupied and administered by the British as an administrative unit as part of India."

And on these plausibilities he bases his brief, and expects that "the powers that be" both in India and Burma would be able to give shape to U Ba Hlaing's brain child. Stranger things have been happening in modern power-politics, and the Burman businessman must pray for another world war before the thing he desires so much can fall into his laps. The Kuriles are an example in point.

Relations between Israel and Egypt

Egypt has been waging almost a lone battle with Britain. Her Arab League colleagues have been proving themselves to be weak reeds. And the only State that can help her is Israel against which Egypt along with other Arab States have been fighting an inconclusive war. It appears, however, that better spirit has been attempting to sweeten relations between Israel and Egypt. The following news sent from Cairo on August 10 last gives point to this hope:

> "Ahmed Khashaba Pasha, who was Egypt's Foreign Minister during the Palestine war, said today that he favoured a peace treaty with Israel 'taking into account the existing situation and in order to avoid further misfortunes.'
>
> "Despite Foreign Minister Salah el Din Pasha's recent speech declaring that the British Foreign Secretary, Mr. Herbert Morrison, had closed the door on Anglo-Egyptian negotiations, observers here linked Khashaba Pasha's peace offer with a possible change in the Egyptian attitude concerning Suez Canal restrictions.
>
> "Khashaba Pasha, Vice-President of the Liberal Constitutional Party, said that a peace treaty with

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Israel should be signed on two conditions. 'First, every Arab citizen who was driven from his country should be allowed to return, should be given back what had been taken from him, should be compensated for losses in property or money, and should be able to enjoy all civil and political rights on an equal footing with other citizens. Second, that a treaty of peace should guarantee Egypt well-defined and stable frontiers which will protect her against aggressive expansionist tendencies of Israel.'

"Khashaba Pasha added that the first condition was just and humanitarian; the second was necessary considering that Israel, 'in making her aggressions, took shelter behind the protection of great powers'."

The talk about Israel's "aggresions" should be taken with the proverbial grain of salt. To the world outside the cap lay rather on Khashaba Pasha's group of the Arab States which have not shown to any great advantage in the recent war.

C. S. Srinivasachari

One of the most notable of South India's historians has departed from this world. As Head of the Department of History and Politics in the Annamalai University—a position which he held for about 15 years since 1931—C. S. Srinivasachari had the good fortune of having opportunity to exercise his great powers. He has left five sons and his wife to mourn his loss. To them our deepest sympathy is tendered.

Born in a distinguished family in South Arcot district, Mr Srinivasachari had his education in the Pachaiyappa's High School, Chidambaram, and in the Pachaiyappa's College, Madras. Graduating in 1909, he joined the staff of the Pachaiyappa's College in the History Department. After 20 years of service there he was offered the Chair of History and Politics at the Annamalai Univertity.

The Indian History Congress elected him Sectional President in 1931 and 1939 and General President in 1941. He was elected President of the Oriental Conference (History Section) in 1940.

After retiring from the Annamalai University, Srinivasachari was for three years Principal of the R.D.M. College at Sivaganga. Shortly before his 61st birthday, he became Principal of the Pachaiyappa's College at Kancheepuram and retired in June this year. His numerous friends, students and colleagues issued a volume in commemoration of his 61st birthday.

Familiarly known as "Chicca", Srinivasachari's profound scholarship, versatility and genuine goodness made him an esteemed friend and a respected and affectionate teacher. Author of a number of books on history, he was always recognised in this country as one of its eminent historians. Among his well-known works may be mentioned: *The History of the Pallavas, A History of the City of Madras, Ananda Ranga Pillai, A History of Gingee and its Rulers,* and *Vignettes from the History of the Walajahi Dynasty of the Carnatic.*

Deb-Raj Roy

This benefactor of education in Assam has immortalized himself by his donation Rs. 1,00,000 to the Golaghat College. He was a self-made man who made good in tea business. And the authorities of the Golaghat College have done well to name it after the donor. May his soul rest in peace!

V. Ramaswamy Iyengar

Death took away from Madras journalism on August 22 last a veteran who was known to his readers as 'Vara,' as he had written all his articles with the initials— VA and RA. A consistent nationalist starting his life-work in the spacious days of Mrs. Annie Besant, he specialized in Tamil journalism and soon came to the front. We tender our condolence to his bereaved family.

V. R. Kalappa

On August 29 last passed away at Nagpur a leader of the Labour Movement. He was a member of the Central Assembly, and he should have had years more to work for progressive movements. But he died at 53 only. Nagpur shared with Bombay the honour of being the centre of Tata activities; and it was there that this Labour stalwart did most of his work.

Surgeon Voronoff

This Russian surgeon known popularly as the 'monkey gland specialist' died at Paris on September 1.

Born in 1866, he found at Paris congenial soil for his special qualities. In 1917, he became Chief Surgeon of the Paris Military Hospital. Later he became director of the Biological Laboratory of the Ecole des Hautes Etudes. After some time, again, he became director of experimental surgery in College de France.

Dr. Voronoff's name will go down to posterity as one prominently associated with efforts at prolonging human life and rejuvenating the exhausted or declining physical frames so as to make old people or old animals young again sexually and in other ways. The method which he so successfully applied in this matter was that of transplantation of the sexual glands of young animals into the body of the patient under treatment. In the case of lower animals glands of animals of the same species were used. In the case of human beings, those of monkeys only were transplanted, successfully removing senility and making the old decrepit system manifest, temporarily though, both the mental and physical vigour of much younger individuals.

NOTICE

On account of the Durga Puja Holidays, "The Modern Review" office and the "Prabasi" Press will remain closed from 8th to 20th October, both days included. All business accumulating during the period will be transacted after the holidays.

KEDAR NATH CHATTERJI,
Editor

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HOW THE BRITISH LOST INDIA

Our gains and losses from British rule

By Dr. JADUNATH SARKAR, D.Litt. Hony. M.R.A.S.

England's dominion over India ended on 15th August, 1947 and India's destiny passed into other hands. This is the proper place for looking back, analysing England's work in its completeness, and striking a balance between our gains and losses. We can see in clear objectivity that the changes have been vast and varied beyond what could be imagined even ten years before Independence Day. Our political tie with Britain has been severed, but the forces set going by the British connection in our society, thought and life are still working: in these fields there has been no break-away from our immediate past.

Looking at the whole course of British rule in India, we cannot fail to see that a revolutionary change has been made by it in our society as it was 182 years ago when the English first assumed the administration of an Indian province (by the Diwani sanad of 1765), or even 89 years ago when India came directly under the care of those who governed England (by the Act of 1858). What have been our gains and losses during British rule?

On the credit side we have secured

(1) The formation of a secular State with equality for all irrespective of religion or race.

(2) Raising the labourers and peasants from a semi-servile condition to full citizenship.

(3) The growth of a vast and most influential middle class.

(4) Recognition of the principle that the true aim of government is to uplift the people by socialistic activity, and not merely to act as a "police-state."

(5) The rise of a capitalist class almost rivalling that of Europe in magnitude and capability. The mere accumulation of vast wealth in the hands of some Indians was known in the days of our Rajahs and Nawabs; but that wealth was kept buried underground. It is only when wealth in the mass is employed fruitfully in production and trade that it can be called *capital*, and this has been its use under Britannic peace.

(6) Women have been raised from a degraded status by the growth of public opinion supported by state action. The pernicious influence of a harem of kept women on the children has been removed, and at the same time the freedom and education of the women has doubled the effective man-power of the nation.

(7) In the caste system, which has been the supreme factor of Indian life since primeval times, disintegration is now at work. Its prohibitions and discriminations have been abolished fully in theory and a little in practice, but in the cities only.

(8) Provincial, linguistic, and sectarian differences of mentality are being ironed out, and uniformity of thought is advancing on the way to completion throughout India, thanks to newspapers, mass meetings, and a common type of literature in all our vernaculars.

But, on the other hand, Free India has to carry over an evil legacy, too, from her departed predecessor. This consists of—

(9) Over one-third of the Indian soil, the British have kept feudalism alive into the very middle of the 20th century. The primitive barbarism of the Nizam's Government (with 82,313 square miles and nearly 16½ millions of human souls to misgovern), the slothful, amorphous, defenceless political condition of Kashmir * (with about the same area but less than a quarter of the above population), the peasant-servitude and baronial tyranny obtaining in Rajputana *cum* Malwa (nearly 200,000 square miles and over 20 millions of people)—these will be remembered in history as a standing disgrace to a civilized suzerain who had dictated their Government for a century and a half. It will take Free India two human generations before Haidarabad or Kashmir can be brought up even to approach Madras or Bengal in modernisation, and that progress will be possible only if full sixty years of peace are granted by Providence.

(10) All separatist tendencies that oppose national union have been encouraged and the lines of cleavage widened by British policy.

(11) The Muslim community has been kept 50 years behind the times, thus paralysing one-third of the national body.

(12) The old home, based on the joint family, has been broken up. It is a world-wide phenomenon, due solely to economic causes, which have been intensified in the post-war age; but its effect will be felt in all aspects of our life and thought, for centuries to come.

(13) The feeling of exasperation against British rule roused among our people since 1905, and their sense of frustration and despair, have created a mental background most harmful to an infant State which has been suddenly called upon to grapple with the problems of complete independence.

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* Lord Hardinge wrote about Maharaja Hari Singh of Kashmir in October 1912, "He used to be incoherent at certain times of the day until he had taken his opium pill, and he then became quite amusing." (*My Indian Years*, p. 73). This was before the Mrs. Robinson affair. And to a man of this type had been left the defence of life, property and women's honour when Pakistan troops and frontier Afghan tribes invaded Kashmir in 1947.

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New middle class: its importance

The rise of a vast and independent middle class is the greatest of the social changes that the British period has seen. It is the natural consequence of the introduction of modern civilisation and new administration with their numberless branches of activity, advanced industries which require more than skill of hand, a more even distribution of the wealth in the country, and public education opened to all. The unseen but ceaseless pressure of British rule has flattened our hill-tops and elevated our valleys; our Rajahs and Nawabs have grown smaller and smaller and are fast hastening to extinction, while the labourers have been legally assured of their rights, their economic position has been raised beyond the dreams of their grandfathers and the path of their rise to the next higher grade made easy.

This new middle class, unlike their predecessors in the Muslim period, are not the creation of royal favour or baronial patronage; they have an independent status because they know that the work of the new Government and society cannot go on without them. At the top they are being frequently related to our blue blood, and at the bottom labourers' sons are every year rising up to merge themselves in this class by disavowing their ancestry.

Democracy cannot work without social equality, and social equality has been conquered by this vast middle class moving across Hindu society like a steam roller. This non-official middle class has been the life and soul of our political agitation and supplied all its leaders.

India's Military Strength kept under Suppression by Policy

The surest foundation of foreign rule over a country is the confidence of the people in the efficiency and honesty of their administration and its power of military defence. The alien rule must justify itself every day by its work, as it cannot appeal to the subjects' sense of nationality or religious unity, which may keep them tolerant of misrule by their own people almost to the extreme point. In all these respects the years 1941-47 marked the lowest depth reached by the British power in India, but it was the working out of inexorable forces which were inherent in the very nature of England's strange position in India, and which no human contrivance could alter. Statesmanship and goodwill could have smoothed the rupture, but had not the power to prevent it.

A handful of Britons could administer India and a cabinet sitting in a small island four thousand miles away could direct the policy of this sub-continent without the full co-operation of its people, only if India was kept weaker by comparison. Under Lord Lytton (Viceroy from 1876 to 1879) the policy was openly launched for keeping the Indian people as weak as possible. First, the Indians were deprived of arms except under licence, but every European *qua* European was left free to carry arms. Even when licences were given to loyal Indians they were, as a rule, restricted to inferior types of fire arms and munition. The armies of the native princes were legally restricted in size, but even these could not use breech-loaders. Foreign travellers visiting Rajputana and Maharashtra laughed to see these heroic races still handling the long-forgotten muzzle-loaders. Even the sepoys in British pay were armed with the types of muskets discarded as obsolete by their white comrades in arms, and their training was perfunctory. For instance, at the battle of Maiwand (1880) General Burrows employed Jacob's Rifles, a hundred sepoys of which had never fired ball cartridges before, and these men were pitted against Ayub Khan's Afghans armed with the latest Russian rifled artillery.

British policy consistently negatived everything that could make the Indians strong in the modern world. The Franco-Prussian War of 1870 had proved that a nation in arms is superior to a permanent professional army however well-drilled, and that the officers needed by a hastily expanded army cannot be trained in less than three years. And yet educated Indians were debarred from commissions in the so-called Indian army. They were even excluded from the Volunteer Force. In my college days, I saw a jet-black Negro of Jamaica walking on the Esplanade of Calcutta and chewing a straw; he had the letters C.V.R. (Calcutta Volunteer Rifles) on his shoulder-strap. We saw how a foreign imported Negro could become a volunteer here, but not even the highest and most loyal Indian gentleman was entitled to work as an honorary defender of his home and women.

Muller, the Captain of the German raiding cruiser *Emden* during World War No. 1, had been third officer of the Calcutta Port Trust Volunteers during a previous residence in India, and thus learnt all the secrets of the channel from the Bay of Bengal to the capital of India.* No *native* could enter the Calcutta Port Trust Volunteer Force, because it was an eternal law of Nature that every white man *qua* white man was a friend of the British and every native of the country their potential enemy.

Sir Charles Elliott, when Lieutenant Governor of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, took a keen interest in the health of Indian boys. He issued an order urging the holding of physical drill in our schools, with a note *military drill is not to be taught !*

During World War No. I, the Allies, almost overwhelmed by the German man-power, issued an appeal to the people of India to serve as volunteers in Flanders, but not as soldiers, only as mechanics, drivers, etc., and this appeal contained the explanation, "Every Indian who

* He could not utilise this knowledge, during his next visit, because when his *Emden* reached the head of the Bay, he picked up some floating Indians dead and on dissection found them infected with typhoid. So, he avoided this pestilential zone and bombarded Madras instead, as a return for British hospitality and camaraderie in arms of a few years back.

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volunteers will thereby free a Frenchman or a Belgian to fight as a soldier." In other words, Indians (other than professional soldiers), were fit to serve the Empire's cause only as coolies and not as soldiers. I still remember what feelings this circular roused among educated Indians at the time.

To what length British distrust of Indians could go was shown by another incident, which would have been unspeakably comic were it not for its tragic import to India. During this same First World War, France then at her last gasp, sent a call for volunteer soldiers (not mere coolies) to her Bengali citizens of Chandernagar (a small colony two miles by half a mile; near Calcutta). Eighteen Bengali Hindu lads cheerfully enlisted from that town. One Bengali lad of Calcutta, being keen on soldiering, mixed himself up with his cousins of Chandernagar (who were French nationals) and at first got enrolled. But Inspector P. Lahiri of the British Indian Police was on the watch there, he immediately pounced upon this lad, had him extradited, and dragged him back to Calcutta—as an enemy of the British Raj in the making ! *

The problem was not one of mere numbers. The astronomical figures of £. s. d. required in modernising India's armament could be collected only by a national Government, and a national Government was legally justified in refusing to vote the money, unless it could decide all questions of war and peace—as *equal* partners in the Empire—and keep the army of India under Indian control. This was the unanswerable argument used by G. K. Gokhale when he complained that over 45 per cent of India's revenue was eaten up by the army, and the Finance Minister replied that Japan spent 60 per cent of her annual revenue on her army and navy. Gokhale's retort was, "I am ready to vote 75 per cent for the army, if you will officer it with our own men and leave the foreign policy of the country in our hands, as Japan does."

Thus an *impasse* was created which only complete separation could resolve.

How England Intensified National Disunion

As the reign of Edward VII opened with the 20th century, British policy in India was driven into a frantic attempt to prevent the unity of the Indian people by widening every existing line of cleavage and creating new ones by political jugglery. In the 19th century the Muslims as a class had fallen fifty years behind the Hindus, by obeying their bigoted priests, who had preached to them that if they received modern education their souls would go to hell. Thus between 1830 and 1870 the Hindus not only recovered the ground that they had lost during six centuries of orthodox Muslim rule, but forged ahead in wealth, power, culture and share in the administration. The followers of the Prophet only dreamt and vainly sighed for the return of the days of their Nawabs and Padishahs. After the Sepoy Mutiny, Sir Sayyid Ahmad with infinite persistence and in the face of disheartening opposition from his own sect, tempted the Muslims to enter modern colleges and equip themselves for the free competition of the world.

And now under Lords Minto and Hardinge (1907-15) the Muslims were coached and guided to set up a separatist camp in order to counteract the Indian National Congress which was chiefly under Hindu and Parsi leadership. The turbaned Faithful were encouraged to boast that they were a martial people, a manly heroic race (*i.e.*, Asiatic *Herren Volk* or Nazis), while the subtle Hindus clamouring for Swaraj were only vakils and keranis, having brain power but no courage or inner nobility. The Muslims after 1905 continued to nurse their pride under official patronage, demanding "parity with the Hindus," and "our communal quota,"—"our special electorates"—without qualifying for life's struggle by hard toil in schools and factories or foreign study. Their artificially sheltered life, narrow and self-centred, spelt their doom, as soon as the British umbrella was withdrawn from over their heads.

Lord Curzon in his despatch recommending the partition of Bengal (1904) frankly stated that this stroke would have the merit of saving the English from hearing *only one political voice*, which meant that when the Bengali Hindus would next demand political rights for all the Indian people, they would be outvoted by "loyal Muslims" at Dacca and by Beharis in Patna. The Olympians of Downing Street nodded assent.

John Morley, once a prophet of radicalism, exulted in the official nursing of the Muslim League as a native opposition to the Indian National Congress; he wrote to Lady Minto, in October 1906, "The whole thing has been as good as it could be. It has prevented the critical faction here [in England] from any longer representing the Indian Government as the ordinary case of a bureaucracy versus the people." [Lady Minto, p. 47.]

When the Muslim League was set up on official props, there was exultation in the Viceregal Court at Simla (October 1906). A high official wrote to Lady Minto, "A very very big thing has happened today. A work of statesmanship that will affect India and Indian history for many a long year. It is nothing less than the pulling back of 62 millions of people from joining the ranks of seditious opposition." [*India : Minto and Morley*, by Lady Minto, p. 47.]

The next Viceroy, Lord Hardinge of Penshurst followed the same policy. After the Kanpur mosque riot (in which 16 persons were killed, 30 wounded, and 106

* The sending off of this squad of Bengalis was a scene of immense enthusiasm. After two centuries Bengalis were again going to fight as modern soldiers. Sir Ashutosh Chaudhuri (ex-Judge of the Calcutta High Court) and many other notables of Calcutta were present to bless them. I met one of these French colonial Bengalis at Darjeeling two years after the Armistice, and he told me that his squad had been sent to Verdun, when Marshal Petain halted the Germans there. If the British had not barred their Bengali subjects, this Chandernagar corps could have been eighteen hundred strong instead of eighteen only.

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rioters imprisoned) he called a general meeting of the whole of the Muhammadan community and told them, "I was their father and they were my children, and as such I had the right to chastise them if necessary. This sentiment was received with shouts of applause"—because all the riot prisoners were released and the disputed land given back. [*My Indian Years*, p. 87.]

In 1909, W. S. Blunt, one of the noblest British friends of the Muslims, "regretted that in India the motive [of thus favouring the Muslims] seems to have been the encouragement of Muhammadan loyalty as a counterpoise to the Hindu movement for self-government." [*India under Ripon*, p. 298, note added.]

Alas! It was too late in the day to make the *divide et impera* policy finally succeed; the Indian Renaissance had already gone too far for that. The British had tried for years to "bolster up the Sick Man of Europe," and their present attempt to bolster up the Sick Man of India, met with the same fate.

Another arm of the same policy of splitting up the nation was the public exaltation of caste differences among the Hindus. Men to whom all blacks had been pariahs, now began to show a heart torn by anguish for the lot of the depressed caste Hindus. In Bombay and Madras, non-Brahmans were set up against Brahmans; in Bengal "Scheduled Castes" were listed and driven into a special "reservation" or political Ghetto of their own. Morley openly declared that the election of Muslim representatives by a purely Muslim electorate would only bring into the Indian legislature bigoted members, and yet he yielded that point. Ramsay Macdonald at the Second Round Table Conference held at Chequers declared that the filling of legislatures and public offices by free choice among all the people was the essence of democracy, and that communal reservation in these respects should be avoided, or if adopted (only in part) should be abolished after ten years; yet he too yielded. [This is on the authority of the Right Hon'ble M. R. Jayakar, who was present as a member.]

In the end these separatist tricks went the way that History shows such plans to have gone all over the world; but they left a lasting bitterness in Indian minds and put the Muhammadans back by another fifty years.

The Bitter Fruits of England's Selfish Policy

Thus a situation was created in which our British rulers considered India's weakness as England's gain. The inevitable consequence of such a public policy was to create in the Indian mind a conviction that England's distress was India's only opportunity. It was the Irish problem, but multiplied a hundred-fold, because it related not to one small corner of the British Isles but to an area as large as Europe minus Russia and a population one-fifth of the human race, and alien to the English in speech, race and faith.

If India's distress was England's opportunity, India's glory could not be England's glory. A Bengali Deputy Magistrate of some literary fame told Rabindra Nath Tagore that one day when he was talking with the Police Officer of Jorasanko thanah, on some private business, a beat constable came to the office door, saluted, and reported *Tin Lumber Daghi* * *Rabindur-Nath Thakur kal rat ko ghar pauncha*,—"Suspect No. 3 Rabindra Nath Tagore arrived at his home last night."

If it was really necessary to shadow the Nobel Laureate as an enemy of the British Raj, I cannot imagine what can be a greater condemnation of British rule in India. If it was not necessary, what are we to think of the wisdom of the British Governor of Bengal?

Those who had the honour of listening to the intimate talk of Gokhale, Lord Sinha, and Surendra Nath Mallik, know that with all their deep admiration for the British character and gratitude for the benefits of British rule, they finally despaired of India's political salvation ever coming from British hands. All people had lost their faith in British justice and the two World Wars destroyed their faith in British efficiency and invincibility.

The military disasters of Lord Lytton's Afghan War, the surrender of General Townshend at Kut (the greatest shame to British arms since Yorktown), and the unstemmed flight of British troops and administrators before the Japanese in Malay—destroyed the last remnant of belief in British power. The utter mismanagement and confusion that disgraced Lord Lytton's conduct of the Afghan War and Lord Hardinge's Mesopotamian campaign † showed that British control and personnel was no guarantee of efficiency. Belief in British honesty received its death-blow when the Munition Board scandal was pushed up by the Viceroy after World War No. 1. People asked themselves, Could Indians have done worse if they had been in power? The Indians at last discovered, to borrow Kipling's words, that the English were "Not god, nor devil but Man."

The sense of disillusionment was embittered by the step-motherly treatment of Indian interests. Frederick List in his *National System of Political Economy* advocated the nursing of infant industries in a country by protective duties and State bounties, and Bismarck implemented this policy in Germany. But in India, the British Secretary of State tried to strangle the Bombay Cotton Mills by laying on them a Countervailing Excise

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* *Dagh* is an Arabic word meaning a brand put with a red-hot iron on the person of a criminal or slave. I still remember the slight curl on the poet's lip as he told me this story, adding, "I suppose the *dagh* still attaches to me in their dossier."

† The British Government sent to Mesopotamia *smooth-bore artillery* which had been laid aside in the arsenals of India for sixty years as useless, while the Turks used the latest German guns under Von der Goltz. On 29th April, 1916, the British-Indian garrison of Kut, 10,061 fighters and 3,248 followers surrendered to the Turks. *Eighty per cent of the prisoners died in Turkish hands*, the Britishers being about 3,000 and the remaining 10,300 Indians. (Authority: *Times Lit. Suppl.*).

Previous to this disaster, the British Indian wounded had died like flies, being crowded together in boats without medicines or medical attention. Nobody was held responsible for it. (Hardinge, pp. 134-135).

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Duty. The argument used by Lord Salisbury in yielding to the clamour of the Manchester rivals of Bombay, have been called by an Oxford lecturer, C. J. Hamilton as disingenuous. † It is impossible to describe the harm which these duties did to the Indian people's faith in British justice. What Manchester gained, the Empire lost. And Manchester's gain proved illusory in the long run: the patriotic Indians took the vow to wear home-made clothes and to boycott British textiles; in 25 years this spirit spread to the masses. And the new Indian capitalist class, a pure creation of British rule, was antagonised and it henceforth made an alliance with the politically-active intelligentsia of the country. The Indian National Congress which was a charity-boy at birth, no longer suffered from lack of funds.

In the evolution of British India, a stage had now arrived when this country could not be governed from Whitehall, and yet it would have been worse still to leave the entire destiny of India in the hands of the British bureaucracy and white mercantile community with their few Indian *stooges*. It is surprising how little the authorities in England kept themselves informed about India and the Indians. Lord Curzon had sucked Maharajah Sir Madho Singh of Jaipur of several lakhs for his pet scheme, the Victoria Memorial in Calcutta. And yet he, when a Cabinet Minister after return home, wrote a personal letter to Sir Madho Singh by name, asking for another donation, at a time when that Maharaja had been dead for four years! Mr. Surendra Nath Mallik, when working in the India office, London, as a Councillor of the Secretary of State, was one day greeted by his Chief, Lord Birkenhead with the words, "How do you do, Maharajah?" The fact is that Mr. Mallik had a colleague in the Council in the Maharajah of Burdwan. No greater contrast can be imagined than that between Mr. Mallik and Maharajah Bijaychand in size, features and colour; but to the master of India's destiny one native was as good as another.

† *Trade Relations Between England and India*, p. 254.

Our Present Perilous Position

Finally, the greatest mischief done by the long-wavering struggle for India's independence against British conservatism, is that the first generation of Indians into whose hands Free India has fallen have acquired a distorted mentality. A class of professional politicians * has risen to power, and are only held back from doing incalculable mischief by the few giants at the top. A false sense of values has been preached to the electorate; to have been held in political detention by the British is proclaimed as a qualification for a ministership in Free India, and a coat without a collar is the symbol of true patriotism. A tie? good God! it is the badge of a slave of the English. Honest constructive workers for the people's true uplift are taunted with having made no sacrifice compared with the white cap patriots. Our old readers may remember the late Ramananda Chatterjee's apt remarks on this point. Patriotism of this type is sometimes cashed in to found bogus joint-stock banks.

But all these will pass away if only kind Heaven vouchsafes to us fifty years of peace and strong and wise hands at the helm of our Government. Then England's marvellous achievement in India will be appraised in a just balance,

in calm of mind, all passion spent.

* "A professional politician is a person who has no ostensible livelihood except his political status."—Note in the Memorandum submitted by the Government of Bihar to the Simon Commission.

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SONG IN KHEYAL

By CYRIL MODAK

In the stillness of dusk on my heart lean thy cheek,
On my heart lean thy cheek,
And unfold in shy glances the message I seek,
In that language that only fond lovers can speak,
Sad, glad lovers can speak
Lovers can speak.

Let thine arms cling about me like tendrils of vine,
Like tendrils of vine,
Like the whisper of leaves let thy life speak to mine
Of that haunting, mysterious, dark secret of thine,
Dark, sweet secret of thine,
Sweet secret of thine.

Not mine ears but my soul shall attend ever nigh,
Shall attend ever nigh,
Not my lips but my joy-lipped devotion reply,
Not in words, dear my Love, with a kiss and a sigh,
And a kiss and a sigh,
Kiss and a sigh.

Put the flute of my self to thy lips young and fair,
Thy lips young and fair,
That thy breath may breathe life in what died thro' despair,
And its silence shall break into paeans so rare,
Into paeans so rare,
Paeans so rare.

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APPEASEMENT BIRDS COMING HOME TO ROOST

Clenched Fists *Vs.* Folded Hands

By C. L. R. SASTRI

"How far then, Catiline, will you abuse our patience?"—Cicero

The lot of the political writer—especially if he is a political writer on a monthly, not a daily or a weekly—is a very unenviable one: by the time his article appears in print the news may become utterly stale and, at whiles, even false to the pattern of events that emerges ultimately from that canvas over which the Moving Finger traces its indelible outlines. I have often encountered this difficulty while writing in the columns of *The Modern Review*, and not least while writing now when no one can claim to know positively the final outcome of the rapidly increasing tension between India and Pakistan. For a few tense moments it nearly seemed that war was imminent and that the Congress's appeasement chickens were on the point of coming home to roost—to a very sanguinary kind of roost, indeed. In addition, there were all those wires of nerves between the two Premiers—wires that were, as the late Mr. G. K. Chesterton happily remarked of the rolling sentences of De Quincey, "lengthening out like nightmare corridors or rising higher and higher like impossible eastern pagodas."

The Clenched Fist Relaxes a Little

We heaved a profound sigh of relief when, at long last, the Nawabzada closed his telegraphic correspondence with the Pandit, and closed it with the same appealing air of injured innocence in which, a month or so ago, he had commenced it. That the war clouds, though lowering menacingly, did not actually burst even after the firing of that final epistolary shot was a welcome indication that our exceedingly loving and courteous neighbour was, perhaps, still waiting for an unmistakable signal from her Anglo-American friends to precipitate hostilities. Probably second thoughts had begun to assail the minds of those friends. With Korea acting as a stern warning to them they might well have been considering the feasibility of going slow for the nonce with fresh adventures: Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan, for all his clenched fists and flashing eyes, might, when put to the test, prove to be no less a catastrophic liability than Dr. Syngman Rhee and Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek. I am far from suggesting that the lesson of Korea has been thoroughly learnt by these much-vaunted "democratic" Powers. Had it been learnt properly the fateful Kaesong parleys would not have dragged on as they have done so far, nor would they have been continually threatening a serious deadlock. America, in particular, is "all out" to exterminate Russia and its satellites—the only factor deterring it from that frightful resolve being the equally stubborn determination of the Kremlin and its "fellow-travellers" not to allow themselves to be so exterminated, even for the laudable purpose of thereby facilitating the process of "democratising" our entire mundane planet. Obviously, the Soviet and its minions do not know what is good for them and the world at large although Messrs. Truman and Acheson (with the backing of their full military might) have been only too willing to point it out to them for the last ever so many months and years.

Pakistan Very Much in the Anglo-American Picture

I have always maintained in these columns that Pakistan is the "blue-eyed boy" of Britain and America: it would have been that, of course, even if sundry strategic considerations (the only considerations that have any sort of validity now-a-days) had not so miraculously supervened in its favour. Pakistan and foreign friends have grown in beauty side by side. I am not suggesting that, literally, they have filled one home with glee: it is, however, my firm conviction that they have contrived to fill a fair number of homes with glee. They have mutual bonds of self-interest: something deep in the one calls to a corresponding deep in the other. Besides, they have—or imagine they have—a common enemy in Hindu India (which is the only real India). But, unfortunately for us, strategic considerations have also supervened, "making the gruel thick and slab." Pakistan is a vital link in the extensive chain of the Anglo-American defence (as well as offence) system; and these Western "democracies" naturally feel that, Communist extirpation being their sacred mission, the far-off divine event for which the whole creation is evidently moving, Pakistan must, at any cost, be coaxed and cajoled and cosseted by them as against the "Bharatiya Bania"—the amiable Pak Radio's endearing nomenclature for the Hindu citizen *pur sang*.

Cause Greater than Questions of Right and Wrong

Thus it has come about that these Western stalwarts have been deeming it their bounden duty to sponsor Pakistan's cause as against India's through good report and bad, and irrespective of the hour and the season. In this simple and estimable scheme of things such paltry questions as what is right and what is wrong inevitably fail to find a place—much less a conspicuous place. They just do not exist. They are not regarded as existing because they are not supposed to be serviceable to *the cause*. Judged by a strict code of conduct they know as well as anyone else that Pakistan is, and has been ever since this spot of bother was [illegible] on the world's attention through our

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country's earnest (and imbecile) appeal to the United Nations four years ago, not only wrong but *tremendously* wrong—*wrong as wrong can be*. It must be said to the credit of these Anglo-Americans that they are no double-distilled idiots and that if they cannot see a needle in a haystack they can see the haystack all right—provided that it is repeatedly pointed out to them. Pakistan's aggression in Kashmir was not comparable to a needle in a haystack: it was the haystack itself—with a capital "H." It was as large as life—some are prepared to aver that it was larger than life. Even so it took a deal of pointing out on our part; but in the end, the champions of "democracy" were not averse to acknowledging (tardily) that Pakistan was (in a vague sort of way) guilty of aggression against India. Our task, to be sure, had been lightened considerably by Pakistan's own belated admission, when pushed into a tight corner by the cross-examination of the United Nations' Commission, that it had, in the first instance, assisted the tribal hordes in their barbarous depredations on Kashmir and, in the second, had, at a later stage, itself actively participated in them. Further confirmations poured in during successive stages of these protracted investigations and the coping-stone was laid on this incriminating edifice by no less an authority than Sir Owen Dixon himself, the first Mediator in the affair. If there ever was such a thing as piling Pelion on Ossa this was it—beyond a shadow of doubt.

Circumstantial Evidence

All this irrefragable evidence against Pakistan was, however, of no practical benefit to us: circumstances, we are told, alter cases, and what would have been unmistakable aggression, aggression with a stamping iron heel, if Pakistan had been Korea almost ceased to be aggression because Pakistan is—well, so patently not Korea. "My face is my fortune, Sir," said the maiden in the story. Pakistan may likewise boast that the Islamic complexion of its country is its "bull point." That Islamic complexion has immunised it against the consequences of its dastardly aggression in Kashmir. It has acted as a powerful talisman. It has served as a potent shield against the shafts of retributive justice. After prodigious delay—contrasting glaringly with its lightning-like speed in Korea a year ago—the authorities at Lake Success (or their duly appointed representatives) were forced, by the sheer weight of evidence at their disposal, to acknowledge the extremely dubious part that their protagonist played in the Kashmir affair. There is, after all, such a thing as circumstantial evidence, and some circumstantial evidence, as Thoreau noted long ago, is very strong, "as when you find a trout in the milk." I am afraid that some *other* circumstantial evidence is also very strong, as when you find a Pakistani soldier in Kashmir; and that circumstantial evidence, it goes without saying, becomes enormously strong, indeed, when, instead of one Pakistani soldier, you find whole battalions and brigades of them.

Just One of Pretty Fanny's Ways

Pakistan initially denied, before the world organisation that it had any part in the Kashmir imbroglio. That, clearly, was due to sheer modesty: even in these days of blatant publicity, of high-pressure salesmanship, no evil-doer cares to blazon forth his wickedness so openly. Truth will out one day: why, then, so the argument runs, should we, by our gratuitous affirmations, try to hasten its divulgence? Pakistan, probably, argued also that it was the business of the UNCIP to unravel the tangled skein of Kashmir happenings and that it would be a veritable shame to take that business out of its hands by owning up to its guilt before that unravelling process was completed. The UNCIP duly unravelled the tangled skein and discovered that the spider that wove that complicated web was none other than its own foster-child, its own cherished darling. But it must be said to the credit of the UNCIP that it did not, as some others in its predicament might have done, throw up its hands in righteous indignation on account of that discovery: it was made of sterner stuff, and did not so much as bat its eyelids, feeling, evidently, that it was just one of pretty Fanny's ways, that a newly-created Islamic State *must* have its high-jinks, its exalted moments, before it simmers down to the disgusting drabness of life. So it studiously refrained from doing anything beyond merely mentioning in one of its resolutions that the presence of regular Pakistani troops in Kashmir constituted "a material change in the situation." The resolution runs as follows:

> "The Security Council resolution of April 21, 1948, which sets forth the terms of reference of the Commission, was adopted *with cognisance of the presence of Indian troops in the State of Jammu and Kashmir*. The presence of *Pakistan troops* in Jammu and Kashmir, however, *constitutes a material change in the situation*, inasmuch as the Security Council did *not* contemplate the presence of such troops in that State, *nor was it appraised thereof by the Government of Pakistan*. The Commission cannot accept the statement in the memorandum (submitted by Pakistan) that the Commission's description in this respect is one-sided and inadequate." (My italics).

Pakistan's Admission

Pakistan's guilt was brought out plainly when, in answer to the questionnaire placed by the Commission before its Government on August 4, 1948, its Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Mahommed Zaffarulla Khan, confesed that the Pakistan army was, at the time, in the over-all command of the Azad forces. Further, during the *expose* made by the High Command of the Pakistan army on August 9, 1948, it was stated that the Azad Kashmir forces were operationally controlled by

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the Pakistan army. Pakistan's aggression in Kashmir is a clear violation of the U. N. Charter by one of its own adherents. The Charter says explicitly:

> "We, the peoples of the United Nations, are determined to establish conditions under which justice and respect for the obligations arising from treaties and other sources of international law can be maintainted, and, for these ends, ensure, by the acceptance of principles and institutions of methods, that armed forces shall not be used save in the common interest."

As for India, it put itself absolutely in the right by performing the normal obligations of a State by resisting the aggressor within its boundaries. The Security Council admits this without any mental reservation. Its resolution proceeds to state:

> "Pending the acceptance of the conditions for a final settlement, Indian forces, as provided for in Part II B2, will assist the local authorities in the maintenance of law and order."

This is proof positive, if such were needed, that the Security Council fully recognised the sovereign rights of India over Kashmir. By not withdrawing its troops from Kashmir Pakistan violated the terms of the UNCIP resolution. But the Security Council has not deemed it fit to admonish that errant country: on the contrary, it has, with a view to placating it, passed a new resolution that is diametrically opposed to its previous one. For far less—*if anything at all*—Korea has been reduced to shambles. It is only too true (is it not?) that while, as the adage has it, one may steal a horse, another may not even look over the hedge!

Pakistan Virtually Condoned

There is an article in the UNO Charter which prescribes to the Security Council the course of action it should follow when such a violation of its resolutions takes place. It reads:

> "The Security Council may decide what measures not involving the use of armed forces are to be employed to give effect to its decision, and it may call upon its members to apply such measures. These may include complete or partial interruption of economic relations and of rail, sea, air, postal, telegraphic, radio, and other means of communication, and the severance of diplomatic relations."

But, of course, nothing of the sort had been done in regard to Pakistan: what *was* done was to pamper the guilty one all the more and further to queer the pitch for the aggrieved party. UNO has reduced itself to such a pitiable farce nowadays! It is completely subservient to the United States, and to the United States everything is subservient except the exigencies of the cold war between itself and Russia. As I have already indicated, Pakistan's actions are not being seen in the dry, clear light of reason but in the prismatic hues of international diplomacy, to which highly questionable touchstone every controversy is brought at some point or other in the protracted proceedings.

This is because in the overheated imagination of Uncle Sam there is, at present, only one topic under the sun, and that it this cold war between his own country and the one that pulls the strings from behind the so-called Iron Curtain. If there are other topics they jolly well have to toe the line of that principal one or go under; and Pakistan's aggression in Kashmir—aggression that has been tacitly acknowledged by the UNCIP—is one of those "other topics" that has to toe that line. The consideration that applies here—of toeing the line, that is—is whether, irrespective of the merits of the dispute (which, incidentally, are made to appear as though they do not matter a thinker's curse), the interests of America, so far as this cold war business is concerned, are appreciably advanced: that, and none other, is the preposterous yardstick.

On Being Astute

Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan is an astute politician—they are all astute in Pakistan—and in his latest correspondence with Pandit Nehru has not been slow to capitalise on this extreme good-will of Britain and America towards his country. One can afford to be astute—very astute, indeed—if one has no scruples, inhibitions, complexes, what you will: one can afford to be astute—very astute, indeed—if one has only *one* object in life and if, further, one is hampered by no crippling ideologies in one's pursuit of it. In our unfortunate land, however, things are a little bit different. We lack that single-minded devotion and that resolute purpose: in addition, we are hamstrung by our own silly slogans. The Muslims desperately wanted a "homeland" of their own: the Congress ultimately granted it to them, though not without misleading our countrymen till the bitter end into thinking that it would rather perish than grant it. Some people did perish—mostly old men and women and children—in the process but not a single hair of a single politician that had no compunction in betraying our beloved Motherland had been hurt. Besides, thousands of our young women were dishonoured in every possible fashion. But we soon got used to these unspeakable humiliations, telling one another that, obviously, the road to independence *via* partition was paved with them, that every noble enterprise has its appropriate price, that you cannot make omelettes without breaking eggs.

But that was not the end of the story. Something worse was to come. Having gleefully partitioned our country our Congress friends—with that exemplary large-heartedness which has always been their special distinction—decided to make our portion of the old undivided India thoroughly "secular." In the old days—that is, before the advent of the Gandhian Congress on the political scene—one would have surmised (and rightly) that if, in undivided India, the country was a composite one (though, to be sure, with a preponderating Hindu majority), in divided India one portion, being Muslim, the remainder would, as

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unquestionably, be Hindu. But nothing of the kind happened, and, having presented the Muslims with a "homeland" of their own, our new "Ma Baps" saw to it that the poor Hindus did not get one of theirs. The Hindu has no country that he can call his own *exclusively*: he is a helot in Pakistan—when, that is, he has not been ruthlessly driven out of it—and in India he is just one among members of several communities. The Muslim has two countries, the Hindu has not even one. That is the bare truth about the evil legacy of partition *vis-a-vis* that modern orphan of the storm, the Hindu. The precious identity of the Hindu has been swamped and submerged by a massive tidal-wave of "secularism," the like of which has never been witnessed anywhere and at any time.

Topsy-Turveydom

To come back to Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan, he had, to be perfectly fair to him, been born extremely astute; and has been becoming astuter with every passing day, what with having, as I have already hinted, no inhibitions of any kind (as we, on our side, have) and with the British and the Americans vying with one another in showering sympathy on him and on his country, sublimely regardless of the rights and wrongs of the Kashmir dispute. We, on the other hand, thanks to that "putrefying albatross," appeasement, that our Congress Government has clamped on its neck, have to watch our steps very carefully lest a single false one render us open to the accusation that we are "narrow-minded," "parochial," "communal" and so forth. It is astonishing the twist our Congress leaders have given to the term, "communal." Those Hindus who bemoan partition and its repulsive brood of consequences and are not afraid of espousing the Hindu cause—seeing how tragically it has suffered, and continues to suffer, at the hands of Congressmen—are, it is being told in Gath and bruited about in the streets of Askalon, "communal": that is, those of us who have always stuck to our glorious ideal of a united India and have set our faces like flint against the disruptionists in our midst: whereas Congressmen, who have always been extravagantly partial to these same disruptionists and who, ultimately, presented them with Pakistan on a silver platter are supposed to be unexceptionably "national," untainted in the least by the virus of any vicious "ism." It is a merry game the Congress has been playing with our unthinking countrymen, and still goes on playing, and there, apparently, is no end to it—none, at any rate, that I, for one, can, at the moment, visualise. Those who pandered to the outrageously "communal" slogans of the Muslims—to wit, the Congress "high-ups"—are, it appears, commendably "non-communal": while those who consistently upheld the "non-communal" ideal are, it would seem, arrantly "communal"! This is the lop-sided logic that is now reigning in the counsels of the country!

"Clenched Fists": A Form of Self-expression

Small wonder that Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan has been becoming bolder day by day: this half-portion of a man has been steadily bloating himself to the dimensions of a veritable giant—with the giant's "thews, stature, bulk and big assemblance." There is no dead wood, in the shape of slogans and ideologies, to be hacked out of his path: he takes his rides along a smooth and ashphalted esplanade; and all the time he is certain that his Anglo-American friends will be cheering him on from the wings, so to speak. A happy man, if ever there was one: so happy, indeed, that every now and then, he is impelled to express his gaiety of spirit by clenching his fists at the "Kaffirs" beyond the border. When he clenches his fists we are to understand that his happiness is boiling over. Had he been a poet he would, of a certainty, have poured forth his soul

"In some stretched metre of an antique song."

Being, however, only a politician he has to content himself with clenching his fists. Some, similarly circumstanced, have been known to cock a snook at their enemies. The mode of self-expression, obviously, varies with the individual. It is his misfortune, not his fault, that Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan has chosen to clench his fists as the only "way out," in a phrase immortalised by our Rajaji a few years ago when he was labouring hard for the creation of Pakistan. We, on our part, have reacted to that belligerent gesture by folding our hands. A soft gesture turns away wrath—does it not? Can, for instance, anything be a softer gesture than this? At long last our Government awakes to the latest exodus of Hindus from East Bengal: an exodus fully as tragic as any of the previous exoduses. This exodus began some two or three months ago. But it was *only on August 18* that our Government was able to screw up its courage to the sticking place and to lodge a mild protest with Pakistan about it; and how mild that protest was can be gauged by these words:

> "The Government of India has asked the Governments of Pakistan and East Bengal to look into 'these vital matters' urgently, *not in a spirit of controversy*, but with the object of allaying, at the earliest possible moment, the nervousness and sense of insecurity felt by minorities in East Pakistan." (My italics).

Principles Come in the Way of Protests

It will be noticed, in the first instance, what an unconscionably long time our Government usually takes even to lodge a protest against Pakistan and, in the second, what a sickeningly innocuous form that protest takes when, somehow, it does get itself lodged. This, I need hardly remind my readers, is in striking contrast with the policy of our loving neighbour which makes the welkin ring with complaints against us even where

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no ground for such complaints exists. Probably this is "secularism" with a vengeance: it may well be that it militates against our reputed principles if we draw the attention of our *vis-a-vis* too often and too minatorily against its acts of omission and of commission with respect to the Hindus still living within its borders. So our rulers elect "to sit upon the matter" till the urgency has departed from it and cobwebs have begun to be spun over it.

"There is no hurry in their hands,
No hurry in their feet."

They have, obviously, not profited from experience: nor is there evident in their political philosophy any undue solicitude for the welfare and security of their kinsmen and kinswomen across the border. They have set an ideal before themselves (a very mistaken ideal, as it happens) and it takes precedence over the welfare and security of their kinsmen and kinswomen not only across the borders but also within them. Even after the Nehru-Liaquat Ali Pact of April of last year there has been no dearth of Hindu migrations from East Bengal and, recently, those migrations have assumed serious proportions; *and all that the authorities here decide to do in the interests of those Hindus is to lodge a belated protest and, while lodging it, to assure the guilty ones that "it is in no spirit of controversy" that they are doing so.*

I am certain that "secularism" can no further go. It passes my comprehension how, in these circumstances, the interests of the minorities in Pakistan can be safeguarded. Nor, of course, have they been safeguarded so far. In any other country, the Government that could not, or would not, protect its kinsmen and kinswomen in another would have been driven out of office long ago; it is a sad commentary on the toughness of fibre of our people that the Government is still in the saddle. The people themselves are inhumanly apathetic to the welfare and security of their kinsmen in Pakistan: after all we get the Government we deserve. We deserve no better Government because, as I have already hinted, we lack the requisite toughness of fibre, moral as well as physical: we are, verily, like the limp rags of Rudyard Kipling's apt description that no buckram can stiffen.

Poor Publicity and Late Publicity

I should like to linger a little over this matter of our Government's habitual delay and lukewarmness in bringing our complaints, not only to the notice of Pakistan (the guilty party), but also to the notice of the world at large. Our Government is both incompetent and inhuman—inhuman, that is, towards its own people, though overflowing with the milk of human kindness so far as the Muslims are concerned. Some time ago three villages of Assam were occupied by the East Bengal troops. After 48 hours or so New Delhi came out *with an apologia for Pakistan*! Those three villages, it would seem, are only *disputed* territory. New Delhi was in so much of a hurry to rush to the rescue of Pakistan that it forgot for the nonce that Pakistan troops have no more right to occupy disputed territory than they have to lay hands on Indian territory. Then some further clarification of this elucidation was provided in Parliament: all the three villages were not disputed territory: one or two were Indian. If a protest was made to Pakistan by New Delhi it was *after* these elucidations and clarifications, not before them. Of course, our worthy Parliamentarians were completely satisfied with the Government's statement. They did not care to ask the powers-that-be why no protest had been made to Pakistan earlier, nor why it took upon itself to be the apologist of Pakistan.

New Delhi Misses a Golden Opportunity

Take, again, that matter of our massing our troops on our borders. We were not told that there was such a massing of our troops. We were not told that there had been a rushing of a Pakistani brigade to the Poonch area in Kashmir and that we had no option but to be ready for any emergency—all the more so as the "jehad" offensive was steadily mounting in Pakistan. The Pakistani papers and the Pakistani politicians and the Pakistani people were concertedly waging a propaganda war against India, and, on top of it, there was this rushing of a Pakistani brigade to the Poonch area. That even such a weak and namby-pamby and apathetic Government like ours was driven to mass its army near the border is ample evidence that the situation had become well-nigh intolerable: the pressing of a button from Karachi was, evidently, sufficient to start a conflagration. There would have been a nice fluttering of dovecotes in the chancelleries of the world if, as soon as we got wind of that rushing of the Pakistani brigade to the Poonch area in Kashmir, we had given the widest possible publicity to it, especially in Britain and America where love and admiration for Pakistan run high and where they trip over one another's heels and fall over one another's necks in acclaiming old Liaquat's picturesque antics, which age cannot wither nor custom stale.

Liaquat Ali Khan Steals a March over Pandit Nehru

But did we? To ask the question is to furnish the answer. But over there in Pakistan they are not somnolent, and Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan, noting how sadly we missed our golden opportuntiy, smartly turned our missing it to his unique advantage and, neatly slurring over his rushing of one of his brigades to the Poonch area, warned his Western "democratic" allies that India had massed nearly its whole army on Pakistan's borders and was hourly threatening his country's security. His Western "democratic" allies, as usual, affected to swallow Liaquat's monstrous allegation against us and started lecturing us about our

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moral degradation; they lectured our beloved Panditji in especial for having so soon forgotten his foster-father's celebrated teaching of *ahimsa* and brotherhood of man and universal love and charity, *et hoc genus omne*. Once more, it was evident, Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan stole a march over Pandit Nehru. Where the Pandit should have blazoned forth Pakistan's turpitude in trying to start hostilities any moment and his having, of sheer necessity, to concentrate India's armoured might on Pakistan's borders as an emergency measure to meet all eventualities, he left it to his opposite number in Karachi (by his tragic silence) to publicise a Bowdlerised version of events leading to that concentration calculated to damage India's prestige abroad as much as possible. The Pandit is no match for the Nawabzada—has never been, in fact—either in subtlety of intellect or in boldness of action and has been manouevred by the latter into the necessity of defending his concentration of troops on the Pakistan border: whereas, if he had played his cards properly, it should have been the Nawabzada who would have been obliged to justify his rushing of that Pakistani brigade to the Poonch area in Kashmir which made India's action inevitable.

Our Action Completely Justified

My readers would not have failed to notice that it was *only* when the Pandit had been driven into a corner, so to speak, by the Nawabzada that he revealed the reason for the drastic step he had taken in moving our army to the Pakistan border: namely, that initial rushing of a Pakistani brigade to the Poonch area. And the Pandit is a seasoned politician! The *Economist* of London is not, as a rule, friendly to India—very few British and American papers are, for that matter—but, in its issue of July 21, it was forced, by the sheer weight of logic, to take India's side in the dispute. Discussing "the alarming intensification of the Kashmir dispute," it writes:

> "There is little wonder that Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan, placed in a tragically difficult situation, in relation both to outside opinion and to his political opponents at home, seeks to focus attention on Indian military measures which, although provocative, no Government in Delhi could well avoid taking now in view of the menacing deterioration of the situation."

Even in Britain they see light now and then though, to be sure, they prefer to grope in darkness as far as India is concerned. This has been admitted in so many words by the *New Statesman and Nation* when, referring to the attitude of the *Daily Telegraph*, it says, in its issue of August 10:

> "The attitude of the *Daily Telegraph*" (it refers to the *D.T.'s* editorial of August 7 which sought to prove that if war began between India and Pakistan the blame would necessarily fall on Delhi) "too clearly confirms the view strongly held in Delhi that British conservatism is irrationally, passionately and dangerously wedded to the Pakistan cause."

Small Mercies

This weekly forgets that even the Liberal *Manchester Guardian* has been consistently and vehemently against India over the Kashmir question; nor has the *New Statesman* itself been uniformly in our favour. However, we should be thankful for small mercies, and we are thankful for what it proceeds to write in the same issue:

> "The incontrovertible facts are that the Maharajah of Kashmir acceded to India; that, in the case of Junagadh, Mr. Jinnah publicly committed himself to the view that the decision of a sovereign prince to adhere to one or other domininon was legally decisive whatever the views of his people; that India voluntarily offered a plebiscite: and that no Indian troops moved into Kashmir until the tribesmen poured through passes into the valley burning and pillaging as they came."

After referring to Mr. Denis Warner's (the *Daily Telegraph's* correspondent in Pakistan) account of fanatical preparations for war in Pakistan it declares:

> "The Indian press and public are calm and peaceful in comparison with their neighbours. If, as Mr. Nehru says in his appeal for reason and peace to the Pakistan Prime Minister, he feels it necessary to keep troops 20 miles away from the frontier beyond which such fanaticism reigns, who can be surprised or attribute to him 'primary responsibility' if Pakistan fires the first shot?"

It is not often that even these radical papers care to espouse our cause: that is why I have thought it proper to quote so freely from them on the rare occasions when they refuse to succumb to Pakistan's blandishments.

Instead of Playing up We Have Played Down Our Case

I have mentioned, in passing, how much our cause has gone by default owing to the deporable lack of vision and publicity on the part of our Government. Neither in England nor in America have the authorities deemed it fit to present our case as it should be presented. I am not suggesting that we should always have played up our case, though I fail to see what would have been wrong if we did. Actually, we have systematically played it *down*. We have, not seldom, hidden our light under a bushel. We have allowed Pakistan to do all the talking and writing: the initiative has always been with Pakistan. When we do rush into print it is only to defend ourselves against some of the more grotesque charges of our loving neighbour. I do not remember ever having come across any publicity work on our side that attempted to put Pakistan in the wrong: the little publicity work we have done has been to defend ourselves when Pakistan has tried to put *us* in the wrong.

Not that Pandit Nehru does not know the value of publicity. At the height of Indo-Pakistan tension he said at a meeting in Delhi (or was it on the floor of our august Parliament?) that what he was mortally afraid of was not the Pakistanis but our own "commu-

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nalists" (meaning, gentle reader, the Hindu Mahasabha and the R.S.S. and, I am certain, even some Congressmen like Purushottamdas Tandonji, the Rashtrapati himself, because he is not frightened out of his wits as our beloved Panditji is by the term "Hindu"). Instead of concentrating all his attention on Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan Pandit Nehru diverted it to spout on his old complexes. That, certainly, was not the time to rave at the Hindus: that was the time for him to rave at the Muslims. But though he has shown himself to be absolutely unpublicity-minded as regards Pakistan he has proved himself to be enormously publicity-conscious as regards what he chooses to term as the "Hindu communalists." During these critical days no pro-Hindu Hindu has made any public speech or issued any statement except to endorse Pandit Nehru's stand on the Kashmir issue; but the pro-Hindu Hindu is Panditji's King Charles's head and he cannot leave him alone: least of all when the Indo-Pakistan tension is at its height because it furnishes him with an excellent opportunity of waxing "secular." It is then that "secularism" is also at its height. Else note the following question and answer in Parliament on August 14:

> Mr. A. M. Rathnaswamy: "In view of the past history of the Muslim League and the strained relations between India and Pakistan, does the Government propose to declare the organisation unlawful?"
>
> Mr. C. Rajagopalachari: "The Government is inclined to allow *more and more* political activities on their part than reduce them."

"Secularism" moves in a mysterious way its wonders to perform!

Conclusion

To hark back to our woeful lack of publicity let me quote from Mrs. Taya Zinkin's article in the *Economist* of London recently on "India, Pakistan and the West":

> "There is much force in repetition: every Westerner, in any way connected with the East, has heard a Pakistani extol his case with burning conviction; the same Westerner has, perhaps, never heard the Indian case at all; he may have seen it in print, but if he has heard it, it has been put to him most certainly by a critical Indian whose own mind was not quite made up on the merits of the case. No two Indians will put the same emphasis on the same points, and the Westerner cannot be blamed if he fails to see light where light is hidden by shadows."

She proceeds:

> "Whereas the Pakistani case has been made clearly, simply, promptly, persistently, and convincingly, the Indian case has never been well made, it has always been made too late and the arguments used have tended to be obscure by the shifting of the arguments. *The fault presumably lies in the quality of India's publicity abroad.*" (My italics).

Our Congress leaders, I have always maintained, have, in their relations with Pakistan, been more eager to strike attitudes than to win points: no wonder Pakistan has been encouraged to beat the war-drum. Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan knows the mind of Pandit Nehru: he has taken the full measure of him. Pandit Nehru has not been able to repay the compliment: there lies part of our country's tragedy.

———:O:———

PROSPECTS OF DEMOCRACY IN FREE INDIA

By Dr. NANDALAL CHATTERJI, M.A., Ph.D., D.Litt.,
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When India achieved her long-awaited freedom in 1947, many of us hoped that now we could at last settle down and enjoy the blessings of democracy in peace and without any further struggle. But, as a matter of fact, it has been increasingly felt that the battle of democracy is never finished and that it has to be won every minute, every hour and every day afresh. Eternal vigilance may or may not be the price of freedom, but democracy at any rate is unattainable without it. In a new State like ours, where our democratic ideas and experiences are still amateurish, new dangers and problems are arising which may shatter our infant democracy to pieces. To some extent, these dangers and problems are a reflex of the totalitarian epoch which confronts the world of today. But, these are largely inherent in the character of our social, economic system and our political evolution. Even in countries which are regarded as the custodians of democracy the actual practice of democratic precepts leaves much to be desired. We, therefore, in India, who are yet not much ahead on the road to democracy, have to guard against such trends as are the very negation of democracy.

Democracy is the catchword of every party and group in India, but that makes the position rather perplexing, for the catchword signifies different things to different people. Now that the general elections are approaching, a lot of political and philosophical jargon is being dished out in the form of rival manifestoes by leaders of all shades of opinion as the meaning of democracy which they visualise. It is indeed interesting to find that India calls itself fascist, and all

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pose to be democratic. Even the most reactionary groups swear by democracy. The consequence is that the common man is getting bewildered by the conflicting implications of democracy as interpreted in terms of Sarvodaya, Socialism, Marxism, Co-operative Commonwealth, Ram Rajya, etc.

It is a pity that to most people in India as elsewhere democracy is still an electioneering platitude, and it hardly stands for a genuine faith in the way of life which serves to promote the growth of human personality and seeks to safeguard equality of rights. "Party in power and party in opposition and citizens voting for one or the other," is what democracy means to many people including politicians. But, that is not all, for that merely indicates the external machinery of democracy. It is the spirit which underlies the concept of democracy which is more important. This spirit is, however, yet in its infancy in India. There is a growing apprehension in the minds of many careful observers in India that a sincere faith in a democratic way of life which is vital to the moral and spiritual personality of every individual will not grow up easily in the situation as it obtains today. There are obstacles to the growth of the democratic spirit in all its fundamental aspects—its connotation of human dignity, its recognition of liberty, and its technique of discussion. The obstacles are manifold. Tyranny of majority rule may jeopardise the sanctity of human values, while party discipline and power-politics may hinder the liberty of thought and expression. That these dangers are not imaginary will be apparent to those who have watched the recent trends of political thought and activity in India.

The new constitution of India is doubtless democratic both in its objectives and structure, and is intended to promote constitutionalism in our country. But, there are certain questions which need to be answered before we can be sure of our position. Is not our constitution much too legalistic and status-quoite? Will it work in the absence of sufficient tradition and experience of parliamentarianism in India? Will it survive the onslaught of Socialist or Marxist ideology? Is it not conservative in tone? Does it really harmonise with our social and economic life? Is it the reflex of a finished revolution, or an incomplete one? Will it be conducive to the stability of government? Is it likely to discourage the age-old centrifugal tendency in Indian political life? Can it really lead to a classless society? Will its unduly composite make-up supply the necessary psychological fervour which alone can safeguard the common man's faith in democracy?

Questions such as these are not easy to answer. But, on these answers alone would depend the success of the Indian experiment in parliamentary democracy. There is no doubt that our constitution is based on the concept of a democratic state, but the functioning of democracy has not been easy anywhere in the world, much less in our country. It will be specially difficult in India because of the peculiar set-up of our socio-economic life. The difficulty will appear not so much in the application of the principle of secularism which permeates the constitution, but in the harmonisation of governmental authority and the rights of communal or religious groups. Again, the enforcement of justice, liberty, equality and fraternity in the midst of social, religious, economic and provincial differences and rivalries can never be easy. The acid test of a true democracy lies in the actual enforcement of these fundamental rights, and not merely in their outward profession. The political set-up in India is yet in a state of flux. Faith in democracy has not yet taken root in the mind of the average citizen. Communalism, provincialism and castism which are all an antithesis of democracy still vitiate our politics. Furthermore, political parties are still dominated more by personal and group loyalties than either national interests or democratic principles. Our constitution which is devoid of any ideological creed and which is more jerry-built than homogeneous will tend to encourage more of our present-day party-ism and conservatism than a dynamic resistance to collectivist authoritarianism.

Totalitarianism and communism are the twin dangers that lie ahead of our democracy which will be necessarily pitted against both. It is problematical as to how far our constitution will be able to withstand either or both of the two. There are certain features in it which may lead to totalitarianism. For example, the powers of the President are so extensive that these may favour party dictatorship. Unrestricted adult franchise is good in theory, but in the present conditions of India it may encourage class war and class dictatorship. Moreover, the recent encroachment on the freedom of expression is fraught with dangerous consequences. Immediately, the amendments to the constitution may not be of grave consequence, but there is no doubt that these may be misused in future. What is at present disquieting is not that freedom of expression is being indirectly controlled, but that freedom of expression is being regarded as an evil which can be tolerated within certain limits only. As a matter of fact, however, freedom of expression is vital to democracy, and democracy can not function without it. It is true that in the presence of treason from within and aggression from without strict vigilance is called for, but the crisis must be justified before restraints are imposed.

Liberty of thought and expression, so fundamental to democracy, cannot co-exist with a regimented Press. The Press is the greatest bulwark of modern democracy, and its role as the warden of popular rights is too significant to be ignored. The Indian Press has played in the past a memorable role in the history of our national movement, and it has set up on the whole

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high traditions of independence. But, there are at present perils confronting the Press too. If it is controlled by powerful vested interests, it can never serve the cause of democracy. How the influence of such vested interests has of late begun to operate in the sacred realm of the Press is too well-known to need an elaborate mention. It is sufficient to state that such a contingency will be fatal to democracy. Besides, a collusion between the government of the day and the Press will be no less detrimental to the cause of democracy than the subservience of the press to particular vested interests or cliques. It is yet difficult to foresee how far the Press in India will be able to safeguard its cherished independence in the face of encroachments from the side of the governmental authority on the one hand and infiltrations of undemocratic interests on the other. All that can be hazarded is that the situation is not very hopeful, judging from the facts as they appear at the present moment. The honest votaries of the Press would themselves readily admit that it is becoming more and more difficult for the professional journalist to preserve his independence. If the Press completely succumbs to the diverse allurements or threats that are being bandied about, the cause of democracy in India will suffer an irreparable damage. We can at best hope that this eventuality will not materialise at least in the near future.

There is no gainsaying the fact that democracy can function only if the main parties are agreed on the fundamentals which include the integrity and independence of the state and the inviolability of the basic principles of the constitution. Is it certain that this basic agreement will continue in the changing international situation of the world? Will not the use of violence retard the growth of democracy? The man who killed Gandhiji acted on the dangerous assumption that it is far easier to destroy one's opponent than to convert him by means of discussion. A potential danger to democracy therefore lies in the resort to violence and intimidation by force. Democratic conventions will be nullified, if violence is adopted as a method of political activity. It is well-known that if a ruling party shows a totalitarian tendency, the opposition will necessarily adopt violent means to overthrow the government. A bloody revolution will not be thought of, if a peaceful change of government could be possible. It is, however, reassuring to find that practically every party in India has condemned violence as a method of gaining political power. Even the Communist party has made a declaration in favour of non-violence. Still, the future governments of India will have to exercise the utmost vigilance in the matter of detecting and eradicating this evil, for there can be no compromise between democratic practice and the methodology of violence.

But, violence will not totally disappear for the mere asking of it, or by merely paying lip homage to the philosophy of Mahatma Gandhi. The challenge to democracy in India lies in creating conditions under which mono-party dictatorship is not perpetuated in an unfair manner. Just at present, the Congress is the ruling party, but there is no effective opposition in our legislatures, and therefore we see the spectacle of a one-party state in India with all its concomitant evils. The part that the Congress played in the liberation of India fully justified its emergence as the sole ruling party in the early years of our independence when there was no other party organised enough to form the opposition. Parliamentary democracy, however, needs a government no less than an opposition. In fact, it is no exaggeration to say that there can be no democracy without an effective opposition. It is not for nothing that the British Parliament has provided for a regular salary to the leader of the opposition. The function of the opposition is as vital as that of the government. Parliamentary democracy of course works effectively under the two-party system which, however, is not attainable ordinarily. Even in England the old two-party system disappeared with the rise of the labour party. Under a multi-party system, parliamentary government works rather badly, though it may not break down altogether. But, it can not work at all in the one-party state which is bound to become totalitarian sooner or later. One-party rule and democracy are a contradiction in terms. In the long run, a one-party dictatorship will lead to a violent revolution, for a government of this type is too artificial to endure long. A strong reaction has already set in against the rule of the Congress not because it is basically wrong, but because there is no scope for a healthy opposition in the legislatures.

The cry of "country in danger" or "national unity" is put forward as the chief argument in favour of the continuance of unity in the ranks of the Congress. Unity is being regarded as more important than the growth of dissidence among Congress leaders. But, such notions of unity may be excellent in times of a grave national crisis like war or invasion. Such insistence on unity was essential when India was under alien rule, and when freedom had yet to be achieved. But, now that India is free, the Congress need not insist on an artificial unity among diverse and heterogeneous groups who had agreed to fight shoulder to shoulder against an alien government. With the disappearance of the alien rule, the need for an artificial unity no longer exists. The Congress as a national front is an anachronism in the new conditions of today. National unity will not be disrupted, if the opposition is agreeable to accept the fundamentals of our political system.

The students of modern Indian history need not be told that ideas of democracy and nationalism have

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grown up side by side during British rule in India. In fact, often these two were regarded as inseparable and convertible terms. This was natural in the days of our political subjection. More often than not, nationalism presupposed a faith in democracy as well. The old school of Indian politicians never liked to think that the two could be possbile independently of each other. In any case, the stress on national unity in those days implied also a preference for democratic reforms. But, this has lost all its meaning in the changed conditions of today. It would be totally undemocratic in Free India, if the ruling party would either discourage or prevent the formation of opposition parties. It seems that the old habit of stressing national unity is still persisting even though foreign rule has ended. Nobody has any right, correctly speaking, to obstruct the growth of free democracy in the name of national unity. An all-party government is always possible, if there is a national crisis. Democracy in normal times does not require a glorified one-party national front. It would be a travesty of democracy, if it implied the obliteration of all differences of opinion and regimentation of all thinking on the plea that national unity must be maintained. The Congress would be stronger and more homogeneous, if dissidents go out of it and form other parties. It is high time now that the Congress transformed itself into a compact Parliamentary party with a definite programme of its own. Co-existence of contrary ideas accounts for the vagueness of the Congress ideology. This indefiniteness is causing confusion, and is a source of weakness as well. It is all to the good therefore that through recent defections the Congress has been vouchsafed a good opportunity for redefining its ideological creed and reshuffling its constitutional make-up once for all. If the dissidents are able to form a healthy opposition outside the Congress, so much the better for the Congress and also for the cause of democracy. So long as there is nothing basically wrong in the parent organisation, defections and splits are a blessing in disguise. They reinvigorate the parent body in a manner in which it would not have been possible otherwise. Loss in mere numbers would be more than compensated by the enhanced homogeneity of the organisation.

As the situation now stands, one may reasonably promise that there will be varying degrees of opposition strength in all legislatures, even though the Congress may retain its present vantage ground. But, what would this opposition be like? It is certain that it will be a multi-party opposition which the Congress will have to face, and, as such, the opposition will hardly be compact, stable or well-organised once the general elections are over and the election-time alliances against the Congress come to an end. The opposition will consist of Rights, Lefts and Centre parties. It is not unlikely that they will manage to combine against the Congress from time to time, or whenever it will suit them in any particular crisis. But, there is no doubt that such combinations can not be regular or homogeneous owing to the disparity in the aims and objectives of the opposition groups. The Hindu Mahasabha with its allied groups, even though it claims to stand for "real democracy" will belong to the extreme Right. The landlords' parties such as the one in U.P. will tend to be associated with the extreme Right. The K.M.P. Party will be reformist and democratic in its general methodology, but it will stick to the Centre and will be a counterpoise to the Congress. In any case, the K.M.P. Party will not be revolutionary in its outlook, though it may incline towards the Left of the Centre. The Socialist Party which has refused to accept the Russian form of Marxism lacks the appeal born of fanaticism distinguishing the extreme Lefts. As a consequence, the Socialists will be more liberal and democratic than the latter. It is not unlikely that in the long run the Socialist Party may break up under the strain of ideological differences, and that a part of it will get merged in the extreme Communist Left, while the rest will swing to the Left of the Centre or to the Right of the Left. The Congress as it now stands will remain conservative and reformist, and will not be revolutionary in its outlook. It will in fact incline towards the Right of the Centre. The other groups, barring the plutocratic, aristocratic or communal organisations, will usually move to the Left.

In the medley of parties, a stable democracy will be possible, only if all the Centre groups consisting of liberal, nationalistic and socialistic parties which are either opposed to the Marxian creed, or are unwilling to accept the whole of it combine against the rising tide of Communism. The Centre or near-Centre groups will at any rate remain democratic. The same cannot be said either about the Rights or the extreme Lefts, for their ideologies would easily make them susceptible to authoritarian ideas of either class rule or class struggle. It will be an evil day for democracy in India, if either the extremist Rights or the Marxist Lefts succeed in securing political power. But, the chances are that the Centre parties alone will form the government in India for some time to come, unless their hold is weakened by some crisis in the international situation.

The future of democracy in India is not as dark as it might appear from the foregoing analysis. Notwithstanding the fact that there are undemocratic features in our socio-economic system, we are temperamentally peace-loving and forbearing. All through the ages, we have tolerantly accepted other people's viewpoints and acted on the principle of give-and-take. We have never been a narrowly dogmatic people in any period of our history. Our spiritual background and our cultural outlook are favourable to the growth

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of democracy in our country. The catholicity of outlook and the capacity for synthesis which have been the characteristic features of the Indian genius will tend to strengthen the cause of democracy. It is true that the path of democracy will not be easy and that there is no cause for excessive complacency, yet one can legitimately hope that democratic ideas and values will gain a new meaning and acquire a new content from the spiritual basis of our age-old culture. If India supplies the much-needed spiritual bias to the purely materialistic democracy of the West, a new chapter would be added to the history of representative government.

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MINERALS AND WORLD WARS

By Prof. SUKUMAR MERH, M.SC.

The role which minerals play in World Wars, their influence on man's social and economic conditions that breed wars and also decide the final outcome of these wars, is not properly appreciated by people in general. But in fact, it is very effective and profound. From the earliest times down to the present day, the minerals and mineral products have played an exceedingly important part both in the development and in the destruction of various nations. Mineral industries have, many times in the past, been instrumental in determining the course of history, and promise to be of increasing importance in future also. Mineral resources cannot be confined to political boundaries. While some nations are richly endowed with various mineral deposits, the others are poor in that respect. But even those rich in mineral wealth are seldom self-sufficient in all the important minerals. It is because the formation and geographic location of mineral deposits have been fixed by some accidental geological phenomena of the remote past. Mineral resources of a country are called its "Wasting Assets." Once exploited they cannot be replenished. Because of their non-replenishable character, restricted geographic occurrence and their indispensability to certain industries everywhere, the mineral deposits have been responsible for various unique international problems. In fact, it may be justly said that the geological events which took place several million years back, have often been the ultimate causes of modern wars.

The material prosperity of a nation depends on its various manufacturing—agricultural or mineral—industries and trade. The essential factors for any industry are the raw materials, and the source of power, and both—raw materials and power—are largely dependent on mineral resources. Coal and petroleum are the universal source of industrial power, while the raw materials for most of the manufacturing industries are various 'ores' and other minerals. Even in the field of Agriculture and its allied industries, the importance of mineral fertilizers is great, for they are absolutely essential for the continued and improved productivity of the land. Evidently, therefore, the direct and indirect contribution of mineral resources to the national prosperity and strength is enormous. Productive and rich mineral deposits are the most valuable natural resources that a nation can possess; but such an asset may be coveted by other nations also, and so it gives rise to serious international problems. The eagerness of deficient nations for acquiring rich mineral deposits and the acquisitive spirit and greed of a few politically and industrially powerful nations to monopolize them have engendered conflicts very often culminating in bloody wars.

A study of the trend of world politics, particularly the role which mineral resources have played in wars during the last two centuries, makes an interesting reading.

The World War I (1914)

With the dawn of the 19th century, Great Britain had emerged as the richest and most powerful nation of the world, and she enjoyed this privileged position practically during the whole century. Her large deposits of Coal and Iron, together with Copper, Lead, Tin and Zinc proved to be profitable assets and she was the greatest producer of these essential raw materials. Great Britain's economy, based mainly on various manufacturing trades, brought in return food-stuffs and other necessities of life. But during the latter half of the 19th century, England found Germany to be asserting herself as a formidable competitor. Although Germany was late in her industrial awakening, yet under the dynamic leadership of Bismarck, she very soon emerged as an industrially powerful nation. By 1850, all the small 'Principalities' of Central Europe were unified in a single Germanic Confederation. Artificial barriers of tolls and tariffs being removed there was a regular flow of raw materials from one part of the country to the other, and the German nation plunged itself heart and soul in building up powerful industries by pooling up the scattered mineral resources of Coal, Iron, Manganese, Chromium, Aluminium, Lead, Zinc, Potash, Antimony, Mercury and Silver, etc. The annexation of the French province of Alsace-Lorraine in 1871 brought to Germany big deposits of Iron ores. With the coal from Ruhr Valley and Iron Ores from East Rhine districts and Alsace-

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The famous Hawaiian ocean playground of Waikiki with Diamond Road in the background



Bishop Street in Honolulu, the modern centre of the Islands' economy

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Nasrollah Entezam of Iran (*centre*) presides over the opening session of the United Nations General Assembly. At left is Trygve Lie, U. N. Secretary-General and at right Andrew Cordier, executive assistant to the Secy.-General



General Matthew B. Ridgway (*second from right*) with U. N. representatives to the meetings in Kaesong, at which a Korean armistice is being discussed

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Lorraine, Germany expanded her heavy industries at an amazing pace, and at the turn of the century, she was world's largest producer of Zinc and Potash, one of the biggest producers of Coal, and had built up a flourishing Iron and Steel industry. Germany wanted good markets. While the English goods were finding a very good and favourable market in all the parts of her Empire, Germany's own colonies proved not so rich as to carry on a sustaining trade with the "Father-land." The German industrialists wanted other fields. So the tussle started culminating in World War I, which Germany ultimately lost.

Germany was defeated in the First World War not wholly on account of her mistakes in military strategy, but mainly due to the insufficient and limited supply of natural resources, which are always the backbone of military strength. On the other hand, the allies had under their possession enormous and unlimited supply of various raw materials, which sustained them and put victory in their hands. When in 1918, the Treaty of Versailles was signed, it was foremost in the minds of the victors that Germany be made as weak as possible in the matter of her industries, and so the first things to be snatched away from her were her mineral resources. Austria and Hungary, which constituted the Dual Monarchy prior to the War, were reduced to purely deficit agricultural states with some small low-grade Iron and Coal deposits. Alsace-Lorraine with its Iron ores was allotted to France. Rich deposits of Coal, Copper, Manganese, Silver and Iron went to Czechoslovakia; Yugoslavia got rich deposits of Bauxite (the ore for Aluminium), Zinc, Chromite, Lead and Antimony. Rich Mercury deposits went to the share of Italy. It was the intention of the Anglo-American group and France to exploit to their own advantage all these mineral deposits given to various small countries of Central Europe. This seizure of her precious mineral wealth was a severe blow to Germany. The vanquished nation had no other alternative but to bear this injustice for the time being. The pride of the nation was hurt and a feeling to strike back gradually gained ground.

The World War II (1939)

While in the First World War only England and Germany were the two prominent warring nations, during the Second World War, various other ambitious nations of the East and the West joined either camps.

After the First World War, America started rising in power. With vast mineral resources within her territories at her disposal, she soon accumulated wealth and became one of the richest and prosperous countries of the world. The Russians, too, after the establishment of their Soviet Republic made an amazing progress. The first thing which attracted the attention of the Soviet Government was the proper exploitation of their mineral resources, which would help them in building up various heavy industries. The Russian plans succeeded and she became powerful. The Anglo-American block became much worried about this growing strength of Russia, but they could do very little to check it. It was mainly because Russia was almost self-supporting in different raw materials necessary for her heavy industries and was not dependent on any outside country for the same. Although ideologically differing from one another, Britain and America, at a later stage of the last War, had to enter into alliance with Russia, when she was drawn into the conflict by the dramatic German attack.

Germany on her side had her two faithful allies, *viz.* Italy and Japan. The three nations had high ambitions for becoming first-rate world powers, but unfortunately they possessed comparatively small territories and meagre mineral resources of essential raw materials. Nevertheless, they had powerful and ambitious leaders as heads of their states. These leaders exploited the deep-seated fear of communism gripping England and America, which secretly thought it desirable to see a powerful 'Axis' block to balance the power of Soviet Russia. Thus Germany, Italy and Japan developed their industries and military strength also with the help of imported Iron-ores, Coal, Petroleum and other essential raw materials from America and British Empire.

It will not be out of place here to trace in short the trend of events which ultimately ended in the Second World War.

The French troops in 1923 suddenly attacked and occupied Ruhr Valley. Deficient France wanted Coal to smelt Iron ores from Alsace-Lorraine. This military action of France over Germany came when millions of Germans were dying of starvation and the whole nation was facing a total economic collapse. Germany could only express her helpless indignation and resentment at this injustice. However, the Ruhr Coal was again restored to them in 1924 by the League of Nations, because it was not much agreeable for the Anglo-Americans to see Socialistic France building up a big Steel industry. The ingenious German nation, though hungry and downtrodden, very soon improved her economic condition by building up various industries, most of which, in fact, depended on imported raw materials. German products found a very wide market and there were signs of prosperity. Then again came a period of economic collapse. All the nations, for protecting their own industries, discouraged imports of foreign goods, and there was again the difficulty of finding markets for German goods. German trade and economy suffered a serious set-back, and the ugly face of unemployment and starvation again appeared. It was during 1930-31, when the German nation was passing through its worst sufferings, that Hitler assumed the leadership of the country. To the people, he assured food, employment and an honourable status for Germany amongst the world nations. He repudiated the treaty of Versailles and established the whole German economy on a war footing. He declared that he wanted back whatever had been taken away from Germany by force. The fear of Communism again led Britain to allow Germany to repudiate the Treaty of Versailles, to build up a strong army, navy and air force and also to let Germany

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occupy parts of Rhineland in 1936 and Czechoslovakia in 1938. But very soon the British people realised the dangers of German militarism, and when Hitler invaded Poland in 1939, the Second World War started.

During the nineteen-thirties, when Hitler was busy in strengthening Germany, his powerful friend Mussolini in Italy was also aspiring high about the future of his country. Italy's condition was more hopeless regarding mineral resources. Germany had Coal from which she generated thermal power as well as synthetic petrol to satisfy her emergency needs. Italy had neither Coal nor Petroleum. As Mussolini realized that this deficiency would prove a great handicap in case of war with England and America, he resorted to age-old expedient of force. In 1935, Italy attacked Abyssinia. This invasion was only to get possession of possible oil-fields there. But the conquest of Ethiopia (Abyssinia) was a great disappointment to Italy, because in spite of vigorous search for oil, no oil-fields were found. The venture proved a mirage only. Then the Italians invaded and conquered Albania, and there they got a thousand barrels of petroleum per day from Albanian oil-fields. Motivated by the same fear complex of Communism, in the case of Italian aggressions also, the British Government did nothing to stop this aggression of powerful military machine against helpless and innocent neighbours.The British people could not tolerate this injustice and they forced their Government to boycott Italian goods, and to place economic sanctions against Italy. But the Government again yielded to Mussolini's threats, and when Mussolini openly threatened that sanctions on petroleum would be considered by Italy as an act of war, the British Government allowed the British-owned Oil Companies to supply as much oil as Italy needed for her military campaigns. It was the policy of appeasement of this sort which swelled the heads of Mussolini and Hitler, who got encouragement in fulfilling their sinister designs of war-mongering.

In the Far East, similar efforts of Japan met with greater success. With very little of Iron and Coal, Japan built up a flourishing steel industry. Imports of deficient raw materials from other countries, mainly America, China, East Indies and Malaya, sustained various industries of Japan. Manchuria and China supplied Coal, the United States gave Oil, and China, Malaya and Philippines furnished Iron ores and other ferrous metal ores. With her industrial progress, Japan started aspiring to become world's most powerful nation. With the limited natural resources and depending on imported raw materials, it was not possible to achieve this goal. Japan realised this weakness and in order to be self-sufficient she started on a colonial conquest. As a first step towards the fulfilment of her aim, Japan attacked minerally rich territories of China. In 1931, Japan conquered Manchuria for her coal-resources. She got more Coal when Northern China came into her possession, and in addition, rich deposits of Iron ores were also made available to her.

The British Government again acquiesced in this aggression and did nothing in the League of Nations to check this Japanese expansion. She remained 'neutral.' Thus China was left helpless. So long as Japan had not aligned herself with the Axis powers, all her petroleum requirements for various industries and for her military operations against China were met by the United States. It was only when fighting flared up in Europe, and Japan made a common cause with the Axis powers, that the supply of oil and other minerals was denied to her. Japan was prepared for this eventuality. By her conquest of Korea, Manchuria and a part of China, she had enough Iron and Coal. As for Petroleum, she had already stored a large quantity of American Oil and in due course of war, she got hold of Dutch East Indies and Burma with their oil-fields. It is interesting to note that in early stages of the last War, Japan used American Oil against American soldiers.

It is evident that although the immediate causes of the Second World War were mostly political and psychological, yet those causes grew out of economic conditions, which in turn were profoundly affected by the distribution and control of important mineral resources.

Stock-piles and Substitutes

As soon as a war is declared, there is a total breakdown of normal trade between the two hostile camps of warring nations. The political alliances are, therefore, mostly governed by the consideration of needs in respect of raw materials, and both sides in the war choose their allies accordingly. However, there are always some essential raw materials, which are indispensable for carrying on the military campaigns, and the supplies of which are denied to the enemy. It is on account of this reason that for several years before the actual declaration of the last War, the hostile nations built up huge stock-piles of such deficient but essential minerals the supplies of which were expected to be cut off later on.

The stock-piling was the most terrible "secret" weapon of Japan during the last War, and the stock-piles of the deficient minerals that she built up in the years prior to War were much larger than the technical experts of the Allies estimated. Japan had accumulated enormous reserve stock of Crude Petroleum, Manganese, Chromite, Copper, Lead and Zinc, etc. Germany had also built up big 'stock-piles' of these industrial minerals. But unlike Japan, she did not rely totally on reserve stock. The Germans carried on continuous and vigourous researches for finding out substitutes. Very soon after Hitler came to power, the Third Reich began constructing big plants for the manufacture of Synthetic Petrol from Coal. In spite of the high cost of making Synthetic Petrol which proved quite uneconomic when compared to that of the imported oil. But Hitler had planned this for war-emergency, and by the time the war started, nearly half of Germany's oil requirements were met by synthetic oil plants. It will be interesting to recollect that German advance and onslaughts during 1940–41 were spaced by a number of pauses in military operations. These were

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only periodic breathing spells on account of oil shortages, and during which petrol supplies were again accumulated. If the War had continued for a few years more, the capacity of synthetic oil plants would have been so large that no such pauses in her advance would have been required.

Germany's efforts regarding her Aluminium industry are also worth mentioning. She has poor deposits of bauxite, the aluminium ore. But before the War she was the biggest producer of this metal. The Germans had developed the Aluminium industry to meet the shortage of copper to some extent. In addition to the imported ore, she acquired bauxite from the neighbouring countries before and during the war, generated cheap electrical power from coal, synthesized cryolite (an essential mineral in alumina reduction) from another mineral fluorite, and produced the cheapest aluminium in the world.

Another effort of Germany to meet the emergency was in the form of discovering new and improved extraction methods of metals from low-grade Manganese, Lead, Zinc etc.

On the other hand, to America, Great Britain and Russia, abundant supply of essential minerals like coal, oil, ferrous and non-ferrous ore minerals were always forthcoming, and it was this sustaining supply of raw materials which enabled them to exhaust the enemy's potential strength and gain ultimate victory.

The Post-war Picture

In the past, coal, petroleum, iron and other allied ferrous and non-ferrous metal ores were the chief mineral resources responsible for the national prosperity as well as for wars. But to-day to this list may be added—and that too at the top—the resources of radioactive or 'atomic' minerals. In addition to their utilization in the manufacture of atom bombs and hydrogen bombs, scientists all over the world are busy harnessing the atomic energy for its utilization for constructive purposes also, viz., as a source of industrial power in place of coal or petroleum. There is almost a mad frenzy amongst nations of the world for discovering deposits of radioactive minerals like Pitchblende (containing Uranium and Radium), Monazite (containing Thorium) and Beryl (containing Beryllium). Countries which are richly endowed with these minerals hold the most important and strategic position in the world politics today.

The best source of atomic energy is Pitchblende and its allied minerals. The chief producers of these Uranium bearing minerals are Belgian Congo, Canada, Czechoslovakia, Portugal and the United States, with sporadic minor productions from Cornwall, Madagascar, Russia, S. Australia and India. Beryl, another atomic mineral, is widely distributed in limited occurrences throughout the world. The third important mineral Monazite containing Thorium, is available in larger quantities. Thorium is not spontaneously radioactive but its atomic disintegration can easily be initiated by laboratory operations. Biggest deposits of Monazite lie within the territories of the Indian Union, as beach sands of the West Coast of Travancore. Other producers of this mineral are Brazil, Malaya and Ceylon.

The distribution of these atomic mineral resources and the greed of various nations to possess and exploit them have given rise to one of the most difficult post-war problems, and it is not improbable that this race for atomic armament may again lead the war-torn world to another more bloody and destructive catastrophe. The piling up of the war machine in the absence of a sane social policy itself makes war inevitable.

India's Mineral Resources

India cannot be considered very rich in respect of all the minerals. But still, it held an important and strategic position during the last two wars on account of some of her minerals. India possesses world's richest Iron ore deposits; her production of Manganese ore is one of the highest in the world; Mica-mines of India are the top suppliers of muscovite to the world. Considerably good deposits of Coal are also available in India. Great Britain holding India in bondage exploited these resources. While the supply of various essential minerals was denied to the opponents, the Allies had the regular flow of such minerals during the last two wars, which brought them to ultimate victory.

But today India is politically free from such exploitation of her natural resources by others. India with her enormous resources of Iron ores, Manganese, Mica, Monazite and a limited supply of Pitchblende and Beryl holds a unique position in the world politics of today. The nightmare of the rising tide of Communism has been haunting the capitalistic countries of the West, and they are afraid of the growing power of Russia and China. India holds a key position in Asia. In the frantic efforts of the two power blocks to bring India to their own side, there may be hidden the motive of exploiting her valuable deposits of Thorium and other minerals. The protestations of helping India in critical moments of scarcity and of assisting her in the technical advancement of India may in fact be motivated by no other desire than the idea of keeping an eye on, and if possible, to exploit her natural resources. India's attitude of neutrality towards the world's power politics of today, and her unique stand for the abiding World Peace are not an agreeable and pleasant affair to the Americans. Prime Minister Nehru has definitely declared that India's help and her natural resources cannot be available to any nation who is on war-path unless the path of war may be for protection of innocent humanity. Taking advantage of the economic distress and scarcity caused by the various natural calamities that have befallen on India during recent years, some countries have tried to bargain for India's Coal, Thorium, Manganese and Mica supplies. Pakistan's pressure tactics to get coal and other supplies are known to all. Behind the so-called sympathy of America and her eagerness to help India, there may be

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considerations other than humanitarian. There may be the desire to get hold of these strategic mineral resources. The 'wheat deal' has opened the lid. Two years back, when India asked for wheat to ward off her food-scarcity, America demanded in return control over above-mentioned Indian minerals. India could not accept this bargain. Today the food situation is still worse. The country is on the verge of famine and most of the American people thought that India would surrender herself. They proposed the same demand with more severe condition for the food aid. But the country refused to accept this conditional wheat gift from America.

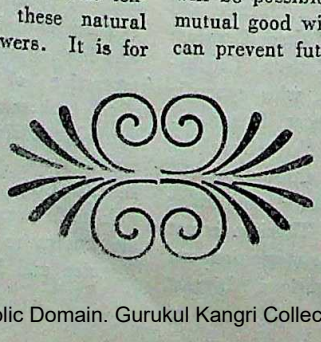
This 'American Food-Aid' affair is nothing but the latest stunt of the 'Power Politics' seeking an easy control over the vital mineral resources of a weaker nation. Not only for India, but for all the weaker nations the conditions are almost similar. Under the garb of chalking out various developement plans and advancing financial aids, the real motive of the few stronger nations is to impose a sort of economic domination upon the under-developed countries, thus reserving for them an absolute control over their mineral wealth. There can be no objection to the exploited nations, if such exploitation of resources aims at the betterment and progress of their own countries, or of mankind in general. But unfortunately it is not so. Their natural resources are being exploited for building up formidable military strength of a few nations only, which are again on the war path. The resentment against such exploitation is daily mounting. The latest example is that of Iran. For several decades her rich oil-fields were a great source of wealth and power to Great Britain. Now Iran wants back the ownership of her own oil, and she wishes to utilise it as a means of bringing prosperity and progress to her people. This is a perfectly justifiable demand. But Britain will not agree to it. She wants the monopoly of this life-liquid of war in order to maintain her high place in world politics, and so Iran, with her rich oil-fields, is becoming a 'sore-spot' in the world to-day.

Korea and Malaya have also somewhat similar stories to tell. Korea possesses rich deposits of Coal, Iron and Tungsten, thus bearing great potentialities for the establishment of a flourishing steel industry. Before and during the last war, Japan was the main exploiter of these Korean resources. But after the War, there was the virtual partition of the State and these mineral deposits went mostly to North Korea. Because of the leftist tendency of the North Korean Government, these natural resources were denied to the Western powers. It is for this reason that the United Nations under the influence of the Western powers did not like to accept the North Korean Government. The aim of the present Korean War for both the belligerents is the unification of the two parts of Korea and the utilization of its entire natural resources, and if the 'United Nations' are successful in their campaign, the 'free and democratic nations' will have an easy access to Korea's Iron, Coal and Tungsten resources for themselves.

The present disturbed conditions in Malaya are proving a constant head-ache to Great Britain. The unrest in Malaya represents the restlessness of the Malayan people to break away from their economic bondage. In addition to her Rubber, Malaya is one of the biggest producers of Tin ore, and has considerably good deposits of Monazite. The repression of the Malayan struggle for freedom has created a very explosive situation in the Far East, and who knows that Britain's desire to perpetually exploit Malayan resources may not lead to some serious international conflict in that area.

It is a great human tragedy that while most of the nations are struggling hard to tide over the misery of hunger, scarcity and poverty, which have followed the last war in its wake, a few so called 'prosperous and peace-loving' nations are again busy in war-mongering. Exploitation of replenishable natural resources like agricultural products to some extent can be tolerated, but that of the mineral resources amounts to almost a crime unless it is for human good. Once lost, they are lost for ever, and the exploited nation ever remains a beggar in the matter of those commodities. And it is such exploitation of the weak by the strong which causes dissatisfaction and resentment, which ultimately culminate in wars. Nature's mineral bounties, which should go to make humanity happy and prosperous, can never be allowed to make its lot miserable But the strong nations in their lust for power forget this maxim, and they always try to exploit the weaker nations in the matter of their natural resources. It would be a grave blunder for mankind to pledge its precious resources for building up a war-machine, because if they do so, the war-machine itself will evoke the nemesis which no one will be able to control.

When the world's natural resources will come to be regarded as property in which all people of the world have a joint interest, regardless of their location, only then it will be possible to effect a mental disarmament based on mutual good will, confidence and tolerance, and this alone can prevent future conflicts and wars.



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WELFARE STATE

By K. P. KHUMANI, M.A.

Effective slogans sometimes develop into social objectives. It is said that the modern State is becoming a Welfare State. The Prime Minister of India has given categorical expression that the ultimate social objective of the country must be the realisation of Welfare State. This has been endorsed by the Indian National Congress at its Nasik Session. So it becomes all the more necessary and important to study and analyse the concept of Welfare State and the problems it has to face in its ultimate realisation.

Prof. Pigou of the Cambridge University says that the main motive of economic study is to keep social improvement and hence Economic Science should be realistic rather than pure. Economic welfare may be defined roughly as that part of welfare that can be brought into relationship with the measuring rod of money. Reader observes that welfare increases (decreases) whenever one or more individuals become more (less) satisfied without any other individual becoming (more) satisfied. Despair or measuring utility perhaps drove Robbins to argue that Economics is a positive science and that it is neutral between ends. Henry Pesch would tell that Economics is both a positive and a normative science. The Mercantalists, Physiocrats and Adam Smith placed the welfare of the nation in the centre of their theories; but as regards the means, there is a gulf of difference. Any state professes itself to look after the welfare of its citizens. But the methods to the achievement of this end differ so widely that they deserve careful analysis.

During the laissez-faire days, the State was expected to be only a police man. "Thus far and no farther" was the cry of the time. But with the developments in the factory organisation and in the industrial sphere, the need for the interference of the State was exceedingly felt. The unfairness of putting the low-paid labouring class on a footing of equality with the fortunately well-placed few gained ground. The capitalist system was making its headway and even the actions of the state could not cure the evils of the system. The Marxian onslaught made manifest the social evils that were the results of the capitalist system. Negatively, Marxism served as an eye-opener to the capitalists. The conception of the end of the state similarly changed and the states began to assume powers to regulate the various activities in the interests of the common good. Economics and politics became more inter-dependent than before and poverty was looked upon as a social evil. It was accepted on all hands that all efforts must be directed to eradicate this evil.

The concept of Welfare State has been the subject of discussion in recent years. This word-combination is interpreted differently by different writers. There are divergences in the emphasis in the aspects of Welfare State and consequently there have been grave misrepresentations, which have led to false conclusions. Technically the determining factor of a Welfare State lies in the avowed assumption of certain basic responsibilities by the State in regard to providing education, sanitation, medical relief and means of livelihood to the people and the correlation thereof with the means of production of national wealth. There are some special responsibilities as of unemployment insurance, social insurance, old age pensions and others having a cradle-to-grave sweep which transcend the traditional concept of State functions and focus the special features of Welfare State as such. This signifies the difference between the totalitarian states and other systems. There is no necessary relationship between the Welfare State and the totalitarian state or inherent contradictions between the capitalist system and the Welfare State.

Broadly Welfare States can be classified into three kinds. One proposal is to assure a minimum for all, retaining in principle private property and the price mechanism and allowing the more enterprising to find his fortune and incidentally to benefit the society too. This is the philosophy of free enterprise in which the Americans have placed their belief. Then there is the mild socialistic idea of Welfare State. Sir Stafford Cripps indicates that in the British State "the fundamentals of social justice and economic stability shall be planned" and the rest is to be left to private enterprise to start with. This is best illustrated by the present-day Britain. There is a third kind, which wants the state to absorb all activities. This believes in the nationalisation of all industries and in planning. Russia is the typical example of the third kind.

This naturally takes to the discussion of the need for planning. It is very unfortunate that there is no unanimity even among experts and economists as to the interpretation of the term, "Planning." There can be planning both under capitalist and totalitarian systems. There are ardent advocates of planning like G. D. H. Cole, Wootten and there are also vehement critics like Dr. Hayek and Jewkes. So there is at the first to clarify the meaning of the term. If by planning is meant only central planning, it may not find favour from all quarters. If by planning is meant only thought-out, organised and concerted action, there cannot be any opposition to planning. The two schools which support the extreme views seem to be unscientific and contrary to facts. The planners harp

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much on the efficiency of state action and they cite the series of Five-year Plans of Russia. It is argued that it eliminates monopoly, shocking inequalities of income and other social evils which are the results of capitalist economy. Further, it is said that free enterprise which has been given such a long lease of life has failed to justify its existence by the recent developments. The standard of life of the people is still at the low level and unless and until State directs the economic activities, no appreciable improvement can be achieved. Planning removes the disharmonies of production, distribution, consumption and exchange. Modern developments in currency, export and imports make planning inevitable.

The other school takes the most gloomy attitude towards planning. Dr. Hayek describes it as "a weapon of totalitarianism used for the oppression of minorities." Belloc says, "The control of the production of wealth is the control of human life itself." Carr disparagingly says that the nationalised thought has passed everywhere with the nationalisation of industry. It is argued by the anti-planners that planning will be too effective or ineffective. The most serious danger lies in the extinction of economic and political liberty. It will end in the regimentation of society. Moreover, national self-sufficiency is destructive of international economic co-operation and incompatible with political co-operation. This point is emphasised by modern economists like Meade and Robbins. Writers like MacGregor suggest solutions to adopt democratic socialism. Robbins is of opinion that in peace time price-mechanism must operate and he would like planning and control to supplement private enterprise and not to supplant it. Individualism corrected and shorn of its crudities and abuses is the best solution.

But modern opinion tends to insist the importance of mixed economy. The State must take up more responsibilities but only in so far as it is conducive to the interests of all citizens. The place of free enterprise must be recognised and appreciated and it must be encouraged so long as it aims and achieves the welfare of the community. As John Jewkes says every sensible economy is a mixed system. So there is no basis to say that Welfare State is possible of achievement only under a particular economic pattern. The end is the same, though the means differ considerably.

Among the notable men that have contributed to the study of the Welfare State, Lord Beveridge stands foremost. His Report has been advanced as a neutral plan with no bias towards either socialism or capitalism. The Beveridge Plan assures at least a minimum welfare of the people. It is a fact that man's dependence on others has very much increased in the present day. He has to be looked after properly in childhood and old age. Apart from these, orphanage, widowhood, sickness, infirmity, accidents, unemployment and other unforeseen contingencies present serious difficulties. The magnitude of these evils has mounted with the growth of industrial civilisation. Social security springs from the universal desire of man to free himself from the fear of want. The State, as an association of individuals to promote their common well-being, has in modern times undertaken upon itself the duty to provide through appropriate organisation the necessary security against these risks.

The term social security generally means income security or security against want. But want is only one of the five giants which are inimical to human well-being. Disease, ignorance, squalor and idleness are equally devastating in their incidence. Society must defend itself against them, as social security in the broader sense would include protection against these evils. The Beveridge Plan chalks out an insurance scheme, which is to be contributed mainly through state funds acquired through special taxation. It provides benefit only in return for contribution. It does not reduce incentive because only a minimum and not a maximum is provided. The Plan also suggests the institution of National Health Service and Beveridge wants the whole system to be co-ordinated under the ministry of Social Security. The Plan has the distinguished features of comprehensiveness, unification of administrative responsibility, classification, adequate benefit, flat rate of contribution and flat rate of benefit.

The scope of social security measures has been "an evolutionary movement directed by experience." There are two main currents, namely, social assistance and social insurance. The social assistance intended to help these unfortunate classes began in England even in the times of Elizabeth when the first Poor Law was passed in 1601. The subsequent Acts also aimed at alleviating the difficulties of the poor. But it must be mentioned that there was some stigma attached to poor relief in those days. But today it is considered as a social evil and a new attitude, characteristic of the democratic age has gained ground. Many countries have introduced legislations to grant old age pensions. It began in Denmark in 1891 and has been adopted by New Zealand, Australia, France and Great Britain. Unemployment schemes have been introduced providing cash allowance or work relief. The United Kingdom follows the cash allowance method and America follows public works policy. The principle followed is "wage-stop" which says that the allowance paid for needs should be less than the amounts which would ordinarily be available if the person were following his normal occupation. This is intended to prevent voluntary idleness and to induce the workers to seek work instead of living on state charity. Family allowances in order to raise the normal income of families to the required minimum are

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granted. Medical care is specially given to help the poor. The Mothers' Pensions Act in U.S.A., the British Family Allowances Act of 1945 and the Canadian Act of 1944, all these aim to provide social assistance.

The principle of social insurance gained recognition with the National Insurance Act of 1911 passed by Lloyd George, though it was initiated by Bismarck in Germany in the last century. The Health Insurance Scheme of Great Britain may be taken as an illustration of the new technique. The insured person has to pay a contribution during every week he is employed. His employer also has to pay a contribution on his behalf. A fund is thus created to which the State also makes a contribution. Cash benefits comprise sickness and disablement. Maternity benefit is provided. There is also unemployment insurance including industrial and agricultural manual and non-manual labour below £420 a year.

The Labour Government issued a White Paper after coming to power. It recognised the responsibility for maintaining full employment. But the social security insurance plan of the Government need not be exaggerated nor need we break into superlatives in evaluating its utility. It does give the people a security against unemployment and sickness though it does not annihilate them completely.

America, the land of free enterprise, also has undertaken social security measures. The development of these schemes achieved the zenith during the Presidentship of the late lamented Roosevelt, who under the New Deal, introduced new reforms. The New Deal consisted mainly of four types of measures, namely, social security legislation designed to protect the dispossessed from unemployment, illness and old age; measures to strengthen and protect the labour's bargaining powers, measures to aid farm; attack on monopolies and others. Miss Evelyn Hersey, Social Welfare Attache to the American Embassy in India, speaking on "Social Service in U.S.A." in the Social Work Conference, 1941, says that prominent part is played by the privately initiated, sponsored and operated non-governmental agencies. All activities are curative and preventive.

Russia follows the Communist pattern of economy. There, it is said that everyone has the right to work and leisure. Trade cycle is averted and profit and interest are eliminated. Foreign trade is the monopoly of the State. Industries have been divided into three kinds, namely, those of Union significance, State significance and Local significance. But it must be said that the Russian example has got its own peculiarities and special problems.

With the study of the social security schemes in these countries, it would be helpful to see the nature and limitations of social security. The social security that must be provided against all the social evils must differ from country to country. The special problems of the particular country must be taken into account before any comprehensive scheme is envisaged. Apart from this point, the problem of social security itself presents many difficulties which must be tackled carefully.

The term "Welfare," though it is generally accepted, may be misleading. The distinguishing feature of this new kind of State is not that it is more concerned than other States with raising the standard of living of its citizens as a whole. A country's standard of living at any moment is the total of goods and services it provides (less the proportion of these that is used for capital investment and for exports plus the goods that are imported in exchange). The welfare arrangements described above are not designed to increase this production. Their purpose is to ensure that everyone gets a certain minimum share of the production whatever his circumstances. Such arrangements may, of course, have an indirect influence on the volume of production. Mr. T. W. Kent observes that the monetary inducements for the business and middle classes have been much reduced with the growth of the Welfare State. This is not, of course, necessarily to condemn the Welfare State. But it must be borne in mind that the problem is to balance the loss against the benefits. In the initial stages, it may affect production and no security is worth having when the available productive resources services, and commodities are reduced. So there is this necessity to check this difficulty. It is true that the feeling of security created by social services the demonstration of the State's concern for the welfare of its ordinary citizens will tend to improve industrial efficiency, more understanding of their employer's difficulty. In a country with a growing population and a lower standard of living anything that slows down the increase of production is very dangerous.

It is said that a thorough-going Welfare State is one chronically liable to steady inflation. This is found on the experience of industrial economies. This hardship increases all the more in an economy, which is more dependent on agriculture. The fund, which must be created to operate the various social services, must be carefully raised. The benefits of the services should not offset the fresh taxation on the poor. It should not discourage saving and affect the capital formation. A faster improvement in the welfare of the ordinary man can be achieved if welfare measures are introduced at a moderate pace.

Friedaich Baerwald, writing in the Fordham University magazine *Thought*, remarks:

> "It must be clearly understood that no social security system and no welfare policy can function adequately under conditions of chronic unemployment. The key to social security is therefore an employment policy which succeeds in preventing such an unfavourable development of the labour

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market. If it succeeds even an ambitious social security system is feasible. If it fails social security legislation will not prevent the widespread destitution characteristic of depression."

The implications of full employment are a high degree of continuous employment, which must be congenial. The work must be got with without any delay. Changes of occupation or place must be reduced to the minimum. It must not reduce the standard of living. In the British White Paper, three essential means have been suggested to maintain full employment. There are the maintenance of aggregate expenditure, flexibility of productive resources and the control of wages and prices. The writings of late Lord Keynes, Meade and others really give valuable suggestions with regard to this aspect of the problem.

Then, in the Welfare State, there are other questions like the increase of production and the reduction of the glaring inequalities of income. Apart from the other devices, modern opinion relies on monetary adjustment for these. The progressive taxations like the income tax and the important place given to direct taxes in the present-day public finance aim at achieving these objectives. Bht it must be cautioned that all efforts in this direction should not interfere with savings and investment and capital formation.

After analysing the problems of the Welfare State, it is interesting and appropriate to study the problems that are specially confronted with in India. With the determination to achieve Welfare State, the magnitude of the problem has assumed greater importance than before. It may be said that the concept of the State which now commands the most influential following in the country, if not also the largest following is that of the Welfare State.

The changes that have taken place in India are momentous. The transfer of Government into Indian hands, the partition of the country, which is perhaps the parting gift of British Imperialism, inflation and under-production and lack of capital formation—all these add to the speciality of the Indian problem. Legislations like the Workmen's Compensation Act of 1923, have aimed at improving the lot of the helpless. Mr. B. P. Adarkar submitted his report on Health Insurance for Industrial workers, the essential feature of which has been a compulsory contributory insurance. Though no social insurance scheme has been given by the Government, the need for it has been recognised and all efforts are taken in that direction. The Mines Maternity Benefit Act of 1941 aims at giving maternity benefit to women. The Employers State Insurance Act of 1948 has been indeed a remarkable achievement. It breaks new ground in the field of social insurance inasmuch as it proposes an integrated scheme embodying workmen's compensation and maternity benefit with health insurance. With regard to education and sanitation, steps are taken to provide greater facilities. In a country which has agricultural economy, the difficulties are numerous and with majority of population being illiterate, the most statesmanlike attitude and capacity is called.

In India, during the last fourteen years, the total expenditure of State governments on nation-building activities, as a percentage of total revenue expenditure has gone up from 34.98 per cent to 46.46 per cent. This total expenditure on such activities has increased by 100 per cent between 1946 and 1947. According to the *Statesman's* Washington correspondent, in 1950, U.S.S.R. spent per capita $73 on social and cultural purposes, while the U.S.A. spent 19 per cent more per capita for education, 140 per cent more for social security and social insurance, 370 per cent more for public health and 160 per cent more for scientific research than the U.S.S.R. Though compared to these figures, the Indian example recedes to the background, it is really an advancement if the past economic and political conditions of the country are taken into account.

But a note of warning must be given. If in the high ambition of the realisation of the Welfare State, hasty steps are undertaken, it will result in the frustration of all hopes in the future of India. Several obstinate and cold facts like the under-production and inflation must not be lost sight of. The Indian Rupee has the four-anna value of the Indian Rupee of 1939. The shyness in the capital market and the progressive deterioration in the volume of production must make India feel that any effort must be taken carefully. The Government must follow both "production by inducement and direction." The long-range prosperity of the country must not be sacrificed at the altar of pet principles.

It is feared in some quarters that the Welfare State will inevitably lead to the extinction of the civil and political liberties. The extension of the functions of the State must take place within the desirable social ends, particularly the maintenance of civil and political liberties. Though it is true that Russia has improved the standard of living of the people, it is an unfortunate fact that the personality and the individuality of man is completely ignored. The objective should be to better the position of man, at the same time promoting other social ends too. The *Economist* writes:

> "The sound policy for those who believe in the Welfare State is that the State should maintain for its citizens the highest standard of individual welfare that it can reasonably afford and that does not undermine the economic efficiency or political liberty of its citizens."

Any attempt to achieve too much in too short a time may defeat larger purpose. It is the end that justifies that ultimate jurisdiction of the State. To conclude, "Poverty anywhere constitutes a danger to prosperity everywhere."

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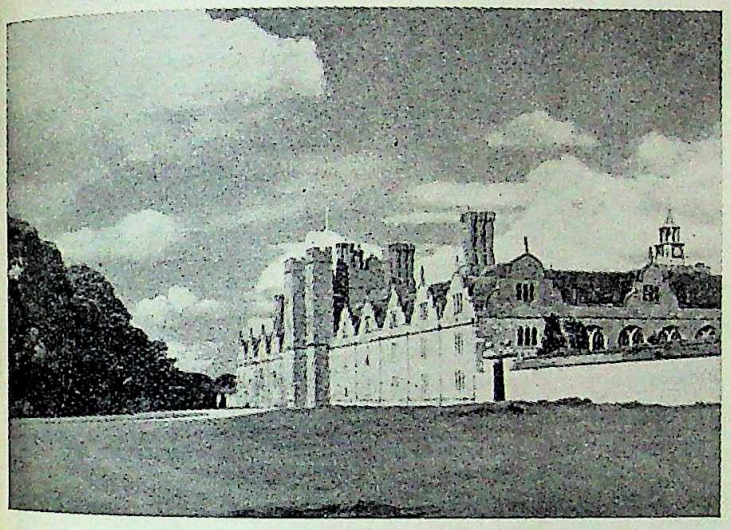
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FAMOUS ENGLISH HOUSES

By Major D. GRAHAM POLE

I. Knole

One of the things that has changed in England down the ages is the attitude towards the Spring. In the fourteenth century, the first great age in English history, the poet Chaucer opened his prologue to the Canterbury Tales with a salute to the Spring. In the next great age, the Elizabethan, it is the same; all the sixteenth century poets, from Surrey to Shakespeare, laud and magnify the Spring. I wonder why we have lost that attitude. Why for instance have Maypoles and May Queens quite gone out? Above all, I wonder why we take our holidays in August, that dried-up summer month, when our ancestors chose the sparkling Spring to go on *their* pilgrimages.

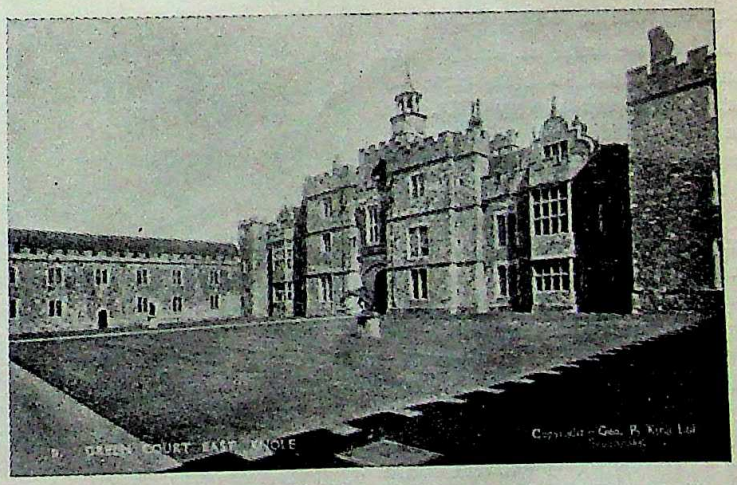


North-West Front from the Park. Knole

Such thoughts came to mind the other day caused by a visit to Knole, largest and loveliest of all our country houses. Knole has a special place in the hearts of English people. For one thing it is completely English, as English as the colleges at Oxford with its courts and quadrangles and mellowing stone. Indeed Knole and Magdalen are practically of the same age. In 1546, Knole was sold to Archbishop Bourchier who built the house as it appears today. And only a year later Bishop Waynflete of Winchester began to build at Magdalen.

To get to Knole the modern pilgrim may set out from London in a democratic char-a-banc, travelling through the most characteristic of all English countrysides. For Knole is situated near Sevenoaks in Kent, a county which has absolutely everything. It has castles, cathedrals and market gardens, oaks and oast-houses and cherry orchards. It has too the rolling north downs and, spreading out below them, the patch-work pattern of the weald. From at least one point on these downs you can see across seven counties.

It is tempting to enlarge on the road to Knole—the quickest way out of London and far and away the most attractive. In a matter of minutes you are at Camberwell Green (Mendelssohn's 'Spring Song' was first entitled 'Camberwell Green'). Thereafter, from Dulwich to Sevenoaks. you are in an unsuspected rural paradise. Dulwich Village, self-contained as a cathedral close, centres round its public school which was founded in the seventeenth century by the actor Edward Alleyn. Never was there gift more allied to the giver! For Alleyn, who must surely have been playing in Faust, dreamt one night that the devil had come for his soul. And he felt so shocked by his dream that he founded the school as a penance. . . .



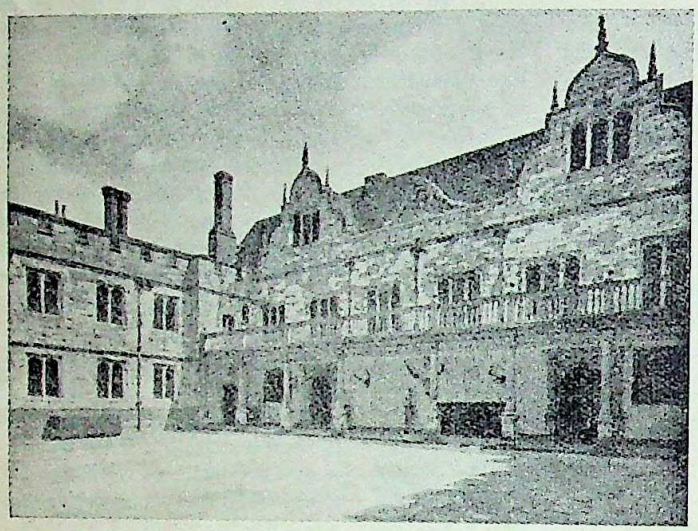
Green Court East. Knole

On from Dulwich one passes and often through

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a green tunnel of over-arching trees. All along the way, past and present blend in comfortable accord. There are old timbered 'pubs' at Beckenham and thatched cottages at Bromley. Outside Sevenoaks the



The Stone Court. Knole

Bat and Ball Inn is a reminder that for more than two hundred years willow for cricket bats has been grown in these parts. (In 1773, John Frederick Sackville of Knole, third Duke of Dorset, presented a cricket-ground to Sevenoaks.)

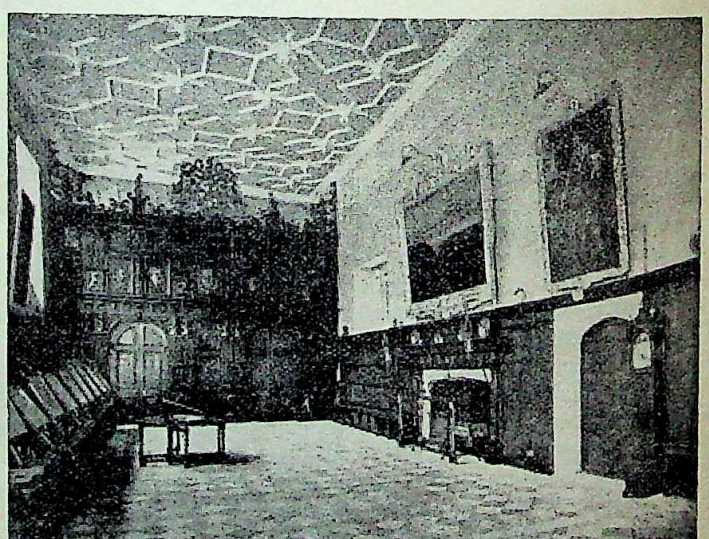
And so we arrive at the gates of Knole, thankful to have come by car, as the park is very hilly. But the park itself is scarcely noticed because of the engaging tameness of the squirrels who rush down trees to look at the passersby. It is the same with the deer. They stand in groups along the verges of the road, strange little creatures with spotted coats like a Noah's Ark cow, and imported long ago from Japan.

There is nothing ducal or flamboyant about the first view of the house. One enters through a gateway between two towers. On either side of the gateway stretch plain Tudor walls surmounted by later Jacobean gables. Only ornamentation is the Sackville leopard, who sits upright on every gable.

But the gateway leads into the Green Court, the first of seven courts. (Knole has seven courts, fifty-two staircases, and three hundred and sixty-five rooms). Here we are right in the midst of Knole's long history.

In the fifteenth century, as we have seen, Knole was acquired by the Archbishop of Canterbury. It was the first Archbishops who built the East side of this court with its lovely oriel and mullioned windows. Knole would have remained with the Church had not Henry VIII, with his accustomary rapacity, coveted it for himself and compelled Cranmer to hand it over. All the left wing of this court became the King's Stables.

Perhaps I may pause for a moment to comment that under Mary Tudor Knole *did* return to the Church for a little while. In 1556, she granted it for life to Cardinal Pole. But when he died two years later, on the same day as the Queen Knole reverted to the monarchy. Soon it passed to the new Queen's cousin Thomas Sackville, created Lord Buckhurst in 1567 and Earl of Dorset in 1604. He was the first Sackville to live at Knole—which has remained in his family for more than 300 years.



The Great Hall

In the midst of the Green Court are two Italian bronzes. One is of a Gladiator and the other of Venus and they were brought to Knole in the eighteenth century by John Frederick Sackville, third Duke of Dorset. To this Duke Knole owes most of her best paintings. But he must wait till we come to the Reynolds Room.

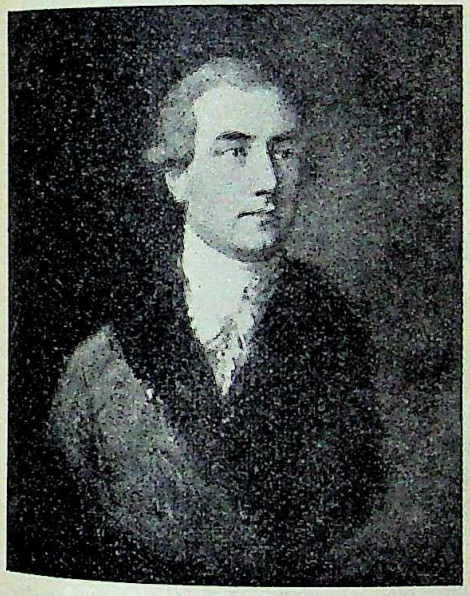
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Leading out of the Green Court is the Stone Court. It is completely paved and its stones cover a reservoir from which the former inmates used to draw their drinking water. But the general stonyness is redeemed by a most delightful and unexpected feature. Along the length of the eastern side of the court is a wide balcony, supported by a colonnade. It could accommodate musicians or serve for a promenade and it is a Jacobean addition.

The early years of the seventeenth country, the beginning of the Jacobean age, were important ones for Knole. For although Thomas Sackville had been granted the house in 1566 it was not until 1603 that he obtained possession. His was a versatile and late-Renaissance personality. In his youth he had written *Gorboduc*, the first blank-verse tragedy in our language; he entertained musicians and had a private orchestra. He had been Ambassador to France and to the Low Countries and Chancellor of Oxford as well. Only the last five years of his life remained to be spent at Knole but he made the most of them. He is said to have imported three hundred workmen from Italy, including plasterers, upholsterers, masons and glaziers. He it was who launched the house on its long career of being the most beautifully furnished place in England. To this day, people come to Knole solely for the sake of the Jacobean furniture.

Through a doorway under the colonnade is the entrance to the Great Hall. This was built in the time of the Archbishops but heavily overlaid with panels and carvings by this same Thomas Sackville. It is not especially remarkable. The charm lies in the odd brushes with history—from Anne Boleyn to George IV—which the visitor experiences as he wanders round. One of the fire-dogs bears the arms and initials of Henry VIII, the other those of Anne Boleyn. (Poor rejected Queen. There is something so intimate in sharing the fire-dogs . . .). Set out on a table along one of the walls are the Letters Patent conferring on various Sackvilles their titles of Lord Buckhurst, Earl Dorset and Duke of Dorset. Each is headed by a portrait of the Sovereign and my favourite is the one granted by Queen Elizabeth. It is a pleasant surprise, and rather touching, to come on this miniature painting of the redoubtable Eliza. She is depicted, sitting at the top of the parchment, as a dumpy little woman with her knees near her chin . . . I suppose the principal thing in the hall is the portrait of Edward



Third Duke of Dorset
By Gainsborough



Earl of Surrey
By Stretes

Sackville, fourth Earl of Dorset, painted by Van Dyck. But I don't care for it. I prefer Van Dyck in melancholy mood. This Earl seems to swell and swashbuckle.

Coming out of the hall one is met by a lovely sight—a really exquisite carved staircase. It is called the Great Staircase but its name is misleading. Principal staircase it may be but it is not very wide and there is nothing great or heavy about it. It is all lightness and grace and the leopards perched on its pilasters are a sermon in elegant deportment. Sunlight falls across the landings and I do not think that anywhere else in the world can stairs exist which more effectually take away the feeling that any effort or exertion is called for to mount them. The walls are decorated in *grisaille*. This my dictionary describes as

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'a style of decorative painting in grayish tints in imitation of bas-reliefs.' But time or intention has turned some of these grayish tints to cream or yellow or rose. Or perhaps it was the sunlight.

Apart from the Hall, only the rooms on the first floor are shown to visitors. Here there is a series of galleries with smaller rooms at either end. The one I liked best was the Cartoon Gallery. It bears this name because on its walls are six copies of Raphael's cartoons, which were designs for tapestries for the Vatican. (The original cartoons are now in the Victoria and Albert Museum). The present copies were given by Charles the First to an Earl of Middlesex whose daughter married into the Sackvilles.



Mrs. Sackville
By Lely

This gallery seems to me to sum up in itself much of the history and the beauties of Knole. At the far end, pride of place is given to a painting of Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey, son of the Duke of Norfolk. The first of the Sackvilles was connected with the Duke of Norfolk's family through his mother who was a Boleyn. He was also a poet and he was ten years old when Surrey, a much better poet than himself, was executed by Henry VIII on a charge of treason. He must often have mourned the death of his gifted kinsman. But to return to the painting: it has been the subject of much controversy. No one can fix its precise date and there are four versions of it in existence. They are certainly commemorative portraits. But the most interesting part of the controversy centres round the Latin motto. Painted at the base of a broken column, on which Surrey rests his elbow, are the words 'Sat Super Est.' What is the correct translation, or, rather, what is the meaning which it is trying to convey? The literal translation is 'Enough Survives.' Some think this is a reference to the fact that Surrey had a son to carry on his line. Others see in it a tribute to his verse. He was the poet who wrote about the Spring and I plump for the second explanation. But in any event we can be grateful for the motto. Sat Super Est. Enough Survives! It is a reflection worth adding to one's scanty store of philosophy.

There is a glorious Renaissance fire-place in the Cartoon Gallery. It is in marble and the design rises from floor to ceiling. Such fire-places are a feature of the house and there were others in the ballroom and



Chinese Boy
By Reynolds

the Reynolds room. This one is opposite a window and has a shell-like radiance. Colours altogether glow in this gallery. The walls are covered in rose-red velvet. The windows are painted. And the furniture, of the Restoration period, is in velvets of green and blue and crimson. But the most satisfying thing of all is the *floor*. Every plank looks unusually wide and solid; short for its width and of a different length from the next one. But it all settles into a solid, dark, and gleaming platform. The truth is the floor is not made of planks at all. It is composed of tree-trunks, split in half, with the rounded half downwards.

Huge fire-places and age-old velvets . . . how has Knole escaped the ravages of smoke and moth? (So far as the moths are concerned, does the secret lie in her special blend of pot-pourri, which perfumes all these rooms and has been made since the days of George the First?). In another gallery there are chairs

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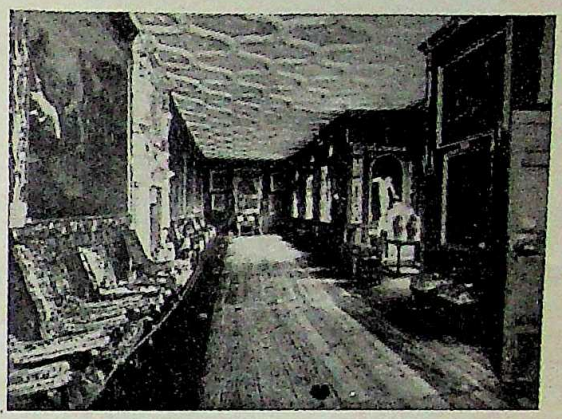
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and stools of the Elizabethan period which are still in their original coverings. The colours are fading into a haze but there seems no reason why these chairs and stools, which have survived so long, should not stay in their places for ever. Knole's most famous furniture is Jacobean and much of it is now in the Leicester Gallery. (Named after Elizabeth's favourite, the Earl of Leicester, who was at Knole for a brief period before the first Sackville). But I do not care much for Jacobean furniture. It has been done to death. I am sick of the typical Hamlet cross-legged chair and the 'Knole sofa' with drop-ends, which is copied by every furniture maker in the Tottenham Court Road. In this gallery one feels more drawn to the portrait of a Countess of Desmond who lived for a hundred and forty years. And what years! She was born in the reign of Edward IV and died when Charles the First was on the throne. (On the way, at the age of ninety, she fell out of a tree in Knole Park and broke a leg). She saw the Wars of the Roses and the rise of Tudor absolutism; saw absolutism crumbling in the uncertain grasp of Charles . . . What would we not give to see in which way our own revolution is developing.

Let those who may, remember Knole for her furniture. Others will recall the Sleeping Beauty atmosphere of her deserted courtyards—and the wonderful collection of portraits in the galleries upstairs.

Every hundred years or so the Sackvilles throw up someone quite outstanding. In Elizabeth's day there was Thomas Sackville. In Restoration times there is the jolly, roistering Sixth Earl of Dorset. He is one of the most brilliant, talented and dissipated figures in a brilliant, talented and dissipated age. It was said of him that his good nature was supreme. Certainly he attracted the most contrasting characters. His affections ranged over Nell Gwynn, William Penn, Pope, Dryden and, the greatest of all fellow-rakes, Lord Rochester. It is reported that Rochester said of him, perhaps with a touch of envy: 'I do not know how it is, my Lord Dorset might do anything, he is never to blame.' To this amiable creature we owe the magnificent sea-shanty 'To all you Ladies now at Land.' (It is in the *Oxford Book of English Verse*). And to him Knole must be indebted for the enchanting series of Lely portraits which hang in the Spangled Dressing Room. Nearly all are of Court ladies. They have the dark good looks of the period and, in their dresses of luminous pinks and greens and yellows, they are very beautiful as they hang in line.

On another hundred years and the Third Duke of Dorset is presiding at Knole. He is devoted to the arts which is a very good thing for posterity because we are now in the age of Reynolds and Gainsborough, the greatest period in English portrait painting. In many ways this Sackville recalls his Elizabethan and Restoration ancestors. He was Ambassador in Paris up to the time of the French Revolution. And instead of a Nell Gwynn there is Giannetta Bacelli, the Italian dancer, to whom he gave his Garter to wear as a hair-ribbon. (She caused great scandal in Paris when she danced at the Opera with *Honi Soit Qui Mal Y Pense* blazing on her forehead!). There is a very beautiful recumbent statue of her at the foot of the Great Staircase.



The Cartoon Gallery. Knole

A portrait of the Duke, by Gainsborough, hangs in the ballroom and it has often been lent to Exhibitions. As a rule Gainsborough is not reckoned a very successful painter of men. To succeed with a portrait an artist must have a firm grasp of character and Gainsborough was not disposed to be analytical. He was for spontaneity and he is better with women and best of all with children. But this painting does succeed. There was a strain of melancholia in both artist and sitter and perhaps that made for understanding. Dorset certainly was very attracted to Gainsborough and commissioned five other paintings. (And paid £105 for the lot!)

But it is Reynolds, the greatest of all English portrait painters, who gets the best showing at Knole. So many of his paintings hang in the Crimson Drawing Room that it has become the Reynolds Room. It was Reynolds, it will be remembered, to whom Boswell dedicated his *Life of Johnson* and who founded the famous Literary Club to which the Johnson circle belonged. Portraits of members of the Club are in this room, including those of Doctor Johnson, Oliver Goldsmith and David Garrick.

Next to a self-portrait by Reynolds, which he is said to have given to Dorset, hangs a painting of extraordinary charm. It is of Hwang-a-Tung, a little Chinese boy who attened on Giannetta Bacelli. Exotic child attendants have been a feature of noble households. (Shakespeare, who was acquainted with the ways of courts, gave to Titania, the Fairy Queen, 'a lovely boy stolen from an Indian king' for her atten-

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dant). It would be interesting to know what happened to this gentle Chinese boy in after-life. All we hear about him is that the Duke sent him to the Grammar School in Sevenoaks.

But Knole alas has lost its most beautiful child painting. This was the portrait of the Duke's three children, painted by Hoppner, which was sold in 1930 in order to clear off death duties. It seems a pity that that picture had to go. For the sensitive little boy, with the soft mass of hair and eyes set so far apart, was the last of the Sackvilles in the direct line. He died in 1815 at the age of twenty-one, after an accident in the hunting-field, and Knole passed eventually to the children of his younger sister Elizabeth. This Elizabeth married George West, Earl de la Warr, and their descendants have adopted the name of Sackville-West. It is the Sackville-Wests who are now at Knole. The title of Lord Sackville was given to them in 1876.

Just after the War the present Lord Sackville presented Knole to the National Trust. It is saddening to feel that these great houses will no longer play a part in the life of the nation. But at least their tapestries and paintings will not be sold abroad to pay for death duties.

And let us salute the Sackvilles—and all others of their kind—who served their country at home and abroad and who in every age were the friends and encouragers of the humanities.

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KODAIKANAL

By L. N. GUBIL

On the precipitous southern slope of the Palni Hills overlooking the plains is Kodaikanal, regarded as the most beautiful of the hill stations of Southern India. Situated 7,000 feet above sea-level and easily accessible, it ought to commend itself to all who desire to relax in beautiful surroundings to get rid of the strain of work and the prickly heat of the Indian summer in the plains. In contrast with the "fair glades and neighbouring lawns" of Ootacamund, the alternating hill and dale scenery of Kodaikanal is decidedly more attractive to the visitor from the plains. The salubrity of its climate is comparable more closely to that of the high-lands of Scotland than to the English air characteristic of the Nilgiris.

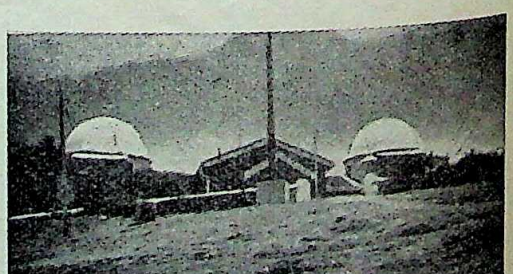


The Lake

Almost the first thing which strikes the visitor to Kodaikanal is its absolute freedom from convention. In regard to the hour of call the utmost informality prevails, but one may warn visitors against the futility of calling on any one after 4 p.m. as only the invalids keep indoors after that hour at Kodaikanal.



Carlton Hotel opposite to Lake and Boat Club



The Observatory

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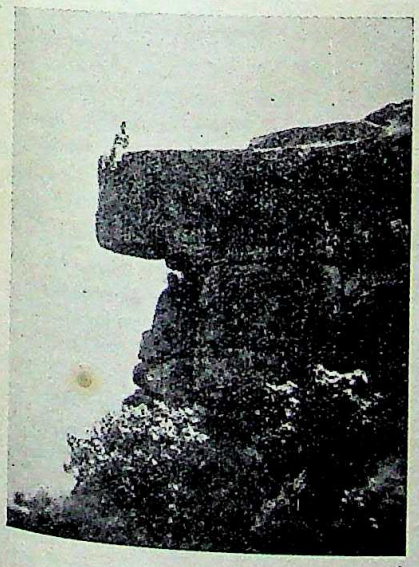
Of all the places of importance to be visited at Kodaikanal, the first is decidedly the lake. On its banks are located the English and Indian Clubs, the Boat Clubs, the Carlton Hotel and some of the offices.



Reservoir

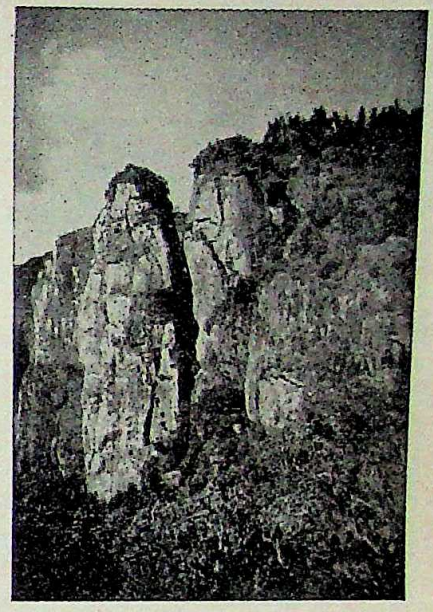
The most popular resort for people of all ages, the lake-side presents a gay appearance with the boats plying across the lake from corner to corner. Many Indian ladies may be seen rowing across the lake and with their gaily coloured sarees add greatly to the colour-effect of the scene.

The Coaker's Walk is yet another popular resort from where one commands an interesting view of the towers of Madura, the adjoining village of Periakulam and the hills and valleys round Kodaikanal.



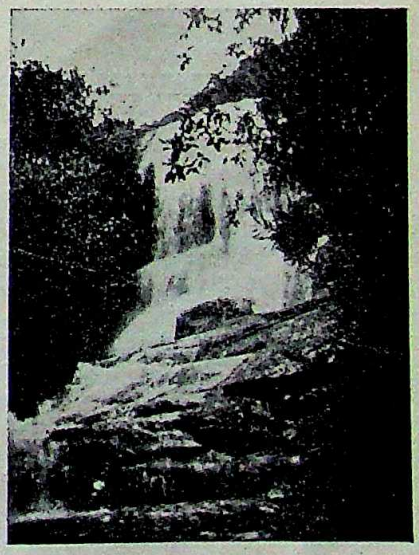
Dolphin's Nose

The Pillar Rocks are a sight in themselves, standing up to a great height in the shape of pillars among the pine forests adjoining. Nearer home, the Fairy Falls and the Bear Shola Falls are equally attractive. To the more adventurous spirits, the Pambar Valley and Falls and the Dolphin's Nose present attractions of the most exquisite nature. The scenery of the Pambar Valley is Elysian and in the inviolable quietness around, one draws the breath of peace.



Pillar Rocks

The strain of a walk down the whole course of the Pambar Valley may deter all but the most venturesome from making the attempt. The Falls by themselves are a sight not to be missed.



Bear-Shola Falls

The sign-board, Dolphin's Nose 4 furlongs, easily beguiles the unwary into an undertaking, the magni-

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tude of which he realizes, when, after walking the distance indicated, he finds himself no nearer to the goal than at the start. But the effort of the walk is amply repaid by the sight of the Nose itself—a huge



Fairy Falls

block of stone jutting right out into the void. It will be a truism to suggest a visit to the Observatory, but a student of science may be informed that it is the one Observatory in India which in addition to being a first class weather Observatory and scismological station, specialises in the study of physics of the Sun and is specially equipped with the most up-to-date



Baronet Levinge Monument

equipment for spectroscopic observations and research on sunlight.

The Jesuit Fathers who have achieved fame through their Colleges in Tiruchirappalli and Madras, have a college for the training of their members in Shembaganur, a place 2,000 feet below Kodaikanal. Any visitor to this hill-station should not fail to see this college and the farm attached to it. A visit to this place is an education by itself.

Thus, a trip to Kodaikanal at any time of the year is sure to produce lasting benefit to body and mind.

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HAWAII : PARADISE OF THE PACIFIC

By MAUDE JONES

Situated in the north-central portion of the Pacific Ocean, the Hawaiian Islands are the focal point of Pacific ocean and air transportation. The first settlers were Polynesians who had journeyed from distant islands to settle there. These migrations extended over some centuries prior to the arrival of the British explorer, Captain James Cook, on January 18, 1778. Then the island group was divided into four separate kingdoms. By 1795, the young chief Kamehameha had won his way to power and conquered all but one of the islands. This island was later ceded to him.

Hawaii had its own culture before the advent of the early European explorers. Without metal of any kind, with only stone implements, the inhabitants perfected the making of canoes, wood and stone utensils, and spears, bark cloth, and mats. Their feather capes were never equalled. Hawaiians were well versed in medicine and anatomy. There was no written language until 1822 but history and genealogies were handed down by word of mouth.

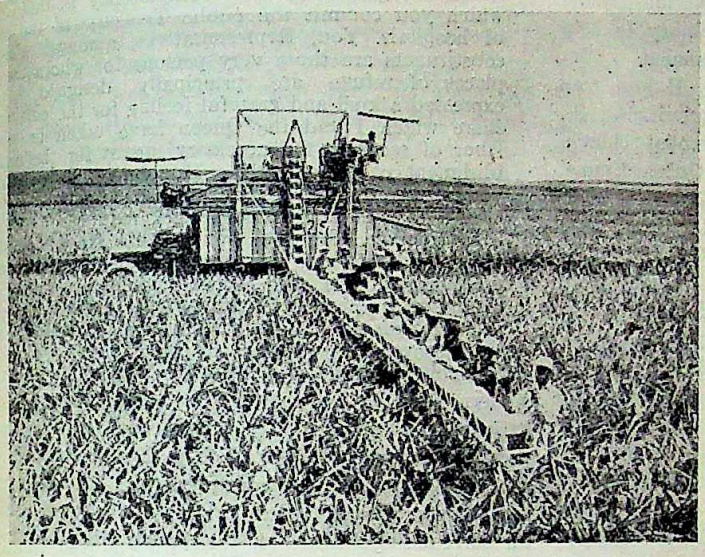
When the first missionaries arrived in 1820 they found a country without a settled religion. Since the old Tabu system had been overthrown after the death of Kemehameha I in 1819, the way was open for the establishment of Christianity.

The evolution of Hawaii's government has been unique. From an absolute monarchy (1795-1840), it became a constitutional monarchy (1840-1893). Then the monarchy was overthrown and a provisional government established. In 1894, this was changed to a republic. On August 12, 1898, the formal act of annexation to the United States took place, and today Hawaii stands on the threshold of American statehood.

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Foreign powers attempted to gain possession of Hawaii from the time Kamehameha I ceded the Island of Hawaii to another British explorer in 1795. In 1816 and 1817 the Russians established themselves in the islands, built a well-equipped fort on Kauai, and had to be driven out by force. In February 1843, an impetuous young English naval officer, Lord George Paulet, seized the islands in the name of Great Britain, but on July 31, 1843, Admiral Thomas, commander of British naval forces in the Pacific, disavowed the act and restored the sovereignty to the islands' ruler. On that day Kamehameha III gave Hawaii its motto: The life of the land is preserved by righteousness. For ten days in 1849 the French occupied the Fort and government buildings at Honolulu.



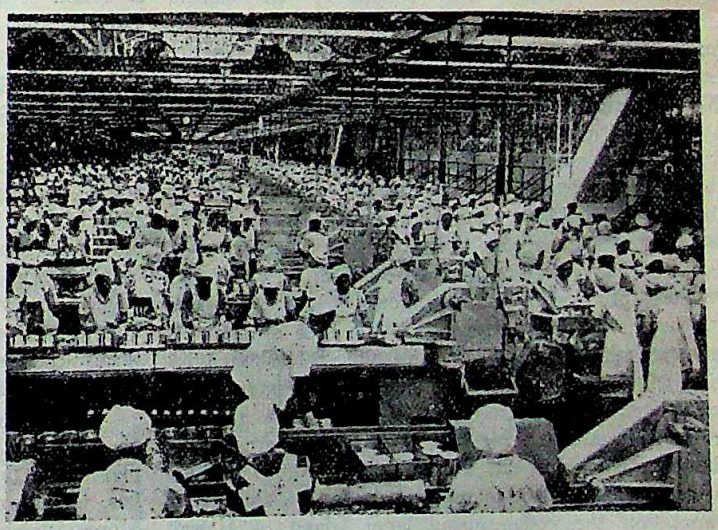
Using a mechanical harvester, pickers collect the abundant pineapples, one of Hawaii's major crops

The United States had always shown an interest in the island kingdom. The first annexation treaty was drawn up in 1849, and a treaty of reciprocity was negotiated which went into effect in 1876. When the treaty was extended in 1877, Hawaii ceded Pearl Harbor as a coaling and repair station for the use of vessels of the United States. Hawaii was free from foreign invaders until December 7, 1941.

Hawaii's sons have fought side-by-side with American troops in every engagement beginning with the War of 1812. Today they are battling against Communist forces in Korea.

August 30, 1950, was the one-hundreth anniversary of Honolulu's being proclaimed a city and the capital by a resolution in Privy Council. The year also marked the centenary of the city's Board of Health, Fire Department, and Chamber of Commerce, the arrival of the first Mormon missionaries, and of numerous civic organisations.

Territorial executive offices now are housed in Iolani Palace which contains the only throne room in the United States. In this historic room the Hawaiian House of Representatives meets every odd year, while the Senate convenes in what was once the state dining room. Honolulu Hale, the city hall, is an imposing modern structure one block from the Palace. The Islands' archives are kept in a fireproof building in the palace grounds. This was the first building to be erected on United States territory solely for the care and protection of government archives. Other territorial buildings and the federal building are grouped around Palace Square, forming Honolulu's civic center.



Pineapples are sliced and canned under modern conditions in this Honolulu factory

The educational system of Hawaii has advanced steadily since 1820. In January 1949, a total of 86,835 students were enrolled in public schools, 24,760 in

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private schools, and 4,905 were regsitered at the University of Hawaii. The University's Agricultural Extension Service reaches all parts of the Hawaiian group as well as other parts of the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands. This Trust was one of those established by the Charter of the United Nations, under which the United States has the responsibility to help the islands in all phases of their development.

Religious freedom is recognised in Hawaii, all denominations enjoying the same privileges. St. Andrews Cathedral, the beautiful Episcopal church, was founded by Kamehameha IV and Queen Emma. The first Catholic priests landed in 1827.

Trade in Hawaii has changed and grown with world development. The fur trade was the first international exchange of goods. Furs were brought from the Pacific Coast of North America and reshipped to China. Next sandalwood was the principal article of trade, but the demand for this was so great that the forests were demolished. The whaling industry followed, but the shifting of the whaling grounds ended this lucrative business, and agriculture came into its own. The first sugar mills were erected in 1838, although sugar was said to have been produced as early as 1802. Coffee, wheat, and other crops are raised in smaller quantities.

With the increase in agricultural development a great demand for labourers arose. The Royal Hawaiian Agricultural Society was organized; government envoys, empowered to negotiate treaties, were sent to foreign countries to procure labourers. Immigrants came from China, Portugal, Japan, Galicia, Russia, Korea, several other Pacific islands, and the Philippines. Small numbers of Scotsmen and Scandinavians arrived. The amazing fact about the introduction of these peoples from so many diverse countries is that they have lived and worked together in complete harmony. All are good citizens. One of Hawaii's assets has been the power to mould people of all races and religions into one harmonious group.

Sugar, the oldest industry, is the base of Hawaii's economy with an annual yield of almost 1,000,000 tons. Pineapples, a comparatively new industry, average an annual pack of nearly 19,000,000 cans. Fish and fish products form a growing industry with a large canning plant at Honolulu and a picturesque fleet of fishing boats. Coffee raising is so important that the public schools on the coffee-raising large Island of Hawaii arrange their vacation schedules so as to allow pupils and teachers to pick the ripe coffee.

Tourists have been considered Hawaii's third industry, but a new development has placed the export of orchids and other cut flowers high on the list of the island's industries.

Hawaii takes pride in her care of the ill and handicapped. Kamehameha IV and his Queen, Emma, founded the Queen's Hospital in 1859. In his speech proroguing the legislature on May 4, 1859, the King said:

> "I confess that the act of your two Houses which I regard with most complacency is that in which you commit the public Treasury to the aid of hospitals. You, Representatives, amongst whose constituents are those very persons for whom these places of refuge are principally designed, have expressed a kind and grateful feeling for the personal share which I and the Queen have taken in the labor of securing the necessary means for the establishment of a hospital in Honolulu. . . . When you return to your several places, let the fact be known that in Honolulu the sick man has a friend in everybody. Nor do I believe that He who made us all, and to whose keeping I commend in now dismissing you, has seen with indifference how the claims of a common humanity have drawn together, in the subscription list, names representative of almost every race under the sun."

Honolulu boasts a 400-bed hospital with all modern facilities including operating rooms, outpatient clinic and a weekly tumor clinic, as well as an excellent school of nurses. Today Hawaii leads in its care of the mentally handicapped with its new treatment center at the Territorial Hospital set in beautiful surroundings. Molokai, the Lonely Isle, has cared for those afflicted with leprosy since the time of Kamehameha V.

The Territory is air-minded. Six airlines connect Honolulu with the mainland of the United States, with Canada, the Antipodes, and the Orient. One airline gives passenger and cargo service to all of the islands and has completed 22 years of operation without a fatality to passenger or crew member. The company schedules more than 50 flights daily.

The big island, Hawaii, is famed for its two active volcanoes, Kilauea and Mauna Loa. In June 1950 Mauna Loa staged one of its most spectacular eruptions. Islanders rush to, instead of away from, an eruption. On this island, the birthplace of Kamehameha I, are the ruins of the ancient City of Refuge. Hilo, its largest city, is situated in the bend of a beautiful crescent-shaped bay with Mauna Loa and Mauna Kea as a background.

Maui, the Valley Isle, has the vast extinct crater of Haleakala where is found the rare silversword plant, and beautiful Iao Valley. Kauai, the Garden Isle, is known far and near for Waimea Canyon and Mount Waialeale where 460 inches of rain fall annually.

The population of Hawaii as of January 1, 1950, was 527,473 (exclusive of the armed forces). The city of Honolulu claimed 263,795 inhabitants.

Hawaii has lived up to her motto, given by Kamehameha III in 1843: *Ua mau ke ea o ka aina i ka pono* (The life of the land is preserved by righteousness).—From *Think*

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THE WALL'S BARRIER

By SANTA DEVI

Snatches of diverse conversations are wafted from across the other side of the wall into his ears. Sometimes it is a deep rumbling voice, sometimes the high shrill voice of a child, or at other times, the silvery jingle, the bubbling ripple of a feminine voice. Now all the voices were familiar with him. It was most delightful to listen to the sweet young voice of a girl, chirping every afternoon at four—"How are you, Dada? Now just see, I have brought you oranges, *malpowa* and the finest rice, for you today! Have the sweets at night and tell them to cook this rice for the morning. You do not seem to have any fish-problem in the hospital. If we had four such huge slices of *Rui*-fish at home—it would have been enough for the whole lot of us."

Dada replies, "Exactly! with prices rising to such scandalous heights in Calcutta, very few people can eat their fill with their slender private income."

The girl trips across the floor, lifting cups, moving saucers,—her bangles jingling; he guesses her movements hearing the 'swish, swish' of her dainty *chappals*. Just a yard away and yet unseen.

Suddenly she exclaims, "My! I had very nearly forgotten to deliver the whole lot of letters for you today. Mother repeatedly asked me not to forget about the office-letter and the one from Darjeeling. She will cross-question me when I return home."

Dada says, "Read out the office-letter, will you? I will send the answer by your hand today. There is no hurry about the letter from Darjeeling—I will read it when I get time."

The girl's voice bubbles out in laughter, "There is no hurry, indeed! When you are rid of poor little me, you will gaze leisurely at that *shiuli* tree there and read the letter, heaving deep sighs!"

Dada snaps at her, "You have no sense of propriety or reticence—cracking your crude jokes at any one and every place! Please read me the one from the office. I wonder how many more days the leave will be extended."

The girl starts reading out, in an irritated voice and anglicised tone, a letter written in English. The reading stops with the footsteps of two or three persons. "Hullo Jatin, keeping well? Boy, you did give us a shock? Now you are having quite a secretarial work here, of course!"

A young woman murmurs, "Your ways do irritate us, really! You just couldn't stop scampering about until you were landed with appendicitis—you wouldn't listen to us, so this will teach you a lesson!"

The other new-comer retorts, "You have some hopes! How can your voice reach him, whose trance could be broken only by the penance of that Uma of Darjeeling?"

"I beg your pardon," replies the young woman, "was I trespassing?"

The cabin-servant stamps heavily into the room. He seems to place a tray noisily on the table. The young sister screams, "Such a huge omlette, Dada! The very sight is tempting! But, don't cut it up, please. You will have to fast today if we all start taking shares!"

More and more footsteps. How many more will enter that room? The earlier visitors are making room for the others. That soft-voiced lady remarks, "Jatin Babu *is* popular. I do feel jealous! We wouldn't have so many visitors even in death-bed! And look at the number of books."

Jatin Babu seems to answer, "God bless you, you needn't die. Your list of admirers is growing fast already. The moment I get down from this bed, I too will offer my attendance. And I will bring along as many of the latest books as you want."

Plenty of chattering and gossiping, laughing and teasing, work and play is carried on, throughout the evening. Who will say this was a sick-man's room? When visiting hours end with the six o'clock bell—even newer voices are heard speaking in there!

At long last starts the sprinkling of Lysol solution. Jatin's sister's voice is heard, "We will be going now, Dada. Else they might sweep us out with the holy water."

Another lady pleads, "No, no, please—where is the hurry? These rules aren't as strict as they look. Lots of people sit right up till night."

Gradually the room grows quiet. The servant comes in, then comes the nurse, each does his own alloted duty, chatting a little, while they work. Each pours his tales of misery into the sympathetic ears of Jatin Babu. The servant complains, "If only I could get a better job, Babu? I can cook, I can do some nursing too, what can't I do? But, of course, it is my fate! The kitchen-servants eat as much as they steal, —while we shrivel up like dried fish! I can't even send just ten rupees to my wife and child back home. Why were I born a man then?"

The dark nurse says, "I am a single person, but when I am on duty I must watch over fifty people, with just two hands and a pair of eyes! How can a person endure this? If I had a white skin and wore a skirt—why, I would have had a fatter pay at least,—a good reward for my pains! But, of course, being born dark, I must trudge along as I am."

* * * *

Anadi had sprung from a respectable lineage, and was once quite well-to-do. His widowed mother had sent him to England for higher studies. But his circle of friends there, being very far from thrifty—had

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reduced him to his present destitute state. Who would have thought, even a month ago, that he, after a street accident, would be lying with a crushed leg in the public hospital? Jatin Babu's cabin was right beside his bed in the general ward. And that was a piece of luck of course. Some times tunes of his familiar world float across from there and make him restless. When that room quietens down his mind can no more forget the visible world. This isn't the world in which he had once roamed and been entangled in ties of love and labour. This is a veritable approach to the jaws of Death. These fifty men breathing the air of the same room and the same world, were strangely different from all normal mortals in their monotonous sameness of lying in bed from dawn to dusk. Queerly identical were their pains, their thoughts and their ravings. In the morning each prostrate man counts the hours for the eagerly-awaited supply of watery milk or some such drink. When the body resists the idea of food, there is no other choice but to think of pain, pain and more pain. At nine, the doctor in his Western outfit, will go through his daily rounds followed by his troupe of assistants. He may give you some relief, assisted by his young students. But nobody has the spare time to listen to the groans of these suffering creatures and soothe away with gentle touch their poor aching bodies. The nurse enters with the thermometer, thursts it once in each mouth, draws the temperature chart, but never speaks a cheery word if she doesn't feel like it. Only her tender hand and kindly smile can rouse a spark of hope in the timid hearts of these travellers to the shores of Death. But there was not a dreg of pity left in the tired body of one who has lived years inside this Vale of Death. Mere pecuniary interests have robbed her tending hands of all natural tenderness. They do feel some warmth in the touch of an inexperienced new-comer. But how short-lived that is! So many of them lie waiting for that single person. She moves from bed to bed like an automaton. What else can she be with her twenty-four hours' schedule of both pleasant and unpleasant duties.

Anadi has nobody of his own to attend to. For most of the others, at least some one comes daily, to carry in a bit of lunch and sit awhile beside the bed. Even in that crowded room they look at each other and smile, as if they were quite alone there. The Hindusthani fellow lying in the next bed has a wife who comes everyday in her dirty sari and silver ornaments just to sit somehow by his pillow and whisper a few intimate words while she wipes his face with an edge of her dirty sari, after feeding him with the bread she brought. She scampers off within a few minutes; but to Anadi it seems that he has given her husband quite a lot within those few minutes.

The Chinese craftsman over there, lying for days in that dazed condition—even he had better luck than Anadi. The Chinaman's wife, in a fit of rage had ripped open her husband's stomach with a pair of scissors! But her smiling face was something to see, now when after a week her husband was somewhat recovering. She came in the evening, donned in her best coat and pyjamas, and entertained her husband with a lot of gossip. Who would say now that once they had quarrelled rather violently? It had been almost a hopeless sight to watch him while he lay senseless for days within that oxygen tent. Today he was a changed man.

But, of course, all did not have the same amount of luck. The ancient sweeper-man, who had come about ten days ago, would lie all day with eyes close-shut, refusing all food, raising himself up only when his wife and daughter arrived every evening. Sitting propped against his pillows, worn and haggard as he was, it was quite evident that he had reached his end. He had no curiosity about the numerous people coming and going and talking around him. What if he was a mere sweeper-man? His face showed as if he was beyond all earthly desires now—and not stopping there—Death the inevitable rears up its head! There began the tussle between life and death—a twenty-four hour ordeal with hot water bags and chafings of hands and feet. Even the impassive doctors and nurses began running to him all day. The wife and daughter came in the evening, together with a lot of women in dirty saris. They sat around the bed, staring at the old man's face. He was propped up against a few pillows, as he could no longer lie flat. Then came the end—before the eyes of a room-full of sick creatures. Some closed their eyes, others turned around on their beds as they lay. It was not long before the empty bed had its sheets changed—and there it stood white and vacant awaiting a new arrival.

That was not the single case—Anadi had seen others such within these few days. His heart trembles and he has a wild desire to jump off his bed and run away. But that of course was impossible. So his heart flies eagerly to Jatin Babu's cabin, catching a glimpse of fresh young life. That room too had a patient in it, but nobody was heard groaning there, the nurses and their helps did not bark out their demands inside it, and even the solemn-looking doctors paused there a few minutes, to chat about local topics. Food from outside the hospital boundaries was carried into the cabin twice daily. A tiffin-carrier every afternoon, and lots of other parcels, brought in the evening, by a variety of visitors. Friends brought fruits or sweets and sometimes stacks of books and bunches of flowers. There were fifty beds in Anadi's room and not a single bed in the whole room could boast of a few flowers by its side. But the other cabin had a regular supply of flowers. Jatin's attending nurse exclaims, "This room simply cannot hold any more flowers; I have filled all my glasses, bowls and mugs with the lot of them."

There were a few more cabins around the general

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ward, and they could boast of visitors too. But a mere glance at a typical set of people always confirmed their being Jatin Babu's visitors. A grimy-trousered Babu, a matron bedecked in her ornaments, or a young fellow wearing a gossamer-thin punjabi and a gold wrist watch—and several others were seen in the evenings. Some were regular visitors, others came occasionally. But they did not seem to be Jatin Babu's visitors, that look of anxious preoccupation mingling with fleeting signs of irritation or fear, showed that they gave greater preference to the ailment than they did to the ailing! Jatin Babu's friends, on the other hand, came with eager smiling faces and eyes shining in curious anticipation. What newer fun would he serve them with today! The girls came, swinging their bags across their shoulders and cradling a few books in their arms. A fleeting glance from under dark eye-lashes would sometimes greet the unfortunates of the general ward. These too were human beings after all! That quick glance seemed to enquire, "What is ailing you? Why are you always alone? Don't you have anybody in this world?" Then of course they walked quickly away taking their smiling glances with them. If they had once stopped to ask about just any man in that room—it might have been a daring thing to do, it might even had annoyed the doctors—but could not anybody imagine how happy the miserable man would have been?

Anadi would surely have known a bit of heaven if that bright young thing had spoken just a few words to him. Today was his twenty-fifth day in this hospital, and he had seen Jatin Babu's friends come in every day—sometimes in the evening, sometimes at noon and sometimes even twice daily. Jatin Babu's sister Apu had never been pointed out to Anadi. He had decided by himself that that tall, slender slip of a girl must be she. After all she was the most frequent visitor. Moreover, that way of hers of twisting her hair up into a tight roll, the way she carried that over-stacked bag of hers with its long leather strap over her shoulder, her way of never wearing the same pair of earrings or shoes for two days at a stretch, that trick of trying to force gravity into that smiling face of hers before she entered the cabin—all added up to suit just that name Apu! Her large sparkling eyes were enough proof that she alone could possess that sweet voice heard from the other side of the wall. And ah, what a tender heart she had! Throughout her visit, she could be heard pleading or commanding, "Please. eat this Dada!" or "Do stop making such a fuss!"

* * * *

Anadi was wondering why Apu had come in the morning that day. She had never done that before. Her sari was coffee-coloured with a wide row of white flowers along its hem—she had put on a beautifully embroidered blouse with it. Anadi had never before seen any Bengali girl embroidery work. But of course, every new fashion looked good on Apu,—and she, therefore, was looking lovely in her embroidered blouse. The imitation pearls she wore on her ears matched the white flowered border of her sari perfectly, and it was not hard to guess that she possessed a keen sense of the artistic.

Today Anadi will be going through a minor operation for his injured leg. A sick headache was teasing him from early morning and the mere thought of his encounter with the operation-table was making his face paler as he sank deeper into his bed. This sudden vision of Apu had cheered him up. He watched her go by his bed and enter Jatin Babu's cabin. Anadi lay back and began thinking about her. Apu came out of the room after some time, and tripping softly across the floor came to a sudden halt before Anadi's bed. "Won't you stand here a minute please?"—The words somhow slipped through Anadi's lips.

"Why, what's the matter?' said Apu. Her eyes were full of tender curiosity. "You don't look like a general-ward patient. Why do you lie here?"

The perfume Apu had used was filling Anadi's nostrils with fragrance. It seemed to carry him away from the hospital's repulsive odour of Lysol, into some strange magic land. He answered her happily, "Don't you know? I thought you knew everything about this place. Didn't anybody tell you my story? I was speeding away on my cycle when the chain snapped off all on a sudden—and even before I could regain my balance a huge Pontiac ran right over these poor legs."

Apu was shocked, and clasping her hands together she exclaimed, "Oh, how terrible! But you could have been killed!"

Anadi replied, "The gentleman was good enough to bring me to the hospital in his car. I would have died then and there otherwise! But now of course, I am very much alive and hope to go back with my legs almost intact."

"Why is it that nobody comes to see you while all the others have visitors coming with sweets and flowers?" Apu asked gently.

Anadi answered, "Who have I, to come and see me—the stray dog that I am?"

Apu cocked her head sideways, like a kitten and exclaimed, "What nonsense! Do stray dogs read *The Discovery of India* while convalescing? I am sure you were running away from home and so your mother doesn't know your present address and predicament."

Anadi replied, "My mother quitted her earthly home years ago,—so I don't think I have a chance of running away from her now. I am quite alone in the world."

Apu whispered, "I am sorry for what I said. From now on I will be visiting you once every day."

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Anadi said, "How is that possible? People will talk!"

Apu answered, "Well, am I not standing here and chatting with you? Nobody is noticing. What is there to talk if one person shows sympathy to another? They are inhuman if they do."

Anadi looked across the room where the young surgeon was consulting with a few nurses. They did once glance this way but it did not seem that they found anything strange. Some of the other patients were either reading newspapers or chewing at oranges, and still some others were busy with their friends and relations. None seemed to notice Anadi or Apu. The ward was unusually quiet today.

Anadi said again, "But, you know there are some things that are better not done. You don't know me. Nobody introduced us to each other. You stopped near the bed of a general ward patient, just because he suddenly asked you to. What will your Dada say to that?"

Apu widened her eyes and replied, "Dada? He will shout the house top down. He will order me out of the hospital."

Anadi said, "And I am sure your mother will be angry too."

Apu laughed, "Mother will beat me with a broom-stick! I don't dare to tell mother. But of course, I shouldn't hide anything from her."

Anadi looked up sadly and said, "I don't think your Dada would have been angry if he knew me well. I am not quite a bad sort. I too have been to England and I do have a foreign degree. Bad luck has brought me down to where I am now. People would have been more than eager to be friendly with me if I could retain my past good luck. Today they turn up their noses and pass me by."

Apu's lowered face was pensive, as she played with the huge, white plastic bag in her hand. A few yards away a nurse stood washing surgical instruments in a bowl of hot water—she glanced gravely at Apu and then went back to work. A very tall doctor in an over-all, went by the bed; he seemed to smile a little. A patient nearby was repeating over and over in a blurred tone, "Mother, oh, mother!" But Anadi's heart and eyes were gazing raptly at Apu's downcast eyes. Suddenly Apu said, "Suppose I bring Dada over here and introduce him to you? He has got a sensitive heart that gives him a lot of trouble when he feels for any one."

Anadi was all smiles, "What can give me greater pleasure?" he answered, "I have been hoping and praying for such a chance for days. I would have gone and got acquainted myself, if I had had the strength to raise myself. Moreover, we wouldn't be allowed to go over there, even if we could use our legs—you see, we do not belong to that aristocracy of private cabins. My mind, of course, is always busy trying to cross the boundaries."

Apu replied, "I had better call Dada—that will surely break the boundaries! He is not tied down to the bed any more. They have let him get up twice daily."

Anadi ventured, "Would you mind very much if I say something? may I ask you to place your hand on my forehead for a few moments, before you call your Dada? It is aching so infernally—it wasn't so bad before."

Apu was not the least surprised. She did not frown or remonstrate. Drawing a stool near the bed she sat at his head.

A heavy perfume floated over as she snapped open her white bag. She brought out a small white phial out of the bag. Then pulling off the stopper, she smoothed the solid white thing over his brow. Ah! so cool and soothing it was.

Apu ran her red-lacquered nails through his hair and gently massaged his head. The throbbing veins seemed to calm down under her tender touch. Anadi's eyes were closing drowsily. But his heart was hammering ecstatically under his chest—and he could not sleep. Was Apu so tender? Her one gentle touch was tying him up for life-long bondage! But will this momentary tenderness suffice? Perhaps he will never again meet Apu after leaving this hospital. Apu will ornament some sumptuous mansion while Anadi will again be carried on his nomadic feet, from road to road. Perhaps he may again fall under the wheels of a car when Apu rides into the Chowringhee market in a Pontiac. May be she will bring him again into this hospital in her own car. But will she visit him everyday? Why should she come when her Dada was no more a patient there? Apu was in no way concerned even if Anadi died here, suddenly, like that old sweeper-man. Her life will lead her to a different route. But why is it that the easiest things are the most unattainable in this earth? Some fateful day Apu will be tied for ever to some one whom she has not met as yet, and who himself has still not seen her—while this luckless fellow always hungered for a glimpse of her sweet smile, or her merry eyes, to whom a single touch of her hand was worth all of heaven—why will he be robbed of his right to meet her once again? Perhaps this was Anadi's fault entirely! If he had been brave enough to express his feelings before her, both their fates might have been wholly changed. Such timidity leads a man to the ultimate loss of his loved one. A man should rightly demand the love of the woman he wants—timidity leads nobody anywhere! Modesty is the befitting grace of a woman and so no man admires feminine boldness.

But why was he worrying at all? What had he to offer her in exchange of his soul's demand? Apu came from a wealthy home, she had never crossed the streets afoot, and had hardly ever got on a tram. She hardly wore [illegible] cloth and according to high

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society's standard her outfits were correctly matched from top to toe. Apu had also had a fair amount of education. Can such a girl be huddled into a grimy lane in Shyambazar and bound within the four walls of a damp, ground-floor room? Even if her soft heart gives assent to his demands—should he take advantage of it? A flower-like creature as she is Apu will soon shrivel up when struggling with sorrow and drudgery. Anadi felt a bitter pain within his heart. He pushed aside Apu's hand and muttered, "Go back to your Dada. You needn't sit here with me. I will soon be able to cope with this head-ache. There is no need to waste your time and pity on such trifle!"

* * * *

The hand moved away from his brow. Was it Apu who said, "What are you saying? I don't follow you. Are the pains getting worse?"

Anadi said, "Oh, no! I was just telling Apu to go home."

"Who is Apu?" said the girl.

Anadi glanced up surprised, "There she stands, Apu—Jatin Babu's sister! I was talking to her."

Apu flushed scarlet hearing Anadi. "How did Anadi Babu know my name?" she asked.

Anadi stared at her face with the same stunned expression. The room no more seemed quiet and shadowy as before. Even the people around him had lost that unperturbed look. They were all suddenly talking and laughing, frowning and staring. Apu was not all alone with him. She was standing with her Dada, and looking down at him. It was the nurse who was sitting by the bed.

Jatin Babu said. "We heard you had an operation today—so my sister and I came along to see you. I suppose you hear her name often, as you lie very near me! You are quite a learned person I believe, and so my sister wanted to meet you too. She had seen you everyday while going by this way."

Anadi said, "I see. When did you come?"

Jatin Babu replied, "Just about a couple of minutes ago."

Anadi said, "So I have had an operation? When?"

The nurse said, "It was done in the morning. You have been sleeping through the day. I was just sprinkling some eau de cologne on your forehead—you were tossing your head so!"

Anadi said, "Is it morning still? Somehow, I can't guess the time. Have they set my leg, then?"

The nurse seemed to fumble for an answer. Then she replied awkwardly, "Please don't feel too sad about it. Luckily, one was saved—the other will soon be made in wood. There are lots of people who have them."

A few lines of agony flickered over his face. But he was calm when he said, "Well, that settles it. A perfect street-beggar on crutches!"

Apu's eyes filled with tears. Quickly wiping her lashes, she whispered, "Why were you asking me to go away?"

Anadi's eyes were averted. He replied, "You needn't hear what a lunatic says. It does not matter at all."

Apu said, "We had better not discuss it today. I will listen to it some day later on. Do come to our house when you get well! A man should not break down—sorrow is always there, after all. Dada, give your card to Anadi Babu please! Our home address is written over there."

—Translated by Miss Shyamasree Nag, M.A.

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THE STRANGE CASE OF BAUDELAIRE

By Prof. B. N. CHATURVEDI, M.A. PH. D.

"Joy is one of the most vulgar adornments," said Baudelaire, "whereas melancholy is the illustrious companion of beauty . . . . I can scarcely conceive a type of Beauty in which there is no sorrow."

When the writer of *The Flowers of Evil* said this, he was not indulging in any trite paradox—he was hinting at the perverted foundation on which his own life was built up. The masochistic traits which all aspects of his life reveal are conspicuous enough to suggest that he was taking recourse to a psychological mechanism by means of which he could bypass his various complexes and take shelter behind a cult which was at once a denial and an acceptance of life—denial in the sense that he was to build up an esoteric system of his own which could compensate for his lack of healthy reaction to life and acceptance in the sense that he tried to idealise the very ugliness and filth which are anathema to an ordinary sensibility. The process through which he was to effect this reveals the tortuous course of his own life.

The Cult of the Masochist

Masochism in its broader sense implies self-punishment and self-immolation. The masochist is very often prompted by the same motives which impel the criminal neurotic who takes recourse to crime in order to derive a morbid pleasure from the mechanism of self-torture and also from the state of suspense which intervenes between the criminal deed and its subsequent discovery. The confirmed criminal is an artist for whom the crime becomes an end in itself, for it may compensate for his failure in other walks of life. The situation in which Baudelaire was placed and the inhibitions from which he suffered since his childhood made his life analogous to that of the criminal, for the psychological regression under which he took shelter from a frustrated life involved all types of neurotic-cum-criminal

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symptoms, like cheating, lying and even cleptomania or an uncontrollable inclination to steal.

The Apotheosis of Sin

Much has been written upon the recurrence of the incest theme in Baudelaire's works and the much discussed Oedipus complex from which he is said to have suffered. Here also it was the law of compensation that worked. What he missed in real life he tried to recapture by means of his imagination and by constructing a barrier which would not allow the incest motive to be expressed directly and which would express itself in various circuitous ways by means of substitutes—by his love of sin and evil. "The unique and supreme pleasure of love lies in the certainty of doing evil." Then there is his infatuation for the degraded harlot Jeanne Duval. The paradox of it is that he doted upon her not because he found her sexually attractive but because he found in her a convenient symbol of sin and debauchery.

> "Tombs and houses of ill-fame offer beneath their arbours a bed which remorse has never frequented," he said.

She was not given up in spite of the fact that she had become an obstacle not only to his happiness but to the development of his mind—"a creature who does not admire me and who is not even interested in my work." Baudelaire, physically the least passionate of men, sought the pleasure of horrors and debauchery in his imagination and in his perverted attachment to Jeanne Duval who was loved simply because she provided the safest barrier against the incursion of repressed incest motives. The only explanation that can be found for his glorification of sin and evil is that he derived erotic satisfaction from indulgence in them—this being a psychological substitute for ordinary sensual gratification which was denied to him.

The Double Personality

What was the essence of the conflict within Baudelaire which was responsible for his mal-adjusted personality, try as he did to come to terms with himself by various self-devised mechanisms? The known facts of his life indicate conflict with his step-father General Aupic, disgust at his mother's second marriage and an abnormal attachment to his mother—interpreted by some as bordering on incest. An attraction-repulsion complex in regard to his mother dominated the greater part of his life, for the feeling of guilt that he felt in regard to his mother was repressed and various psychological mechanisms were built up to perpetrate that repression. Love for Jeanne Duval was but one of these mechanisms. But the repression led to a circuitous expression of the banished wish, for Baudelaire's masochism was in one way a punishment inflicted upon himself so that his mother may herself be chastised in him, humiliated dragged into vice and filth. In another way self-punishment was one of the means of going back to an infantile situation and realising in fantasy what could not be attained in real life.

> "It is suffering that becomes the great protectress—the psyche forms a habit of punishing itself with the help of illness, either psychic or organic, or with the help of social failures."

His love for debauchery or evil or sin was an indirect way of achieving what had been inhibited in him for as he said:

> "Modern brutishness and stupidity have their usefulness and often that which has been made for evil turns, by some spiritual mechanism, to the good."

His art provided to him another medium of escape from his inhibitions for it was an effort of his frustrated personality to attain in the realm of the imagination what had been denied to him in real life. The creative force of his imagination would bear forth what would be the equivalent of a child produced by normal sexual relationship. It is these efforts at escape and sublimation that give us an inkling into the meanderings of a tortured personality that tasted the flowers of evil in order to extract good from evil.

Priest of Blackness

It has been said that certain types of neuroses are conducive to the flowering of genius and to that extent humanity is supposed to have benefited from the conflicts and self-tortures of men of genius which have found sublimated expression in their works. The very basis of Baudelaire's art is neurosis. Symbols and images, which have their root in his neurosis, keep recurring in his works and remind us of the black magic of his art. In one of his poems entitled "The Assasin's Wine," he said:

> "To slake the horrible thirst that tears at me, I should need as much wine as her grave could hold . . . I threw her in the bottom of a well and I even pushed in on top of her all the paving-stones that made the margin . . . This debauchee . . . has never known true love either in summer or winter—love with its black enchantments, its retinue of infernal fears, its vials of poison, its tears, its sounds of chains and bones."

One who is not acquainted with the facts of Baudelaire's life may not be able to appreciate the significance of the symbols employed in the poem. The throwing of the woman in the well refers to the repression of the incest motive. Very often in his poetry crime is the symbol of incest and death the equivalent of sexual pleasure and love itself is surrounded with all the paraphernalia of a black incantation. His cynisism, his dandyism, his delusions of persecution regarding his father, his ennui, his dabbling with evil, were all psychological mechanisms meant to arouse antagonism and to give him a feeling of self-satisfaction at being the victim of counter-blows and to obtain delight from a narcicism which held in contempt all that was conventional and commonplace. It is but natural that such a perverted life should have ended in a disease which symbolised self-punishment with a vengeance—cerebral syphilis, being as it were an ironic comment on the identity of 'cruelty and voluptuousness' which he had sought in his life.

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GENESIS OF HINDI

By Dr. CHANDRA BHAN GUPTA, M.A., D.Litt.

In another fourteen years Hindi in the Devanagari script will be India's official language. As regards regional languages the Constitution provides that the legislature of a State may by law adopt any one or more of the languages to be used for all or any of the official purposes of that State.

Is Hindi really capable of assuming this high place in India and the world? To understand this problem we have first to make a survey of the division of languages based upon the difference in morphology or word-formation and see if there is any kind of affinity between the regional languages prevalent in north and south India. Secondly, we have to reconsider whether Hindi has been flowing continuously from generation to generation and changing according to dialectical rules and thirdly to analyse whether it has sufficient literature.

There are mainly three divisions of languages based upon difference in morphology. They are agglutinative, isolating and inflectional.

In agglutinative languages the stem and suffix always keep their individuality and are felt as individual parts within the word-form. The Turkish, Hungarian and Finnish languages belong to this group. Take one example of word-formation in Turkish—*el* will mean hand, *el-im* (my hand). *el-im-de* (in my hand), *el-im-de-ki* (being in my hand).

Chinese belongs to the so-called root or isolating languages. Here it is the position of the word in a sentence that determines its character. A word is a verb, noun, or an adjective not because it has the distinguishing characteristics of these, but because it occupies a peculiar position in the sentence. The position and the tone determine the meaning of the word in a sentence which is a string of words. *Mu* is a Chinese word and its meanings are 'eye,' 'thinking,' 'principal' and 'necessary.' In different parts of China it is pronounced as *muka, munga,* and *moka.* If this *mu* or *muka* word is pronounced in a different manner it means 'mother' or 'thumb.'

The Indo-Germanic and Dravidian groups belong to the infectional languages. By inflectional languages were meant those languages whose words are formed by the combination of the stem and suffix and where the combination of these words does not appear clearly. In this type the stem part of the word changes along with the suffix part. Thus in inflectional languages as the stem and suffix change they both come closer to each other and almost become one. Examples from the Dravidian languages and Indo-Germanic languages make this point clear.

	Singular		
	N.	A.	D.
Telugu	*Gurram*	*gurramunu, gurram*	*gurramunuku*
Tamil	*maram*	*maratte*	*marattirku*
Malayalam	*maram*	*marattine, maratta*	*marattinnu*
Kanarese	*maram*	*maranam, maramam*	*marake, marakke*
Sanskrit	*aham*	*mam, ma*	*mahyam, me*
Hindi	*mai*	*mujhe*	*mujhe, mujhako*
Avesta	*azem*	*mam*	*me*

Although a connection between the languages of different groups and languages within one group, like the Indo-Germanic and the Dravidian which also are highly inflectional, cannot as yet be historically proved, yet there is perhaps nothing unnatural if we accept the possibility of such a connection. We can say the languages prevalent in India in the south or north have at least some affinity in the fact that they belong to inflectional languages.

Continuous Flow

Hindi belongs to the Indo-Germanic family of languages and can be traced from the Aryan language of India. To this Aryan language belong the Vedic language and Pali and Prakrit which are called middle Indian dialects and modern vernaculars. We can only understand the relationship between Vedic Sanskrit and Pali and Prakrit in some such manner. They are the direct descendants of a dialect which was spoken in ancient India side by side with the Vedic dialect with which it was very closely related. Words and forms like *prana, sahasra, bohukam, anudivasam, nasti, aha, matari, pitari, samstuta bhutam, avihimsa, anarambhah and bhavati* that occur within some edicts of Girnar show that Sanskrit tradition was current and unbroken then as in later centuries and exercised its influence over the growing languages.

The same is observable in the literary Hindi of today. Here it is to be remarked that a literary language is not an 'artificial' language made by anybody, but one or the other dialect raised to the dignity of a common language of literature.

Under the name Prakrit, grammarians understand various languages. Vararuchi mentions four: Maharastri, Paisachi, Magadhi and Sauraseni. Hemchandra mentions

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three more: Arsa, which is nothing else than Ardhamagadhi of others, Culikapaisachika and Apabhramsa.

Corresponding to the Prakrits we have the languages spoken in different parts of India today. Thus Marathi is derived from Maharastra Apabhramsa. Gujerati, Rajasthani, a group of several dialects, Punjabi and Western Hindi, also a group of closely allied dialects, are to be traced to Saurasena Apabhramsa; Eastern Hindi, a group of dialects, to the Ardhamagadha Apabhramsa; and Oriya, Bengali, Bihari, a group, and Assamese to the Magadhi Apabhramsa proper. Sindhi from Vracada and Lahnda Kashmiri are probably derived from the Paisacha Apabhramsa. Besides these, there are the Himalayan dialects, Garhwali, Kumaoni and Nepali, called by Grierson the Pahari languages. Dr. Bhandarkar appears to include them among dialects of Hindi.

Thus it is clear Hindi can directly be traced from the Saurasena and Ardhamagadha Apabhramsas, the last stages of Prakrit. At that time as by the word *gatha* Prakrit was implied, so by the word *doha* or *duha* the verse of Apabhramsa or current *Kavyabhasa* was understood. The oldest specimen of the verses of Apabhramsa or Prakritabhasa Hindi are found in the writings of different sects of Tantric and Yogamargi Bauddhas in the first half of the 7th century. In the age of Munja and Bhoja such kind of Apabhramsa or Old Hindi is found in full-fledged form in pure literary or *Kavya* writings.

The Apabhramsa continued mostly up to the beginning of the 15th century. The poet Vidyapati has used two kinds of styles of languages—old Apabhramsa language and spoken *Desibhasa*. He has clearly shown the difference between the two styles.

Desila baana saba jana mittha
Te taisana jampaon avahattha.

i.e., Desibhasa (spoken language) is sweet to everybody so I write the same kind of Apabhramsa (mixed with *Desibhasa*).

Kharīboli, Bangru, Vraj, Rajasthani, Kannoji, Baiswari and *Avadhi* are considered to be different forms of Hindi although there is much difference between their forms and suffixes. Owing to this similarity, the words *ayala—aila, gayala—gaila, hamara—tohara,* spoken in Benaras, Ghazipur, Gorakhpur and Ballia are considered to be Hindi. From this it follows that Hindi has the right to consider *Bisaldeoraso* belonging to the 11th or 12th century as well as the *Padavali* of Vidyapati of the 15th century as its own.

There is a definite phonology in modern vernaculars prevalent in India. They possess all the vowels except *r* and *l*. Some of them have a short *e* and *o* besides the diphthongal *e* and *o*. In Hindi there are 14 vowels. Consonants suffered a change in the Prakrits, being either assimilated or simplified. The modern vernaculars have carried on simplification further. The following examples will show how the changes have occurred from Sanskrit to Prakrit and from Prakrit to Hindi.

Hindi	Prakrit	Sanskrit
sendura	*sindura or senduro*	*sindurah*
kila	*kilao*	*kilakah*
bhaunra	*bhamvara*	*bhramarah*
hatha	*hattha*	*hastah*
kama	*kajja*	*karyah*

One particular change is marked in almost all the modern vernaculars of India. They have passed into the analytic stage. They have lost the Sanskrit and old Prakrit inflections and have adopted postpositions as substitutes for case terminations, *e.g.*

Hindi: *ne, ko, se* (*dwara* or *satha*), *ke liye, se, ka, men* or *para.*
Bengali: *ke, sahita* or *dwara, er janya, haite, era* or *ar, te* or *upare.*
Punjabi: *ne, nun, nala, lai, ton, di, te* or *utte.*
Gujerati: *ne, nen, dwara* or *sathe, mate, thi, no* or *ni, upar* or *ma.*
Marathi: *la, varuna, sathi, pasuna, cha, vara.*

From the above analysis we can assert that Hindi, belonging to Indo-Germanic family, is traced from the Aryan language of India, has a distinct phonology, and has been evolved in its present form according to dialectical rules which affect changes in a particular language.

Hindi Literature

We have to analyse the literature which Hindi contains in a brief form attempting to place the view chronologically as far as possible. As the literature of every country is the true reflection of the feelings of the people of that place, it follows that the change in the nature of literature goes on along with the change in the feelings of the people. Taking into consideration this fact, the history of 950 years of Hindi literature can be divided into four parts:

1. Viragathakala (Age of Heroic Poetry) 1000-1325.
2. Bhaktikala (Age of Devotion) 1325-1650.
3. Ritikala (Age of Style) 1650-1850.
4. Gadyakala (Age of Prose) 1850 onwards.

In the first 150 years, *i.e.,* from 1000 to 1150 no particular current can be ascertained; every kind of religious, moral, erotic and heroic writings are found in *dohas.*

As the attacks from Muslim invaders began a particular form is visible in Hindi literature. As the poets were dependent on kings and *Charanas* used to recite scattered erotic and moral *dohas* in courts so they began to describe the heroic achievements or *gathas* of kings who patronized them. This writing style is termed *raso* and on this account the first division is called **Viragathakala.** These vira-

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gathas are available in two forms—in *prabandhakavya* and *viragathas* (ballads). *Prithvirajaraso* is the oldest book in the former style and *Bisaldeoraso* in the latter.

Khusro Mian and Vidyapati of Tirhut towards the end of Viragathakala *i.e.*, about the first quarter of the 14th century give us clear indications of the two different forms of language that were prevalent as the written language and dialect of the country.

Following the establishment of Muslim rule in India the current of thought changed in the country. Poets could no longer sing the merits of heroism of their patron kings and naturally their minds turned towards devotion. At the time came such poets who brought life and vigour in the down-trodden Hindu society and also there was an effort on the part of the poets to bring harmony and unity among Hindus and Muslims.

In Bhaktikala, the popular style of language was being adopted. Kabir wrote in the popular language but that was not up to the mark and it had no definite form. He adopted the *saddhukaribhasa* of Nathapanthis which was made up of Khariboli mixed with Rajasthani and Punjabi. Suradas made use of the popular dialect of Vraj, established it fully in the old *Kavyabhasa* and successfully combined the literary language with the popular style.

Avadhi was also being used. The first writing in Avadhi is *Satyavati Katha* of Ishwar Das. Later the *Premmargi* Muslims also used Avadhi for writing their stories.

Various styles of writing were prevalent, the main five styles being *Chhapayya-paddhati* of Viragathakala, *Gita-paddhati* of Vidyapati and Surdas, *Kavita-Savayya-paddhati* of Ganga and Bhatas, *Doha-paddhati* of Kabir and *Prabandha-paddhati* of Ishwar Das.

The full development of Hindi poetry became visible in this era in the works of Tulsidas. He found two forms of *Kavyabhasa, i.e.*, Vraj and Avadhi and five styles of writing prevalent in the literary field and he employed all the devices in Vraj and Avadhi by his all-powerful intellect and thus secured the first place in the Hindi literary field.

Though in Bhaktikala some books were written on *alamkara* and *rasa* and though Kesavadas wrote *Kavipriya* which did not differentiate between *alamkara* and *rasa*, yet the Ritikala in its proper form began after 50 years, and on a different ideal in which there was difference between *alamkara* and *rasa*.

In Sanskrit literature poets and authors were people of different categories but this difference was not mostly observed in Hindi *Kavya* field of this age. *Antyanuprasa* or *Tuka* is a new feature of Hindi literature which was given due consideration by Kesavadas and which was also not found in Sanskrit literature. In Sanskrit there were many *vadas* in literature, such as *Alamkaravada, Ritivada, Dhvanivada* and *Vakroktivada,* but these *vadas* have got no place in Hindi literature. Hindi poets accepted *rasa* to be the soul of *Kavya*. Although there are some merits of Ritikala, yet the poetry of this age was limited and tied by rigid rules of *alamkara* so that there was no place for experience or individuality.

Though the Gadyakala begins from 1850 yet some books were written in prose in Vrajbhasa previously also. One such Gorakhpanthi book in Vrajbhasa belonging to 1350 A.D. is found. Between 1852-1862 some books on education were written in Hindi.

In the period between 1868-1900 Bharatendu Harishchandra was the most important writer. He wrote his works in clear language and in reality Khariboli got the pure literary form in his writings. The language of Munshi Sadasukha was full of pompousness, of Lalolal full of words of Vrajbhasa and of Sadalmisra words of East. Raja Shiva Prasad had many words of Urdu. The language of Rajalakshman Singh was certainly pure and sweet but there were many words of Agra in it. But as soon as Harishchandra came on the stage, the introductory period ended and the nature of language became definite. After Bharatendu's age began the difference between the different styles and individual specialities of writers. After 1900 up to the present time there is much development of Hindi. Dramas, novels, stories, essays and criticisms of different types have come into existence. Efforts are made to write original books in Hindi on different branches of art and science through such agencies as the Nagri Pracharani Sabha of Banaras.

It is needless to mention the number of words taken from Sanskrit by Hindi, as without taking words from Sanskrit, Hindi cannot be a complete language. We have to translate and write original works on modern sciences. Either we have to adopt foreign words in a large number or we have to find words in Sanskrit or some regional language after analysing the properties of the word.

Dr. Raghuvira after analysing the properties of the words, such as oxygen, phosphorous, sulphur and zinc has given Sanskrit synonyms as *jaraka, bhasvara, sulbari* and *kupyatu*. He has also introduced suffixes like *-atu, -ati, -i* and *-la*. These Sanskrit words may be accepted or not in the learned world but it is definite these words or similar words from Sanskrit have to be adopted for the scientific words as without which the forms such as oxide can not be translated.

We are sure to assimilate words from regional languages. Not to speak of the languages of the north owing to their close alliance with each other, we are

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taking words from the Dravidian languages of the south. R. Caldwell says the following Sanskrit words which are also used in Hindi have been taken from the Dravidian languages in original form: *akka*—mother, *atvi*—forest, *ali*—female friend (Telugu *alu*—woman), *nira*—water, *pattana*—city, *palli*—a small village, *mina*—fish.

Thus we can emphatically assert that Hindi has sufficient literature flowing continuously through generations and having a distinct phonology and has the capacity for assimilating words from the language, such as Sanskrit and regional languages whether of the north or the south.

Misunderstandings

There is a wrong impression that the present Hindi literature which has been written in Khariboli has been initiated by Muslims alone, that its original form is Urdu and it has been formed by keeping out words of Arabic and Persian.

This impression has arisen because Vrajbhasa was used in earlier literature and Khariboli was used as a dialect only along with other dialects in different provinces. Khariboli was not mostly used in literature or *Kavya*, but it was present in its *desi* form before the time it began to be used for Urdu. In literature also it was sometimes used. The appearance of the old form of Khariboli is also found in the Apabhramsa *Kavyas* in the age beginning from Bhoja and ending in Hamirdeva. As for example,

Bhalla hua ju maria, bahini mahara kantu.

After that in Bhaktikala poet-saints used Khariboli in their *saddhukari* language. Take for example Kabir's words in the following:

Kabira mana nirmala bhaya jaisa ganga-nira.

In the time of Akbar, Gangakavi wrote a prose book on *Chanda-chhanda Baranana ki Mahima* in Khariboli. In 1741, Ramprasad 'Niranjani' wrote a book named *Bhasa Yogavasistha* in clear Khariboli. In 1761, Pandit Daulat Ram translated *Padmapur* in Khariboli written by Harisena in 700 pages. Thus Khariboli was slowly becoming the popular language of the educated people.

Sadhus, Pandits and great personages used this language in their speeches before the advent of the British. The British actually found two languages prevalent among the educated people—the general *desi* form of Khariboli, whiih was called Hindi and the court form of Khariboli given by Muslims, called Urdu. As the Fort William College was started in Calcutta in 1803 in order to get books written in Hindi and Urdu separately, this fact clearly indicated that John Gilchrist who was professor of Hindi and Urdu in the College found the existence of independent Hindi Khariboli as against Urdu.

Under the patronage of the Fort William College, Lallolal Gujerati and Sadalmisra wrote *Premsagara* and *Nasiketopakhyana* respectively. Munshi Sadasukha wrote a book on a subject taken from *Vishnupurana*. He used pure and lively language and included in his writing some prose *tatsam* Sanskrit words also. Persons interested in Urdu only named this kind of Hindi which was mixed with Sanskrit as *Bhakha*. As for example:

Svahhava karke ve daitya kahlaye, bahuta jagha chuka hui, unhin logon se bana aval hai, jo bata satya hoya.

Banaras pandits use for ages *hoyaga, avata hai, isa karke*. All these things indicate towards the spread of Khariboli independent of Urdu.

Suggestions

It is seen Hindi has grown up independently and has been handed down to us from generations as other languages of the world. It has flexibility and can assimilate words from Sanskrit and other regional languages.

Hindi is capable of assuming the place of the official language of the Union as provided in the Constitution. But to bring Hindi to such a high level within ten or twelve years we have to make great effort.

There should be a central board for the advancement of Hindi consisting of learned persons of all the regions of India to be entrusted with the work of translating and writing original books in Hindi on all branches of science. Members of the board should be experts in philology and other branches of science. Experts from foreign countries should also be the members of such a board so that adequate words of foreign languages may also be adopted.

This step may be taken by the Government or learned persons may themselves form such a group. The latter step requires sacrifice on the part of the experts. We won freedom through selfless service and we should make sacrifices for the cause of one language.

It has been seen that associations like the Nagari Pracharani Sabha and some State Governments, such as U.P. and Madhya Pradesh are making vigrous efforts to translate books, Government documents, legislature words and get books written in Hindi but these stray efforts will create confusions as different words will be coined in different places to indicate certain ideas and meanings. Without a central board successful formula for assimilation and elimination of words cannot be complete and if things are left in this topsy-turvy condition there is likelihood of major conflicts even over the language question. It is the Government's duty to strive in this direction in a concerted manner and thus fulfil their mission in bringing Hindi to the real level of the official language of the Union within the stipulated time.

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UNESCO AND ITS EDUCATIONAL IDEALS

By NARAYAN C. CHANDA, M.A., B.T.

United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation is an offshoot of the UNO. While the latter is a self-imposed guardian of world peace and has been an arena of bloodless word-fight among astute diplomats, the former holds up the lofty ideal of co-operation and permanent peace in the world society. Both have the same aims but while UNO wants to maintain peace and good relations in the *world of today* by sanction and police force, UNESCO wants to build up a new social order of man *of tomorrow* through proper training and widening of vision. Naturally, UNESCO puts great emphasis upon education and formation of right attitude of the children who will succeed the present generation in the sphere of politics, culture and social and human relations.

Aims of UNESCO

Scientific inventions of Modern Man have annihilated time and space and closed up far-flung continents. No people can now live in complete isolation, immunized from the influence of other nations in any way. Far-sighted men have begun to realise the possibility of a *One World* in which different nationalities living in different regions of the globe will be but component parts of a grand human society throbbing with the noble ideal of international brotherhood, peace and co-operation. Powerful nations have in the past looked upon others as aliens and subjugated and exploited the weaker. This favoured the growth of superiority complex in the victors and a sense of inferiority in the vanquished. But no ethics can justify bondage of man imposed by man. Up till now might has dominated world politics and human relations. There has been a crazy competition for martial strength amongst the big nations of the world; science has been harnessed for destructive purposes so much so that the civilization of man now stands on the brink of total ruin. If the idea of dominating others by sheer brute force still rules supreme, human race is sure to be extinct on the earth by mutual annihilation. When the warring nations rush toward such a lurid future, UNESCO comes forward with vision of a world society composed of human beings bound together by love, co-operation, sympathy and mutual respect for each other's culture.

UNESCO aims at eliminating the cause of wars and ill-feelings among nations at the root. If wars begin in the heart of men, peace also originates there. So its ideals have been to sow the seed of peace and goodwill in the young and soft core of children's hearts. Education is undoubtedly the most potent factor in bringing about a millennium, for by it alone can world peace be broad-based on human sympathies and woven into the very texture of life of the world citizens. UNESCO may thus be termed *Modern Noah's Arc* designed to save human civilization in the cataclystic deluge of Modern Man.

UNESCO's Objectives : How to Attain Them ?

Much of the ills of human relations are the outcome of racial egotism born of ignorance, selfishness, narrowness of vision and callousness about other people's joys and sorrows. Bigoted nationalism and jaundiced racial prejudice rear up children in an atmosphere where proper values are not attached to others' lives and achievements and are primarily responsible for jingoism. UNESCO endeavours to uproot the cause of ills by creating world-mindedness in children through education and proper appreciation of each other's ways of life, achievements, problems and values. In a word, the laudable aim of this organisation is not the impossible task of changing the hearts of hardened politicians overnight but the creation of a new world society through proper training of the children. For :

> "The child represents the possibility of a better humanity, and all men feel more or less consciously that he is their *raison d'etre*, the common end of their complementary efforts."—(*In the Classroom*—UNESCO Pamphlet-V; Page 47).

UNESCO has been trying to rouse the consciousness of "complementary efforts" of teachers and parents in the making of future citizens of the world. Its approach to the problem is characterised by new ideals in the teaching of Geography, History and Foreign Languages for the attainment of the supreme purpose—international brotherhood, world-mindedness, peace and amity.

Teaching of Geography

In most countries the present customary practice is to teach geography in a series of widening circles, beginning with local geography (*i.e.*, the classroom, the school building and its surroundings, the village, the country) and proceeding to a study of the continent. This gives a wrong perspective to the educands by leading them to attach an exaggerated sense of importance to their own country. As a safeguard against this, UNESCO recommends study of universal geography which would depict the world as the common habitat of man and enlarge the child's imagination by interesting him in all that is remote and strange. The pamphlet states :

> "We propose, further, that there ought to be a UNESCO atlas, in the form of a portfolio containing unlettered maps and overlay sheets of transparent papers printed in various languages with the names of mountains, rivers, and towns. The study of their common habitat from the same atlas would constitute an additional bond between all the children of the world."

Teaching of History

Narrow nationalist ideology has a tendency to poison international relations. To avoid this dangerous pitfall, history for children should be a record of man's progress through ages from the primitive to the modern state. "The child must learn that civilization has been, and remains, the work of all peoples." This feeling of a common heritage will prepare the children's minds for international fellowship so far as their future well-being is concerned. To quote again from the UNESCO pamph-

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"The child's attention should be drawn to the constructive activities which help to advance civilization, materially and spiritually: the great discoveries; the inventions which make life more secure and happy; the methods for putting the resources of the globe at the disposal of all people. These things make the child feel that he belongs to the whole humanity, and impel him to discharge his debt to the past by working with all his skill for a better life. History must cease to be military history and must become the history of civilization.

"There is need above all for universal history. Just as the child should grow used to considering the earth as his habitat, so he must learn to consider the whole of humanity as the fatherland in whose service the particular fatherlands, his own and others, are enrolled. The teaching of history, therefore, should proceed as should that of geography, not from the particular to the general, but from the general to the particular."

Teaching of Foreign Languages

Mutual understanding and appreciation of each other's culture is one of the happy ties of human brotherhood. And the knowledge of foreign languages serves as a link in this respect. It broadens men's mental and intellectual horizon and promotes intellectual understanding. It is essential for a citizen of the world to know some languages other than his own and appreciate some good literatures and arts of other countries through the original and translations and thereby form a healthy attitude toward foreign civilizations.

* * *

In the bleak world, when the political firmament is overcast with portending explosives, UNESCO envisages a benevolent mental evolution of the young hopefuls to be wrought through educational processes. The pessimist may refer to the past history of man and nod his head in disbelief, the cynic may point to the inherent nature of warring humans and pout his lips in disdain, but the reasoning optimist believes that the idea of international brotherhood and solidarity of friendly relations has already begun to work in the hearts of men and that a brave world, happy and prosperous, worthy of Man—the cream of the creation—will gradually emerge out of the chaos and turmoil of the present age. The awakening of a bigger conception in the minds of right-thinking men heralds a new age for man; it may take time to materialise but it has dawned in human hearts, and that is fraught with immense possibilities for the future.

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BOOK REVIEWS

Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

Editor, *The Modern Review*

ENGLISH

INDEX OF PAPERS: ALL-INDIA ORIENTAL CONFERENCE (1919—1944): *Compiled by K. Venkateswara Sarma. All-India Oriental Conference, Poona. 1949. Pp. 501. Price Rs. 12.*

The All-India Oriental Conference has deserved well of all students of Indology not only by organising periodical meetings of scholars interested in its various branches, but also by making valuable suggestions to the Government as well as learned societies in this country for the guidance of Indological research in future. It was therefore a happy idea on the part of the author to prepare this work which lists nearly 3,000 papers presented by a large number of scholars at successive sessions of the Conference during the first quarter of a century of its existence. The author has done well in prefixing to the Index a valuable historical sketch of the activities of the Conference from its origin in 1919 down to the completion of its 30th year in 1949, though he has thereby overstepped the chronological limits indicated by him on the title-page. The Index proper, which is very exhaustive and useful, consists of two parts entitled Author Index and Title Index. Useful tables, containing lists of inviting bodies, presidents, secretaries and other office-bearers are added at the end in the form of Appendices. When all this is said in favour of the Conference and its faithful chronicler, one cannot but feel sad at the reflection that some of its most important suggestions (such as those for the creation of a central Indological Research Institute and a Department of MSS. Survey) have so far failed to awaken any response in our national government. Equal disappointment is felt at the fact that some of the schemes sponsored by the Conference and adopted by our learned societies (such as those for the compilation of a Historical Dictionary of Sanskrit and an up-to-date edition of Aufrecht's *Catalogus Catalogorum*) have as yet made no appreciable progress. Finally, it may not be amiss in this connection to express one's deep regret that the Conference has so far neglected to bring home to the Central Government the complete stagnation that has overtaken one of its most important Departments, viz. that of the Department of Archaeology, in recent years.

U. N. Ghoshal

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GANDHISM WILL SURVIVE: *By V. G. Krishnamurti. Published by Pustak Bhandar, Patna. 1949. Pp. v+54+4 plates. Price Rs. 3.*

Mr. Krishnamurti is an enthusiastic Gospeller on behalf of what he calls 'neo-Gandhism.' It is his belief that an attempt should be made to preserve the teachings of Gandhi through a Gandhi Institute; and he presents here the reasons as well as a detailed plan of such an Institute.

HEALTH AND LONG LIFE: *By Swami Sivananda. Ananda Kutir, Rishikesh. 1949. Pp. xiii+380. Price Rs. 5.*

The author is a missionary who believes in nature cure. The book is written for helping laymen in the prevention and cure of diseases through *yogic asanas*, controlled diet, regulated bath, application of the sun's rays, as well as a little of homeopathy and ayurveda. There is much pseudo-science running throughout the book; yet, we believe, there is much of sound, common sense advice also. May those who believe in self-help, profit by a judicious use of the instructions contained in the book.

NIRMAL KUMAR BOSE

COMMENTARY ON THE CONSTITUTION OF INDIA: *By Durga Das Basu, M.A., B.L., Asst. Legal Remembrancer, West Bengal. Second edition. Published by S. C. Sarkar and Sons. Ltd., College Square, Calcutta. Price Rs. 30.*

This is the second edition, the first edition published in November, 1950, having been sold out, of a book which has already made its mark having received praise from the Lord Chancellor of England and from such eminent jurists as P. R. Das. This is perhaps the most exhaustive commentary so far on the Constitution of the country. It has had to concentrate inevitably on comparative materials, which indeed will be useful to jurists and journalists. The author deserves congratulations for this cyclopaedic commentary. It includes the latest amendments; and we hope it should be on the table of every public man and busy journalist for ready reference.

K. N. CHATTERJI

SCIENCE—ITS METHOD AND ITS PHILOSOPHY: *By G. Burniston Brown. Published by George Allen and Unwin Ltd., London, 1950. Price 15s. net.*

The book is an attempt to explain to the educated public the true nature of scientific method and to trace the history of its gradual development. It is a fact that all the implications and assumptions of the method are not known even to many scientists. The author has done well to state clearly in the very first chapter of the book that the foundation stone of the scientific method, namely, the assumption that nature is uniform is after all a *belief* only, though of course a belief that is constantly being justified by experience. The source of that belief may be traced to some property common to all forms of animal life, because the 'learning' of all animals, even of the lowest forms is possible only on the anticipation that the same stimulus will always produce the some effect. When we define science as a method of obtaining true knowledge we mean, according to the author, that it is a method for discovering propositions that can be verified. That was also Aristotle's idea but he overestimated the importance of verbal expression. Bacon corrected Aristotle's error and insisted that science must start with collection of facts. The inductive method is to be applied and suitable hypothesis formed. Crucial experiments would then finally settle the question of the causation of the particular effect. The inductive method is to be applied not only in the physical sciences but also in historical and political studies and in investigations of "memory, composition and division, judgement and the rest." Newton always attempted to follow the geometrical method. Starting with definitions and actions derived from experiments he proceeded by mathematical and experimental proofs to conclusions of greater and greater generality. Whewell in modern times realised that hypotheses were vital to sceince. Milne attempts to arithmetise physics. Eddington emphasises that metrical physics deals only with numbers obtained by reading pointers of some kind. According to Eddington, a metrical physicist "is a man with a scale and a clock and one eye; he needs no other senses" (page 144). Euclidean geometry can be translated into ordinary algebra but geometrized physics needs an algebra which is more complicated. This algebra Eddington designated 'Sedenions.' From this Sedenion algebra he was able to deduce fundamental constants of physics. Physics thus has been reduced to a form of mathematics. Whitehead and Russell showed that all mathematics ultimately rest upon a few definitions and actions of symbolic logic.

The outcome of all this then is this. After a certain stage of development has been reached it is possible to deduce the fundamental constants of physics from a purely mathematical system. This, however, raises other questions. Mathematics depends upon reasoning. Reasoning is very largely done in words and other symbols. Does the necessity of using words impose restrictions on thinking? Here than we come upon a psychological problem, the solution of which is yet to be found.

The author has given a very good and readable account of the development of the scientific method. He has shown that both abstract thinking and concrete experimentation are essential in the scientific method. The biographical sketches of the various scientists have introduced a human touch to what otherwise might have been an exceedingly dry subject. The psychologist may find in these sketches materials for his own study. While the scientific method has been very ably described, the philosophy of it however remains a little obscure. The physicist B. Brown is more in the forefront than the philosopher B. Brown. To present the steps of thinking and the conclusions in the old Dialogue form had been a very happy idea of the author and the illustrations have greatly augmented the charm of the book. While the book can not be a popular one because it needs close and attentive study throughout it is bound to be welcome by all who like to look beyond the limited horizon of their own fields and are interested in questions deeper and more fundemental than what are suggested by the immediate interests of their studies.

S. C. MITRA

LAW, LIBERTY AND LIFE: *By M. C. Chagla, Chief Justice of Bombay. Published by the Asia Publishing Company, Bombay. Pp. 166. Price Rs. 4.*

It was a happy idea on the part of the Asia Publishing House to preserve in a permanent form some of the speeches and broadcasts and articles of Mr. M. C. Chagla, now the Chief Justice of the Bombay High Court. They are 14 in number, and deal with such diverse topics as Law and Liberty, Crime and Punishment, War and Culture, What I Read, International Court of Justice, Uniqueness of Indian Civilisation, etc. The short essays are profound, but not too pro-

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found to be uninteresting to the general reader; neither are they platitudinous to be unattractive and boring to an intelligent reader. The article which has appealed us most is "My Working Faith." We agree with the author when he says, "Every one of us is terribly lonely—infinite spaces separate one soul from another;" and that we "must always pay rent to the ideal." When the author says, "And finally, I believe that in what I have made of my own life I have played a very small and insignificant part; whether you call it the Contingent in life or Kismet or Providence or God there is an outside agency which guides and controls the steps of every one," one is reminded of the following passage in Lord Haldane's *Autobiography* (p. 376): "We are apt greatly to underrate the part which accident and good luck has really played in the shaping of our careers and in giving us such successes as we have had." It is a good little book which every one should read.

J. M. DATTA

VEDIC CULTURE: *By Gangaprasad Upadhyaya, M.A. Published by Sarvadesika Arya Pratinidhi Sabha. Delhi. Pp. 216. Price Rs. 3-8.*

The author of this book is a veteran leader of the Arya Samaj and the distinguished English translator of the *Satyartha Prakash*, Swami Dayananda's masterpiece. He has to his uncommon credit a dozen books in English, more than a dozen books in Hindi and one book in Urdu. In the book under review the author gives brief descriptions of agriculture, cattle, clothing, industry, art and craft, trade, art of building houses, family, caste and the like of the Vedic Society in ancient India.

Sir Gokul Chand Narang, former Minister of Education in the Punjab and an eminent writer on cultural topics, rightly observes in the foreword to this book that the author has clearly pointed out that the Vedas contain positive and ample indications of a greatly advanced civilization and culture as witnessed by copious references to subjects like agriculture, etc., and that the Vedic conception of culture is emphatically theistic and the whole trend of Vedic teaching is spiritual development, not only in one lifetime but in life after life till perfection is attained.

In the very first of sixteen chapters into which the book is divided the learned author, who is a profound Vedic scholar, traces the meaning of culture in the Vedas. According to him, the Vedic synonym for culture is *Krishti* that occurs in the Rig-Veda (1. 4. 6) and means a fully cultured man. The author also points out another Vedic word, *Samskriti*, which conveys the same meaning and appears in the Yajur-Veda (7. 14). But the Vedic culture is certainly not godless, unlike the Western culture. Hence the two cultures of India and the West are diametrically opposite. In the sixth chapter the close relation of God and culture is seriously discussed and the incident of Laplace is pertinently referred to. Laplace is stated to have presented to Napoleon his system of philosophy and when Napoleon asked him why there is no mention of God in it, the scholar politely answered that he did not need God to explain his philosophy. Such is the argument of the materialistic men who hold that God has no place in culture.

The author shows how the Vedic culture is firmly founded on God and supports his statements with original appropriate quotations from the Vedas. A perusal of this book will greatly help us to revise and correct our views about the Vedas, if we have formed our opinions about them othewise. The readability of the book makes it accessible and interesting to the reading public of all sections.

SWAMI JAGADISWARANANDA

THE COMING DEFEAT OF COMMUNISM: *By James Burnham. Foreword by M. R. Masani. Published by the National Information and Publications, Ltd., Bombay. Pp. 215. Price Rs. 3.*

This is one of the latest books of James Burnham, the U. S. A. social thinker who had cut for himself a distinct place among Western thinkers by the publication in about 1947 of *Managerial Revolution*. The author had been a Trotskyite Marxist, differing rather violently from the Lenin and Stalin versions of Communism as applied to practice. We do not know whether or not, he still holds by the same opinions. But from a reading of the present book, no doubt is left in the mind that there is a Western thinker who is sure that so far as a human can prophesy the "defeat" of Communism is "inevitable."

It is an inconclusive book, going round and round the old arguments of *Managerial Revolution*. In that book the author had asked certain questions to which even in the present one he is unable to give satisfactory replies. One of these was—"Why does the moral superiority felt by Democracies result in doubt, scepticism, confusion, unsure about objectives, diffusion of effort, widespread paralysis of the will to act, dread, while the Totalitarianisms assert an immoral superiority which they translate into initiative, decision, unity of purpose, invincible organization, victory in diplomacy espionage, war?"

Prof. Burnham cannot after five years report a better state of things in the Democracies. And though in the first chapter of his book he challenges the theory of "catastrophe" or "crisis," popularized by collectivist writers, there is a contradiction between it and the last chapter. We are afraid that with his earlier aversions to collectivism as enthroned or worked by 'Managers' even under 'New Deal'—the group of administrators, experts, technicians, bureaucrats—who specialized in handing over to Roosevelt "a dramatic new idea," he has been forced to recognize that "modified forms of collectivization" (T.V.A. for example) have come to stay. He is against "a totally centralized economy."

When men like Prof. Burnham has failed to resolve the "confusion" in thought and action, the argument can have no validity except by the adoption of total decentralization which forms a part of the Gandhian experiment. Therefore the Foreword by Shree M. R. Masani of Bombay, the Indian Burnham, leads us nowhere. But the book has value that in attacking Leninism and Stalinism, Prof. Burnham has made quotations from them which should warn the Indian dupes who make a parade of their love for the "Soviet Fatherland."

S. C. DEV

BUDDHIST SHRINES IN INDIA: *Issued by the Publications Divisions, Government of India. Pp. 108. Price Rs. 3.*

This neat and well got-up illustrated guide-book for travellers is a very creditable production. The entire book has been printed on art paper with care. The pictures are clear and alluring to the stay-at-home reader. The relevant historical facts are given in a concise form, and nothing of importance has been left out. We are glad to possess this book and recommend it to all lovers of India.

B. N. B.

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CURRENT AFFAIRS (India, Pakistan and the world): *Edited by A. R. Mukherji. Published by A. Mukherji and Co., Ltd., Calcutta 12. Price Rs. 4.*

This is a valuable addition to the number of Year-Books already published in Calcutta. The Editor claims that it 'is more than a book of general knowledge and more than a mere record of the daily happenings.' It contains 'an intelligent review of the year, and, necessarily, of the times based on accurate facts and figures.' This book is divided into three parts—World, India and Miscellaneous. To keep one abreast of the times, he must know something about the principal political and social issues which sway the world today.

From a perusal of the chapters of Part I, the reader will get a working knowledge of the events happening in the foreign countries. In Part II, we have as many as ten chapters detailing the various subjects, such as, Education, Press, Science, Art, Politics, Economics, etc., which are hastening the birth of a new India. Part III may be taken as an appendix to the other parts, and deals with matters, such as, Sports, Who's Who, etc. This is the third issue of the *Current Affairs* and covers the whole of 1950 and the first four months of 1951. As an individual enterprise it is a success, no doubt.

But while reviewing a good number of Year-Books in these pages in recent times, one thought has occurred to our mind. Cannot the publishers of these Year-Books, by whatever name we may call them, sit round a table, discuss the matters over and bring out one comprehensive and more authoritative volume, like the *Statesman's Year-Book* or the *Whitaker Almanac*? This will save much trouble, time and money. Our national economy demands it.

JOGESH C. BAGAL

EDUCATION IN INDIA—TODAY AND TOMORROW: *By S. N. Mukerji, Reader in Education and Psychology, Maharaja Sayajirao University of Baroda. Published by Acharya Book Depot, Baroda. First edition, 1950. Pages 248. Price Rs. 5.*

The book under review is a comprehensive account of various aspects of Indian education from the *Background* to the *Education and National Movement*, stuffed with bony facts and statistical charts showing the number of institutions and pupils and the amount expended under different categories in 1946-47. The volume reads more like a report on the progress of education in India than any genuine contribution enlivened by original research or newness of approach in any particular sphere of our educational system. The author, however, deserves thanks for his stupendous labour in sifting facts from numerous sources and offering them in a presentable form. The book is well got-up.

NARAYAN C. CHANDA

SANSKRIT

BHAGAVANNAMASAHASRAM with Dramidopanishad Sara and Tatparyaratnavali of Sri Vedanta Desika: *Edited by Pandit V. Anantacharya and A. Srinivasaraghavan. Published by Sri Krishna Sabha, Bombay 19. Price Re. 1.*

SRI VISHNUCHARITAMRITAM: *By Swami Lakshman Shastri. Published by the Principal, Sanskrit Vidyalaya, Wakhatsagar, Nagaur, Marwar. Price Rs. 2.*

We have here editions of works which will be of special interest to the Vaisnavas. The first volume contains editions of two works—the *Dramidopanishat-Sara*, a small work in 26 stanzas, and the *Dramidopanishat-Tatparyaratnavali* consisting of 130 stanzas. Both the works, attributed to the polymath Vedanta Desika, are based on the Tamil Tiruvaimozhi of Sri Nammaazhwar, the Tamil work being summarised in Sanskrit. One thousand names formed with the words used in the *Tatparyaratnavali* are given at the end of the work. These are considered to be immensely useful to the Vaisnavas in their daily worship.

The second volume is a modern poem in 37 cantos with 856 stanzas dealing with the 24 incarnations of Vishnu. A very curious and interesting feature of the poem is that the fourth syllable of every foot of the stanzas of the poem read consecutively would constitute the stanzas of the Vishnusahasranamastotra of the Mahabharata containing the thousand names. The introduction of this novelty has resulted in making the text occasionally difficult in following and an annotated edition has been promised to help the reader.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

BENGALI

PANCHKADI BANDYOPADHYAYER RACHANABALI (Vols. I—II): *Edited by Brajendranath Bandopadhyaya and Sajanikanta Das. Bangiya Sahitya Parishad, 243-1 Upper Circular Road, Calcutta 6. Price Rs. 6 each volume.*

We have through the labours of the learned editors of the volumes under review beautiful editions of collected works of Michael Madhusudan, Bankimchandra, Dinabandhu and Dwijendralal. Most of the works of these authors were, however, available in some form or other, though not so handy and attractive. But there are many writers whose writings, not unoften valuable and important, are scattered over inaccessible periodicals and little known even to interested readers owing to the lack of necessary bibliographical aids in our languages. It is a happy sign of the day that stray papers of these writers are receiving some attention and collections have been published of papers on literary criticism and feasts and festivities of Bengal written by different authors at different times and places. In these circumstances, Messrs. Banerji and Das have done a real service and a sacred duty to Bengali literature by rescuing from oblivion and bringing to light the writings of one of these writers, a reputed journalist of his time well-known for his humour and outspoken criticism of men and events. Here we have in two volumes a collection of his papers contributed from time to time to various periodicals—monthlies, weeklies and dailies. But, as the learned editors have pointed out, the two volumes do not exhaust all his papers and a third volume may be published with the remaining ones. Though generally bearing a journalistic tinge there are many papers here which are serious in nature with a scholarly outlook. In fact, his papers on the religion and culture of Bengal deserve to be published separately for the convenience of better utilisation. May it be hoped that the work initiated in the present volumes will be continued in respect of other writers whose memory has been honoured by Mr. Banerji with the help of a few others through illuminating life-sketches in the *Sahityasadhak Charitamala* series?

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

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ADHUNIK ALOKCHITRAN: *By Parimal Goswami. Published by Photographic Stores and Agency Ltd., 154 Dhurrumtolla Street, Calcutta 13. Pp. 104. Price Rs. 7-8.*

The author has spent thirty years of his life in the pursuit of photographic art, and has produced this eminently practical book on photography in Bengali. The technical side of photography including developing, printing and enlarging has been adequately dealt with. The amateur's principal difficulty, composition, has been described in detail. The commercial side of it including press photography has not been neglected. The book is well illustrated—the number of illustrations and photographs exceed 119; one of them is a colour reproduction of natural colour transparency. The technical execution of the blocks is of high order. A perusal of the book even by a beginner will make him aware of the pitfalls, and tell him what to do and what to avoid in a good photograph. The price considering the excellence of its get-up and the number of blocks is cheap. The author has done a distinct service to Bengali language by publishing it in Bengali and we thank him for it.

J. M. DATTA

HINDI

RASHTRAPITA: *By Jawaharlal Nehru. Pp. 165. Price Rs. 2-8.*

BAPU KE CHARNON MEN: *By Braj Krishna Chandiwala. Pp. 173. Price Rs. 2-8.*

SHRADHA-KAN: *By Viyogi Hari. Pp. 67. Price Re. 1.*

All available from Sasta Sahitya Mandal, Connaught Place, New Delhi.

The stream of reminiscences of Gandhiji, and of tributes to his individuality, ideals and activities, still continues to flow. And rightly, for he was like an ocean from which the thirsty slaked their spiritual thirst according to their own need and capacity. The first of the three books is a symposium of India's Prime Minister's varied intellectual responses to the many-sided and mystic object of his heart's attraction amounting to adoration. The second is a repertoire of reminiscences of the Great-Souled One by one who had the privilege of being very near the former for over twenty-five years and a unique opportunity of observing the composite character, *in action*, of his hero. The third is a series of sixty-seven charming "wordy wood-cuts," illustrating the message of Gandhiji's life and how it moulded the people into a pattern in keeping with the true genius of Indian civilization and culture. Each verbal vignette is a little bead of beauty.

G. M.

GUJARATI

KALABHOJ (A historical novel): *By Ramanlal Vasantlal Desai, M.A. Published by P. R. Seth and Co., Booksellers and Publishers, Keshab Bag, Princess Street, Bombay 2. 1950. Price Rs. 4-8.*

This is a production from the prolific pen of one of Gujarat's front-rank novelists. He takes us to a period of Indian history about a thousand years ago to the banks of the Sabarmati, to a period when the Siva-god was still being worshipped, the Bhils and the Rajputs were scrambling for power, and the followers of Islam from Arabia were on the prowl. It is the intolerance of the Bhils for the Arab foreigners that sets the story going; and the reader meets the boy Bhoj who becomes the hero of the novel in due course.

The novel is divided into three parts, but the breath of history is most to be felt in Part I. The style is easy and fluent, the characters numerous, and the Hindu way of life triumphant. The greatness and the essential human element of the hero touches the reader at times. The love and wooing of Bhoj by Meenakshi is pleasant reading and produces an illusion of history.

P. R. SEN

(1) RASHTRA VALLABH SARDAR VALLABH BHAI: *Cloth-bound. Pp. 164. 1948. Price Rs. 2.*

(2) MAHADEV BHAI HARIBHAI DESAI: *Cloth-bound. Pp. 103. 1948. Price Rs. 2.*

(3) SIR SHAPOORJI B. BILLIMORIA KT.: *Cloth-bound. Pp.264. 1948. Price Rs. 5.*

All three written by Ambalal N. Joshi, B.A., LL.B., Advocate, High Court, Bombay. To be had of Sahakari Prakashan, Ltd., Bombay-1, and published by the Brihad Gujarat Publication House, Bombay-7.

All three biographies are the result of a facile pen, and they are couched in terse language, but not omitting a single important detail in the lives of any one of the three. They read more like a narrative than a list of the incidents in the lives of the distinguished three. Mr. Joshi has about six or seven publications to his credit, mostly on topics relating to the Zoroastrian community. He is contemplating publishing the lives of some Parsi Shethias in English. Sri S. Billimoria is a well-known Parsi philanthropist, though an auditor by profession. All three books are worth reading, so replete with information they are.

K. M. J.

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INDIAN PERIODICALS

London Voyage to Reality

In his article in *The Aryan Path*, R. M. Fox gives a thoughtful sketch of the British Festival now in progress :

Once it was the fashion for literary critics to dismiss the books they did not like as "mere escapism," an easy but unsatisfactory phrase for it dodged the question of what they were escaping from or to. Few people would really condemn a prisoner for escaping to freedom.

Dreams are the usual form of escape and sometimes these can be powerful urges to action as when Napoleon regarded himself as the Man of Destiny. Even the most matter-of-fact men have their dreams. Their lives would be intolerable without them. To know a man you must first know his dream. A banker, one feels, should have a golden dream; a trader his vision of ships laden with ivory, apes and peacocks; a good craftsman should see his finished work in the lump of metal, stone or wood with which he starts, as I am sure Michael Angelo did in a block of marble. When we know what these men dream about we can understand their activities. Emerson expressed this truth when he said that matter is fluid to thought.

Not only does each man treasure his individual dream as he jostles through the crowded city streets but the nations, too, have collective dreams which most of their citizens share. This dream may have the character of hallucination. So it is well to check accomplishments periodically to see if the reality corresponds with the vision.

The dream to which Britain has surrendered—born out of the uncertainty of the war years—is that of social security and the Welfare State.

From this standpoint I found a recent visit to the Festival of Britain a fascinating experience. Not only does the Festival express current ideas and ideals but its declared purpose is to show the rate and the direction of National progress since the Great Exhibition of 1851. Throughout the whole of the twenty-seven acres of pavilions and grounds, bordering the curve of the Thames, one idea is emphasised. This is that immense progress has been made in production, in transport, in all the manifold Arts of Peace. Industry and knowledge have thrown open this Aladdin's Cave to the millions who, formerly, knew only insecurity and want.

If a proud place is claimed for Britain it is not stated in terms of military conquest. The Crystal Palace in 1851 epitomized the Victorian Era with its Kiplingesque condescension to "lesser breeds" and its conscious "dominion over palm and pine." But the modern aluminium Dome of Discovery presents the story of intrepid explorers who fought their way across frozen wastes to enlarge the boundary of human knowledge. Scientists and inventors find a place here. We can follow their story to the South Kensington Museum where Rutherford, the Curies and Einstein will speak to us from the screen and invite us to share their Atomic dreams.

Turning to the shipping section, I noted that it is not the ships of war which get prominence but the trading vessels and even the smaller ships used in the fishing industry. Utility above all. This Exhibition turns a blind eye upon Nelson and naval glory. A big ship stands ready for the youth of Britain to enter. They can come up to the chart room and the bridge, enter the conning tower and learn how to steer a course while a picture on the screen changes every few seconds to describe the ship's journey from London to Antwerp.

The first object which caught my attention on entering the Festival grounds was a row of flaming torches rising out of the water while the spray from a row of tumbling fountains broke over them.

Fire and water have been pressed into the service of man. This is a fitting memorial to all those Unknown Warriors of Industry on whose work this Festival has been built. It stands like a Pillar of Fire by night and a cluster of weird shapes by day. Charoux's massive piece of sculpture *"The Islanders"* towers above the little people who swarm round it. This represents the Mass Man, all the strength, perseverance and doggedness of the burden bearers of our generation who make roads across deserts, and deserts of cities, who build the mansions and live in "pre-fabs." I missed the gleam of spiritual understanding which might make those burden bearers into the kingly men and women of whom A. E. wrote :

> And deep beneath his rustic garb
> The herdsman finds himself a king.

The time has not yet come for the kingly revelation to burdened humanity. So the sculptor has probably done well to give his group the cruder and rougher touch. Yet when I joined the stream of men, women and children who, in holiday mood, moved through the Pavilion of Construction I noticed the interest they all had in useful work. Here were iron workers blowing sparks from their forge and beating white-hot metal on the anvils till it took strange and intricate shapes. These men stripped to the waist—for it was a hot day—were talking and laughing among themselves, quite unselfconscious and oblivious of the wondering human stream that passed by. Not far away spectacled craftsmen bent over their precision instruments as they tested these for drawing, gauging and measuring. Silversmiths were putting finishing touches to gleaming examples of their art. Here were dishes, salvers, cutlery, spoons, some embossed with leaves or figures, others with the dark, plain surface of deep shining water.

Sheets of pure white paper were falling like gigantic snowflakes on a rising heap.

They were made from shreds of pulped rag by the thousand year old Chinese formula. It seemed as though nothing that could be written on this paper could convey the worth of good workmanship so much as when it was left undefiled.

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Skilled work has its dignity which was sensed by the spectators. But not all the work was skilled. In the centre of one pavilion I saw a huge oven fed with pails of floury mixture. Out of this, at the other end, in a constant stream, came sheets of crisp, thin wafer to be cut up, counted and packed in tins by girls who acted and moved like automatons. Proceeding down an incline into a gloomy cavern I saw the dull gleam of coal on every side, held up by pit props. This was an amazingly exact replica of a coal mine and—talking in broad north-country speech—a miner with a pit-lamp on his cap conducted us from one stall to another and explained the development of mining machinery from the humble pick and shovel to the coal-cutter, like a mechanical plough, which tumbles the coal straight on to the conveyor belt. Time was when women and children almost naked, bent double and harnessed with chains, pulled the tubs of coal through narrow passages. Later sturdy little ponies were taken down from the sunlight to the darkness and given the same task. Slowly human savagery is rolled away like a stone from the sepulchre.

This section of the Festival of Britain is part of the miracle of modern industry. But even more miraculous is the fact that tens of thousands drawn from every social strata are going to this exhibition and seeing the actual processes concerned with wealth-making in Britain today. They move on to other pavilions and see what this can mean in terms of schools, of school equipment, of better homes, of travel, thought and cultivated leisure. The material is there and the vision is there too because these things are being shown and demonstrated every day. The doubtful element is the human material. People are still being thwarted and debased. They are not allowed to develop to the point where they could make the best use of all the splendid technical possibilities at their command.

For the Londoner and for the stranger within the city gates this Festival has brought a touch of fairyland to ordinary life. But its chief strength is that it has never abandoned the everyday realities of life and work. Every night thousands gaze from the Embankment or from the bridges with a fascinated awe at this strange splendour. The Skylon is like a huge golden cigar hanging in the sky. They see the Albert Bridge draped in golden beads of light. I heard people asking why must this spectacle come to an end, for no one likes to relinquish a dream.

The Festival is not only an area; it is an impetus and an influence.

Everywhere people who had accepted as a sad truth that the post-war years must be drab and depressing—an aftermath of callousness, cruelty, conscription and cant—have realized that the world is also a place for peaceful industry and care-free laughter. Walking through London I was struck by the difference in the spirit and appearance of the city since I saw it a year ago.

Britain is fumbling with the idea that there is a glamour in the creation of things of beauty and utility, that the present age has its own precious values. It is escaping from the belief that glamour belongs of right only to those who can destroy and smash, though Red Eye the Atavism stills stalks the world with an atom bomb in one hand and a bribe in the other. Up till now all the bugles and the flags have been used to honour the destroyers. It is a strange portent—of largely unintentional significance—that in the heart of London there is a gigantic parade of production in which many skilled workers take a share. People are looking at this and escaping for a moment to reality. Why shouldn't they follow this road ?



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Burma in Travail
1942-1951

Prof. S. B. Mookherji writes in *Carriers and Courses* :

Burma, our neighbour across the Bay of Bengal, has been ill, very ill, for the last ten years and more. She was ruled as a Province of Britain's Indian Empire till 1937, when she was separated primarily in the political and economic interest of the ruling race. Within half a decade she passed under Japanese domination.

Under Japanese Domination

Having overrun Thailand, the Japanese army reached the frontiers of Burma in January, 1942. Rangoon fell to the enemy on March 8. With the fall of Lashio, in the far north, the whole of Burma lay prostrate at the feet of Japan. Britain had relied much on the face-value of the whiteman in the East.

The fall of Rangoon opened the flood-gates of lawlessness in Burma. National life was topsy-turvied. Thakin Tun Ok, organised a government known as the *Bama Baho*. The late Aung San assumed the command of the Burma Independence Army. The *Bama Baho*, however, failed to restore peace and order. The treaty between Japan and the *Bama Baho* (March 22, 1942) which had given a number of concessions to Burma, did not work to Japan's satisfaction. The latter was therefore dissolved. A new Government with Dr. Ba Maw as the Premier took its place on August 1, 1942. No sooner had the new Government assumed office, than began an undignified scramble for the loaves and fishes of office, between the Thakin's and Dr. Ba Maw's men in which the victory, more often than not, went to the latter. The organisation of the Thakin party in the thirties, was, by the way, the starting point of Burma's struggle for freedom. The Thakins were "the first to fight for concrete social changes with a revolutionary mass programme" and thus constitute Burma's "first national mass organisation." It might be interesting to recall that Thakin Tun Tun, a school teacher once, and now the leader of Burma's White Flag Communists, was a member, the youngest, by the way, of Dr. Ba Maw's Government.

During Occupation

On August 1, 1943, Burma declared her independence, under Japanese tutelage, of course. The first thing done by "independent" Burma was to declare war against the U.K., and the U.S.A. The new constitution of Burma, consisting of 64 clauses in all, named Dr. Ba Maw as the *Adipadi* (Head of the State) and "under cover of a few sentences which expressed the heart-felt longings of the people over many years....set-up in fact a system of one-man rule."—(*Sun Over Burma*, by U. Tun Pe, p. 74).

Dr. Ba Maw's Government had to take orders in all important matters from the Japanese occupation authorities. A complete and reliable history of Burma under Japanese tutelage has yet to be compiled. It is clear, however, that the people were not happy. Money, paper money of course, was abundant; but inflation had reduced its purchasing power to an absurdly low level. Prices sky-rocketed in consequence. Governmental attempts at monetary and economic stabilisation came to nought. Discontent was rife. It was freely whispered that the new dispensation had brought only limited freedom to Burma. The *Kempetai* (Japanese Secret Police) headquarters were the object of universal terror. The people lived in a state of tension. One might be arrested any day on suspicion or the information of enemies and subjected to interrogation and torture by the Japanese police. None felt secure.

Evil Consequence

Burma had hoped that Japan would give her the substance of independence. But, she was soon disillusioned. A huge army of occupation in the country depleted the food stocks. Labourers were forced to work for the occupation authorities. Foreign trade had come to a stand still and many an article of every day use was hard to procure. Kerosene, match-boxes, glass-wares, medicines, textiles, gunny bags, to name a few, practically disappeared from the market. Prices soared higher and higher.

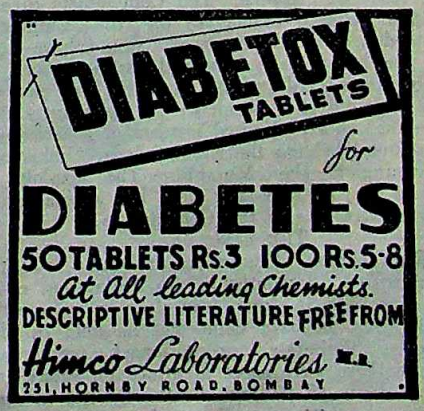
Internal dissensions and bickerings in the meanwhile undermined the foundation of Ba Maw's Government. Thakin Than Tun, the Communist Minister for Agriculture, still co-operated with the Government. But Thakin Soe, a front-rank Communist leader, withdrew his co-operation. The relations between the Thakins and their Japanese allies (?) were strained. Thakin Ba Sein and Thakin Tun Ok tried to organise a constitutional opposition. The Japanese authorities sent them away to Singapore in 1944. The relation between Ba Maw and the Japanese authorities steadily deteriorated. They threatened to drag him down from his exalted position.

The *Adipadi* tried to mend matters by re-shuffling his Cabinet; but the situation had gone beyond control and showed no signs of improvement. Anglo-American victories in the Kohima and Imphal sectors diverted the current of history to new channels. Before the monsoons set in, in 1944, the British 14th Army had advanced to Myiktyina in Upper Burma. A large-scale Allied counter-offensive was in the offing.

Turn of the Tide

World War II and the Japanese occupation of Burama consitute an important land-mark in the freedom battle of that country. The impatient Burmese nationalists had turned to Japan for their country's deliverance. But Japan's policy in Burma only whetted the Burman's urge for freedom. It was this urge which ushered into existence the *Anti-Fascist People's Freedom League* (A.F.P.F.L.) which soon became the common rallying ground of all the leftist elements in the country. The greatest achivements of the League were the awakening of political consciousness among the hitherto apathetic Burmese masses and the creation of a mass political militancy. Anti-Japanese guerillas became active. After the 1944 monsoons they attacked the Japanese army in the rear and wrought havoc. The enemy's means of communication and lines of supply were cut off.

But for the organisation of the Burmese masses into militant units by the A.F.P.F.L., Allied victory in the Far Eastern theatre would have been long delayed.



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Before 1943 was out, well-armed guerillas, organised into well-disciplined units, had taken the field against the Japanese invaders. Many more swelled their ranks in the following year.

Dr. Ba Maw and six of his cabinet colleagues withdrew from Rangoon with the retreating Japanese army on April 23, 1945. The metropolis was given to the law of the lawless. U Tun Pe, quoted above, rightly sums up the average Burmese feeling at the time—"There was nothing for us to do but wait and hope for the future." Within a few days the Allies re-occupied Rangoon.

AFTER THE WAR—INDEPENDENCE

An interim national Government on the lines of the interim Government in India was inaugurated in Burma on September 28, 1946, with General Aung San as the Chief Minister. The London Conference (January, 1947) provided for an elected Constituent Assembly which was to decide Burma's political future. The election of the Assembly boycotted by an important section of Burmese public opinion, represented by U. Saw and Thakin Ba Sein, ended in a complete victory for the A.F.P.F.L., led by General Aung San. He and five of his Cabinet colleagues were, however, assassinated in the Rangoon Secretariat on July 19, 1947. The General's mantle fell upon Thakin Nu, Vice-President of the A.F.P.F.L. and President of the Constituent Assembly. The Assembly voted Burma out of the British Commonwealth of Nations.

Burma declared herself a Sovereign Socialist Republic on January 4, 1948, and almost immediately afterwards found herself in the throes of internecine internal conflicts. The integrity of Burma and the very existence of the infant Republic hanged in the balance in the winter and spring of 1948-49. Disruptionist forces in the Burmese body politic reared their heads. The consequent insurrections, in the words of Thakin Nu, "are the direct result of decayed conditions when the British handed over the administration." More than half a dozen of insurgent groups—the White Flag Communists under Thakin Than Tun, the Red Flag Communists under Thakin Soe, the Karens under Saw Ba U Gvi (since killed in action), the White Band P.V.O., the Mons, the Mujahids, led by a former Pakistani army officer and the army-deserters—took the field against the Nu Government. They have not yet laid down arms. In the summer of 1949, Thakin Nu's Government had lost control over more than 90 per cent of Burma. Rangoon itself was threatened. Mandalay, Burma's second largest city, passed into the hands of the insurgents. There were troubles here, there and everywhere. Communications were dislocated.

The Karens want a separate sovereign Karen State. The 'Mujahids' are fighting for a Muslim State, comprising a part of Arakan. The Communists dream of setting up a People's Democracy on the Chinese and Russian model. The Karen revolt would have petered out long ago but for the help and encouragement from the British groups, civil and military, with long experience of Burma acquired from residence in the country during British regime. A very limited number of Americans also have been found helping the Karen rebels. Pakistan has been encouraging the Mujahids. The exploits and achievements of Mao Tse-tung and his comrades have been a great incentive to the Communists.

THE ELECTIONS

The first election of independent Burma, which was to be held within 18 months of the declaration of independence, was held in June, last after several postponements. Elections, however could hot be held in all the constituencies. Elaborate, precautionary measures notwithstanding, there were cases of attack on voters and of the burning down of polling booths by the insurgents. All these are a pointer that Burma is not yet out of the woods. Thakin Nu himself observed in a recent speech, "I have freely to admit that conditions in Burma to-day are very little different from those that were a year ago." Comment is superfluous.

A very tough job awaits the A.F.P.F.L., which have won the last month's parliamentary elections. Burma has been rightly compared by Thakin Nu to "a house decayed and eaten by white ants." If she is to be saved for democracy no time should be lost in launching a campaign to re-build her. An all-out effort must be made to make life worth living for the *lude* (masses).

Will the A.F.P.F.L. do it? Let us wait and watch.

Jain Antiquities of Rajgir

Adrisa Banerji writes in *The Hindustan Review*:

One of the gravest error, that has been made, in our assessments of any Indian holy place, is the exaggerated importance that has been granted to Buddhism. Thanks to Asoka and indefatiguable Chinese travellers and their records, the claims of other faiths have been lost sight of. To some extent the accounts of early Jaina writers which were not verifiable by scientific researches were responsible for this unfortunate position. Nevertheless, the existence of a Jaina *stupa* at Mathura, the find of large amount of inscribed Jaina images dating from a century before the birth of Christ, have proved beyond doubt the historicity of their claims. The caves Khandagiri and Udayagiri, prove the existence of Jainism in ancient Odra desa—modern Orissa.

Jainism, is earlier than Buddhism. If, Gautama was a historical personage then we have to admit that his contemporaries were also historical, and in this category



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comes Mahavira. But Mahavira according to tradition was the last of the *tirthankaras;* what about his other immediate predecessors, even if we do not insist on the whole list as accurate ? There are archæological as well as literary, evidences to believe that Jainism had great following in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. Next in the teachings of Buddha even in sentences ascribed to the 'Master,' we find no half-hearted mention of *Nigranthas.*

There is an instance in *Majjhima Nikaya,* which establishes the knowledge of Buddha about the Nigranthas or Jains. While relating the Sri Gupta incident, in the last Buddha's life the Avadana-kalpalata definitely tells us, that his preceptor was a Jain. The late Dr. A. B. Keith tells us : "In one point all these sages agreed; there were Sramanas, ascetics in some degree, and they shared this peculiarity with the Jinas whose leader Nigantha of the Nata clan, was evidently regarded with hostile eyes by the Buddha." This can only be explained by the extreme influence that Jainsim exercised over the mass mind by Jainism.

It is undeniable, that Rajagriha, the ancient capital of eastern India, must have been a stronghold of Jainism, as the doctrine arose in Magadha.

How is it then with the exception of few modern temples, no actual remains of the Jaina faith have been traced at or near desolate Girivraja, the city girt by mountains, while the followers of its rival faith proudly flaunt before the admiring gaze of the world the questionable *sattapanni,* the terraced rocky remains, the alleged Ajatasatrus' stupa, the majestic Gridhakuta. The answer is to be found in the lack of retentive power of the brain in the Indian masses. The exaggerated claims of the devout Chinese pilgrims based upon absolutely unreliable folk traditions, which he found almost more than a millennium after the *mahaparinirvvana* of Gautama. A stupa has been identified on the authority of the Chinese pilgrim as the identical one erected by Maharaja Ajatasatru. But excavations by the late Raibahadur Dayaram Sahni revealed an image of Jina, below the so-called Mauryan stupa. The question whether it is really a Buddhist or Jaina stupa has not yet been settled. Instances are not rare of later Buddhists erecting their sacred edifices over Jaina remains. King Dharmmapala, as the Paharpur Copperplate of 119 Gupta era tells us, erected the Somapura Mahavihara over an earlier Jaina establishment. Therefore at Rajgir possiblity of stupas, *vathas* originally holy to the Jains but later on identified with Buddhism exists.

Jaina texts, of both the sects, amply give evidence of the existence of extreme holy places of Jainism at Rajgir. Gunasila Chaitya is a place, which was as holy to Jains, as Gridhakuta was to the Buddhists. According to the Kalpa Sutra, Mahavira resided at Rajgir at this very place. The Uvassgo Dasao locates Gunasila as a *varika* of Rajagriha (VIII,23). The chaitya has been explained as place of tree worship in the Mahabharatam, which is a trait of Indian ritual since the copper age. The *Tri-shashthi-salaka-purusha-charitra* states that Gunasila was *Chaitya-vrikshopasobhitam* (X 63.63). The Bhagavati Purana, however, places Gunasila within Rajgir, The *Sthaviravali Charitra* by Hemachandra Suri places Gunasila within (abhyarne) of Rajgir. The Uttara-purana of the Digamvaras places the permanent residence of Lord Mahavira on the Vipula hill. The Svetambara canon places Gunasila on the north-east of Rajgir which is the position of Vipula hill. I therefore think that Gunasila must be located at Rajgir on Vipula hill, and not at Gunave. Dr. B. C. Law suggests the identity of Gunasila with Kalasila rock in the neighbourhood of which Moggalana was beaten to death. But Kalasila according to Pali Suttas was a rock, while Gunasila was a chaitya.

In the third decade of the seventh century of the Christian era, Hiuenthsang testifies to the occupation of Rajgir sites by Jain monks.

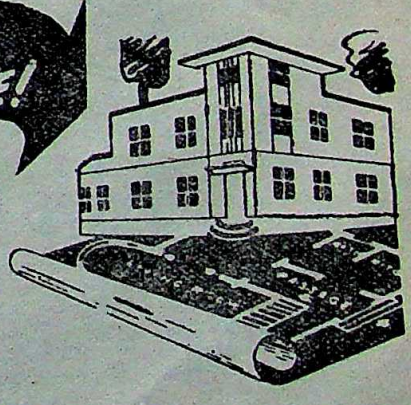
He found Jaina monks practising asceticism beside a stupa on Vaibhara, probably the same site which has been identified by some scholars as the place at which the first Council of Buddhist elders met. Because the *Tri-shshthi-salaka-purusha-Charitra* (X.10.45) states that the great Sramana resided for a time on Vaibhara, the Vaihara of Mahabharatam and Vebhara of Isigilli Sutta. Therefore as late as c. 7th Century A.D., there was a Jain Stupa at Rajgir, on Vaibhara hill.

The existence of other Jain places of worship on the Vaibhara as early as the Gupta period, is proved by the inscribed black basalt image of the 22nd tirthankara Neminatha. It is one of the earliest known Jaina image in Magadha. The brick enclosure in the vicinity of ruined temple containing the above image along with other Jaina sculptures is another evidence. This enclosure contained a series of Jaina images in niches. The Son-Bhandar cave, excavated in Mauryan times but inscribed by later arrivals in characters of the Gupta period, is a Jain cave, like Dasaratha's gift to Ajivikas at Barabar. A revision indeed of our ascription of ancient buildings at Rajgir has become imperative.

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FOREIGN PERIODICALS

The Screen—A New "Blackboard" in British Schools

Lessons "come alive" and schoolchildren understand and remember them more easily when teachers can supplement explanations with visual impressions of the subject being taught. Only a few years ago, however, teachers were obliged to improvise nearly all their own visual aids. Many adults can certainly still remember their teachers using an orange, an apple and a lighted candle to give a crude, but effective demonstration of the relationship between the earth, the sun and the moon.

Today, with films, wall charts, filmstrips, models and special maps supplementing or replacing teacher-made devices, one of the countries giving a valuable lead, especially in the field of films, is Great Britain, where the development of such visual aids has been going on for many years.

The belief in the value of films as educational aids began to grow in Britain about 1920. Since then, the interest and activity shown by teachers' associations, education institutes and Local Education Authorities has encouraged film makers to produce material suitable for the school curriculum.

Further development is being made possible today through the National Committee for Visual Aids in Education, formed to plan and develop a visual aid policy for England and Wales, and the Educational Foundation for Visual Aids (E.F.V.A.) whose work includes the provision of information and facilities for educational authorities and teachers and help, in an advisory capacity, to sponsors and producers of new educational films.

Industry Helps Education

Educational film libraries have been set up by such bodies as the British Electrical Development Association, the Petroleum Film Bureau, the British Iron and Steel Federation, the International Wool Secretariat and the Tea Bureau. The first of these groups, for instance, has produced over 15 films dealing with the basic theories and principles of electricity. These ten-minute films explain in simple language the why and wherefore of electricity and its different applications in the home and in the factory. They are loaned to teachers together with detailed notes and questionnaires which help them to make the fullest use of the films as visual aids.

In all, 1,000 prints of 15 films are in constant circulation throughout the country today, and in the case of "Generation of Electricity' and "Transmission of Elertricity," 120 prints of each film have been made to meet the needs of schools and technical colleges.

An important contribution to the teaching of science and engineering has been made by the iron and steel industry. Films and filmstrips cover the obtaining of raw materials and the production of iron and steel. Area training officers in the steel industry use them for training apprentices, but they are also available to schools and technical colleges.

Wool has always played a large part in British national life. Accordingly, the industry has for years helped develop the use of visual aids for the teaching of economics, geography, chemistry, biology and domestic science. Similarly, the tea industry has done a great deal to instruct teachers in the use of visual aids and to provide schools with material which will enliven lessons on geography, history, transport and social customs. In addition to films, exhibitions are organised; cardboard models with sheets of cut-out figures made for children to assemble in the course of a lesson.

English in Six Weeks

Every kind of visual aid was mobilized by the National Coal Board in 1947 to meet a thorny problem —the teaching of thousands of foreigners from over twelve different language groups, enough English in six weeks to follow their training course in mining. Although the lessons were based on the "direct" method—the teacher speaking sentences for the pupils to repeat—filmstrips played an important part and were found to be useful because they forced the trainees to focus their attention on one picture at a time as it was projected on the screen. Films were found useful for revision and for dramatisation of normal straightforward conversation. Ordinary documentaries were used, but the sound track was replaced by a commentary which kept strictly to the language level reached by each particular group.

Among recently produced films dealing with language teaching was "La Famille Martin" which enables the pupil to see French characters talking naturally, and acting naturally as they do in everyday life. The tempo of the film is deliberately normal and not slowed up for fear of creating an artificial and erroneous impression.

Such films enable children who cannot hope to go overseas, to see other peoples' ways of life.

An outstanding achievement among films on physiology was "Digestion," because of its clear exposition of the entire digestive system, and for its painstaking degree of accuracy. Every muscle contraction is shown in animation. Colour is used to make every detail visible and intelligible. It is a fascinating production which makes the subject seem amazingly easy to understand.

Other Peoples' Problems

It is perhaps in the geography lesson that the film and filmstrip come into their own. And here remarkable results have been achieved. For example, children have always found it difficult to visualise the world and to understand the meaning of the lines drawn on the revolv-

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ing globe. A series of films has been produced describing "Map Projection," "Latitude and Longitude" and "Day and Night." The last named, produced in colour, is exceptionally clever in its use of revolving models and ingenious lighting.

Geographical films, produced from an unbiased point of view, have done much to create a better understanding of other peoples' problems.

Every recent British production of geographical films and filmstrips has tried to do more than teach the children the bare facts. An attempt has been made to show people in other lands as real people, with families and homes. Hence, there is little generalisation. A filmstrip on Persian oil-fields, will take a specific Persian worker and tell the story of his daily life against a background of the oil-fields and will thus create an understanding of his problems.

Another pointer to a growing awareness of the international value of education is found in the efforts made to obtain foreign films for teaching in English schools. British producers and British teachers are looking across the seas for available material.

The day is fast approaching when such exchanges will be facilitated by the removal of customs barriers through two international agreements sponsored by Unesco. The first agreement would relieve educational films from licences, quotas and tariffs and the second (described on page 9 of this issue of the Courier) would also free the movement of films as well as other educational materials.

Such exchanges are expected to give an added incentive to commercial firms and industrialists willing to undertake the production of films for schools, by providing a wider market for their productions.—*Unesco Courier.*

Affandi—The People's Artist of Indonesia

A report on the exhibition (August 1950) of contemporary Indonesian arts at Delhi would be incomplete without giving some idea about Affandi, the noted Indonesian artist, whose contribution to the show had made the exhibition a great success.

Mr. Affandi, born at Cheribon, Java, is still in his early forties. With his unprepossessing features, glittering eyes and quite, almost timid manners, he does not easily attract attention. Not everybody will expect that behind this unassuming personality, lies a hidden force and a genius. When about eight months ago, he along with his wife and daughter came for the first time to Santiniketan on a Government of India scholarship supposed to learn the principles of art, Mr. Nandalal Bose, the head of this Institute of Art, was quite surprised to find his unassuming would-be-student already well developed. Mr. Bose did not expect this at all when he for the first time made acquaintance with him and when he saw Affandi's work, he expressed the opinion that it did not suit Affandi any more to go for lessons in art at Santiniketan. What Affandi needed was to make a study of Indian art, with all its early developments and present progress. This could be done by visiting art centres and coming in contact with Indian artists. That is the reason why Affandi after the Delhi exhibition, intends to make a tour of this country besides making the Indian public acquainted with his work and Indonesian popular art in general. For besides his collections, he has also taken with him some twenty-five paintings, sketches and reproductions of other notable Indonesian artists.

Affandi, like all other notable Indonesian artists of his time is the product of the Indonesian revolution. From his young days, he has displayed great interest and



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talent in drawing and painting and sculpture. But miserable conditions during the alien colonial rule—so familiar in colonial and semicolonial countries—did not give the young promising artist full opportunities to unfold his talents. The only time he could devote wholly to his artistic inclinations was his spare time after a full day's hard work,- as house or letter painter or as primary school-teacher or ticket-seller of a cinema house. To improve his talents he tried to come in constant contact with other Indonesian artists, to learn something more from them. His first success was when he could sell his pictures for 10 to 20 guilders. The Indonesian revolution which swept like a mighty, unresistible flood over the Indonesian archipelago opened the way to the discovery of his talents, which led to his fame. Besides being a talented artist Affandi was a true patriot. He readily put his talents at the disposal of his fighting countrymen. Like the gun for the soldier. his brush was his weapon to fight against the reimposition of alien colonial rule. He made war posters and pictures to keep high the fighting spirit of his compatriots (these war pictures of his and those of his colleagues—once preserved in the National Museum and the War Museum in Jogjakarta—were destroyed during the Dutrh second "police action"). He and his family were arrested by the Dutch when after the first Dutch police action he tried to cross the border of the Dutch-held territories on his way from Jogja to Djakarta.

Since the once confused condition in Indonesia has now ended, Affandi has again started to devote his talents to more peaceful pictures, though not the least without social significance. The hard struggle for survival in his early life has had a deep influence on his work. His painting "A Dead Bird in My Hand," one of the finest pieces of his work, showing the cruelty of the human being towards the weak, and "The Three Beggars" show the profound humanity in this Indonesian artist. Like many of his colleagues, Affandi is a true people's artist. During the unsettled conditions in Indonesia he rallied other Indonesian artists around him and founded the Pelukis Ra'yat' or 'People's Artists' Association at Bandung. His colleagues imbued with the same spirit and ideals under the leadership of another noted Indonesian artist, Sudjoyono, started another art association called the 'Seniman Indonesia Muda' or 'Artists of the Young Indonesia.' Their aim and object was to break away from traditional Indonesian art and instead, find a new and true national art, as so far traditional Indonesian art had been more or less influenced by the West or constituted the ancient orthodox conception of paintings like most of the Balinese paintings. Saleh, the first notable Indonesian artist of the 19th century, received his training in Europe, so did many others, before World War II, get their inspiration from the West. Apart from this aim which has been in the minds of the contemporary Indonesian artists, their main objective has been to popularize art among the common people. This they opine cannot be done by degrading the art, but by making the people art-minded through holding free exhibitions at which the people see themselves pictured in the exhibits.

Affandi is thus one of the pioneers in the new school of Indonesian art. It is, therefore, this motive that inspires Affandi to choose as his subjects, scenes from the real everyday life of the common people,—like the peasant ploughing his field, and the way-side barber or the street musician, whether in Indonesia or in this country or anywhere else. Again it is this motive which makes his works—whether it is a painting, a sketch or sculpture—show lack of the usual sugary sentimentality, present in many works of art of the past and today, but realism which invigorates his art and gives it a deep social significance. One day when in the company of artists, he showed his painting called "People's Feet"—which seemed to have a rather disturbing and provoking effect on the audience—a friendly critic could not help remarking, "Isn't it odd? The feet seem to grow out of the soil." Affandi's face immediately lighted up. "That's it," he almost shouted, "that's what I wanted to say." His exclamation was revealing, it gives an idea of Affandi, and what he is after.

Today Affandi, practically untutored—and deeply under the influence of Vincent van Gogh—has worked out for himself a style and technique of his own. The strength of his powerful strokes done with impatient quickness is supported by a complete mastery of drawing, which enables him to tackle any subject—human figures, animals, trees, houses—with perfect ease. He has displayed a gift of animation—almost approaching Van Gogh—in making creative use of yellow and green. His portrait paintings are not only excellent likenesses but also full of character, though the brush strokes are laid on with almost violent quickness his paintings can be described as sketching with colour. The average time he needs to make a portrait painting is between 6 and 7 hours only. But Affandi is not free from criticism. One art-critic said that in his over-confidence, Affandi carried the 'vortex painting' (cruel suns) too far, giving the picture an impression of artificiality. While another remarked, that his two pictures "Gossip" showed failure in impressionism. But whatever his few defects and failures may be, the recent Delhi exhibition has revealed that Affandi—as a notable art-critic of the city remarked—is "a divinely gifted, self-taught genius."—*Merdeka*, August 1950.

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DIABETES
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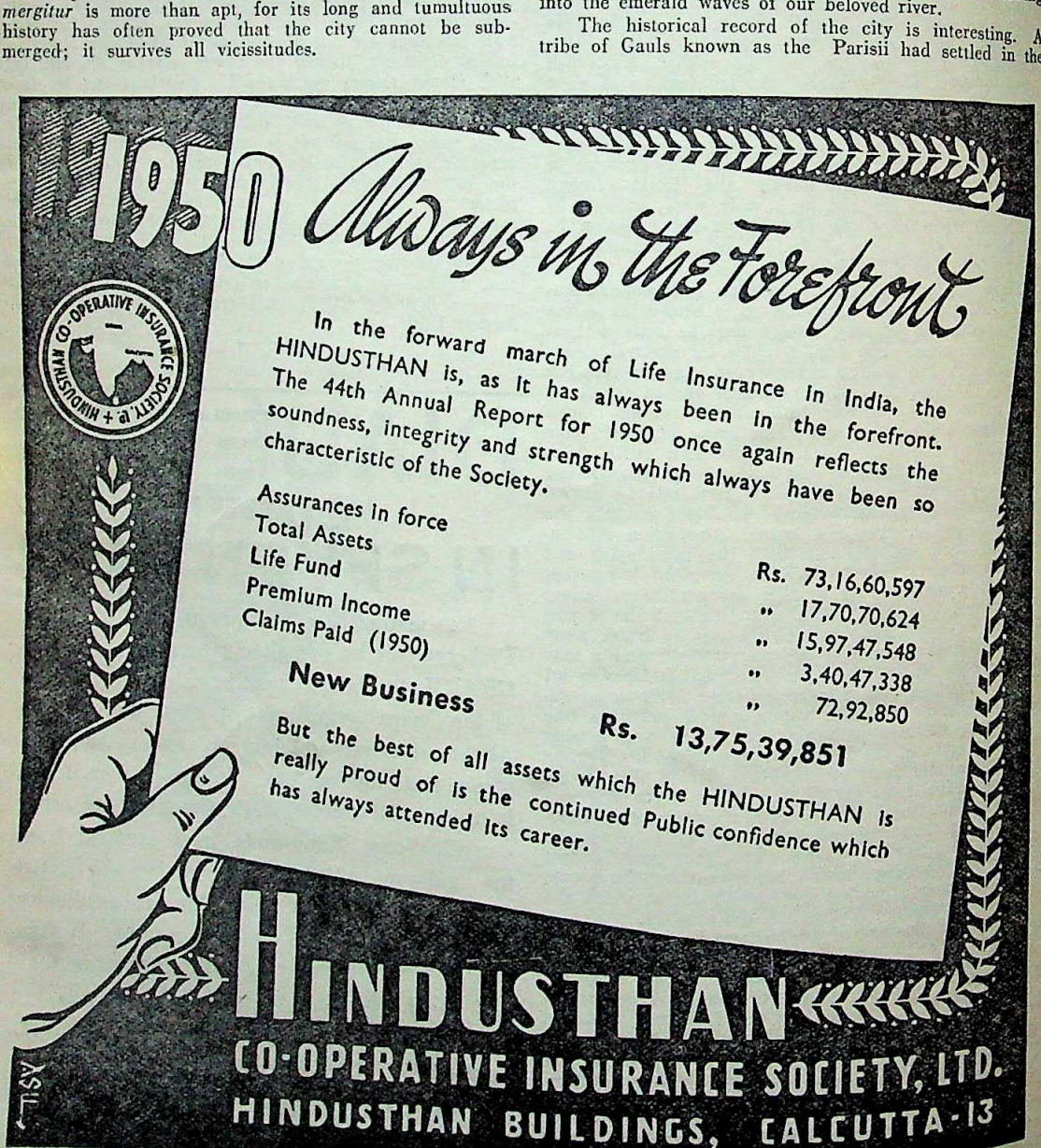
The Bimillenary of Paris

This year, Paris is 2,000 years old. The first written record of its existence appears in Julius Caesar's commentaries on the Gallic Wars which date from 51 B.C. In actual fact, it is impossible to know the exact age of Paris, for its earliest origins are lost in antiquity. There seem always to have been settlements on the Ile de la Cite (Island of the City), an island in the Seine and it is from these modest beginnings that has sprung our beautiful, modern, artistic City of Light.

Paris owes its existence to the Seine on which it stands. It springs from the bosom of the river and it is the river that gives it its particular character. The City of Paris takes its Coat of Arms from the river; it is a ship that never sinks. Its motto *Fluctuat nec mergitur* is more than apt, for its long and tumultuous history has often proved that the city cannot be submerged; it survives all vicissitudes.

If Paris can find no trace of itself in ancient history, legend gives it a most romantic origin. In the days of Mythology when gods and nymphs familiarly walked the earth, the goddess of the Seine was reputed to be the most beautiful of the daughters of Bacchus. Her godmother, Ceres, gave her as a present the fields of Normandy that lay along her banks, but one day, as the goddess was playing among the reeds, Neptune spied her. Dazzled by her beauty, the God of the Sea rushed to seize her. The goddess fled, but soon she felt that she would be caught. She called upon Bacchus, her father, and the fair Ceres, her godmother, to save her, and just as Neptune thrust his arms out to reach for her, the nymph dissolved, slipped through his fingers and the Seine flowed away from him, her light coloured veils turning into the emerald waves of our beloved river.

The historical record of the city is interesting. A tribe of Gauls known as the Parisii had settled in the



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islands of Lutetia, now known as the Ile de la Cite. It is likely that some of them also dwelt on the neighbouring hills of Montmartre and Sainte Genevieve. In 59 B.C., the Roman Senate entrusted the pacification of Transalpine Gaul to Julius Caesar, the Roman Consul. He was well aware of the experience of his predecessors, Domitius, Marius and Fonteius, in their attempts to subjugate these "frivolous" Gauls, he knew their powers of resistance, he recognized in the hearts of these Celts "the love of liberty and the hatred of servitude." This made him all the more anxious to bring the Gallic chiefs to Rome as prisoners.

The enterprise proved far more arduous and exacting than he had anticipated. From 58 B.C. to 51 B.C. fighting was incessant. Again and again Caesar thought he had subdued Gaul, again and again opposition reared its head, local guerillas sprang up, revolt spread throughout the land, led in 52 B.C. by King Vercingetorix, chief of the Gallic tribes.

Caesar sent his most able lieutenant, Labienus, to occupy Lutetia. In a wild dash, the latter came down the left bank of the Seine, but failed to cross it. Seizing all the boats he could find, he sailed down the river and landed on the right bank facing Lutetia. The old chief, Camulogenus, was leaving and crossing to the other bank of the Seine. The reason was soon obvious. From where the Romans stood, on the present site of the Church of Saint Germain l'Auxerrois, they realized that Lutetia was in flames.

Nevertheless, the conquerors soon settled down, restored and revived the city. Soon they introduced their own way of life and an important suburb grew up on the left bank. Its ruins and remains still exist in Paris today.

Paris was a flourishing city when in the middle of the 5th century A.D. it was threatened by Attila and his Barbarians. All hope had been abandoned when a young girl called Genevieve roused the flagging spirits of the Parisians, restored their courage and thus averted catastrophe. She became the Patron Saint of Paris.

Later came the Franks, but by then, Christianity had already spread fairly widely and the worst consequences of the invasion were avoided. The Carolingian kings did not usually reside in Paris, and during the invasions of the Northmen, the City was almost completely destroyed. All the inhabitants could save was their honour.

Through its Counts and Dukes, Paris gave to France its Capetian dynasty, and since that time, Paris has been the capital of the country. Churches, convents, markets, hotels were built; in the 12th century, public works were undertaken to improve the city; municipal administration was organized. The city grew and soon had to spread on either bank of the river.

In the reign of Philippe Auguste (1180-1223), the streets were paved, the Palace of the Louvre was begun and the Cathedral of Notre Dame was completed. Later came Saint Louis who endowed Paris with its University, the Sorbonne and the exquisitely beautiful Church of the Sainte Chapelle.

The wars of the 14th and 15th centuries did not interrupt the development of the capital. The Palace of the Louvre was finished, the Bastille was built.

The reign of Charles VI was one of the most disastrous in the history of Paris. The city was betrayed to the Burgundians, and in vain did Joan of Arc besiege it in 1429. Wounded during an assault at the Saint Honore Gate, which is now the Place du Theatre Francais, she was forced to withdraw. Nevertheless, she was instrumental in freeing her country from its invaders, and in 1436, Charles VII was able to return to the capital.

Had there been no Religious Wars, the 16th century would have been a highly prosperous period for Paris. Francis I and Catherine Medici were great builders. In the succeeding reigns, Paris was the scene of one continuous bloodstained drama until Henry IV was able to pacify it after a siege lasting four years. His son, Louis XIII, and his wife Anne of Austria endowed the capital with many monuments.

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The Sun King, Louis XIV, preferred to live at Versailles or Marly rather than Paris, but that did not prevent his developing the city whose population already numbered 550,000 and building monuments worthy of his greatness in it. To him we owe the construction of the beautiful palaces around the Place de la Concorde, planned by the famous architect Gabriel.

The French Revolution took place in 1789 and can be said to have been eminently Parisian for its origins are essentially Parisian, yet it is from this epoch that the history of Paris ceases to be separate from that of the rest of France.

Previously, Paris had been divided into 48 sections, but under the Directory, it was divided into 12 municipal districts called "arrondissements" and the Constitution of the Year VIII of the Revolution gave the capital its present status as a "prefecture."

From Napoleon I date the Bourse, the Vendome Column, the Arc de Triomphe, many bridges and many other embellishments. The growing prosperity of Paris was only slightly affected by the invasions and resistance of 1814-1815.

Under the Restoration, Parisians fought for the Tricolour in July 1830 and thus decided their future fate. Louis Philippe was keenly interested in seeing Paris develop and he erected its fortifications and its first railway station.

Napoleon III and his counsellors took great pride in beautifying the city, while the Chief Commissioner, Haussmann, opened wide avenues with lovely perspectives through it. From 1860, the suburbs that had grown up within the fortifications were officially included in the city and thus the number of "arrondissements" rose to twenty.

The war of 1870 brought the German army to Paris, and after its surrender it endured humiliating occupation. Then came the civil war known as the Commune, but 1871 saw the establishment of the Third Republic and the ushering in of a period of peace and prosperity, with the development and improvement of the city, and a comfortable and brilliant life that lasted till 1914.

During the First World War, Paris was saved from destruction by its Governor, General Gallieni, who raised the Army of Paris, and transported it to the battlefields of Ourcq and the Marne in taxis. After the war, Paris again took up its schemes for town planning and development.

On the 14th June 1940, Paris was occupied by the Germans and for four years the latter had to contend with an underground opposition that burst into open rebellion on the 19th August, 1944, following the landing of the Allied troops on French soil. On the 24th August, 1944, the capital was finally liberated by the arrival of the troops of General Leclerc's division.

To celebrate its bimillenary, Paris has not organized excessively elaborate demonstrations. Parisians have tried to pay homage to their city by conjuring up the most striking periods in the history.—*News from France*, August 1951.

Heavyweight Champion Calls on President Truman

Washington, August 20.—"Jersey Joe" Walcott, world heavyweight boxing champion, called on President Truman at the White House late last week.

The 37-year-old fighter who won the title several weeks ago by knocking out Ezzard Charles, came to Washington to referee a boxing show. The show was held for the benefit of the Washington Junior Police and Citizens' Corps sponsored by the Washington metropolitan police in their work to help boys' clubs.

Walcott has always been interested in youth work and is contributing his own time and money to further this type of endeavour throughout the country.

The President praised Walcott for his prowess in the ring and for his interest in youth activities.—*USIS*.

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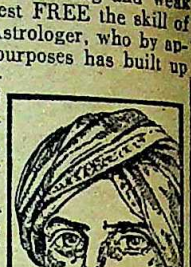
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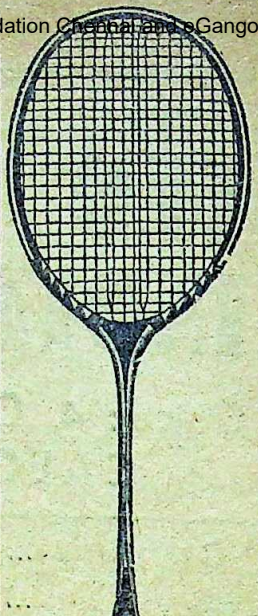
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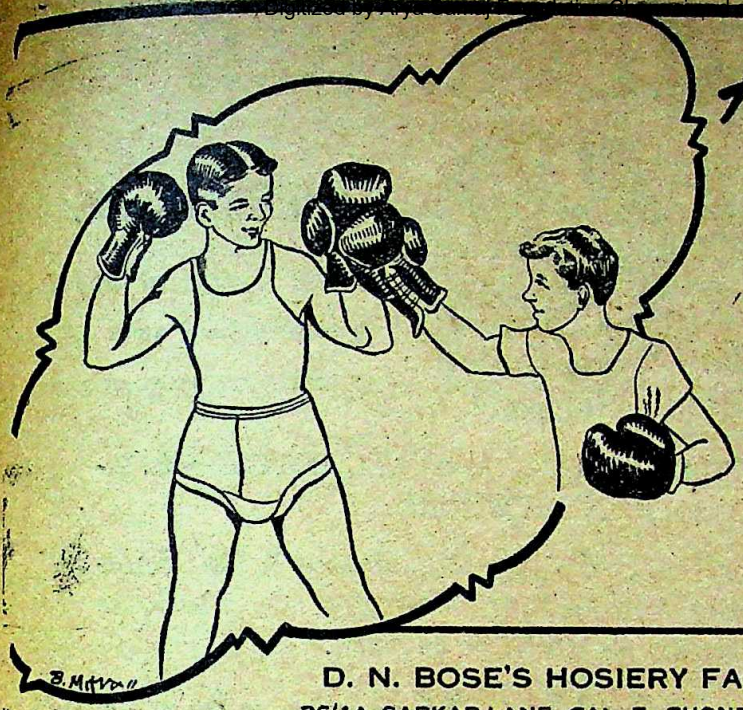
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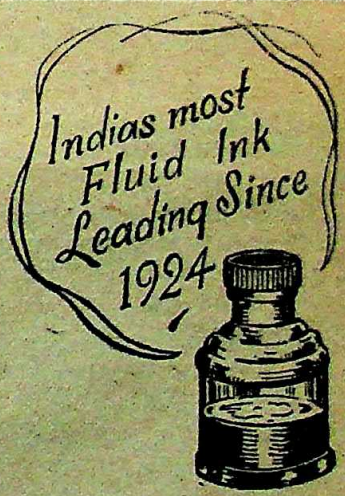
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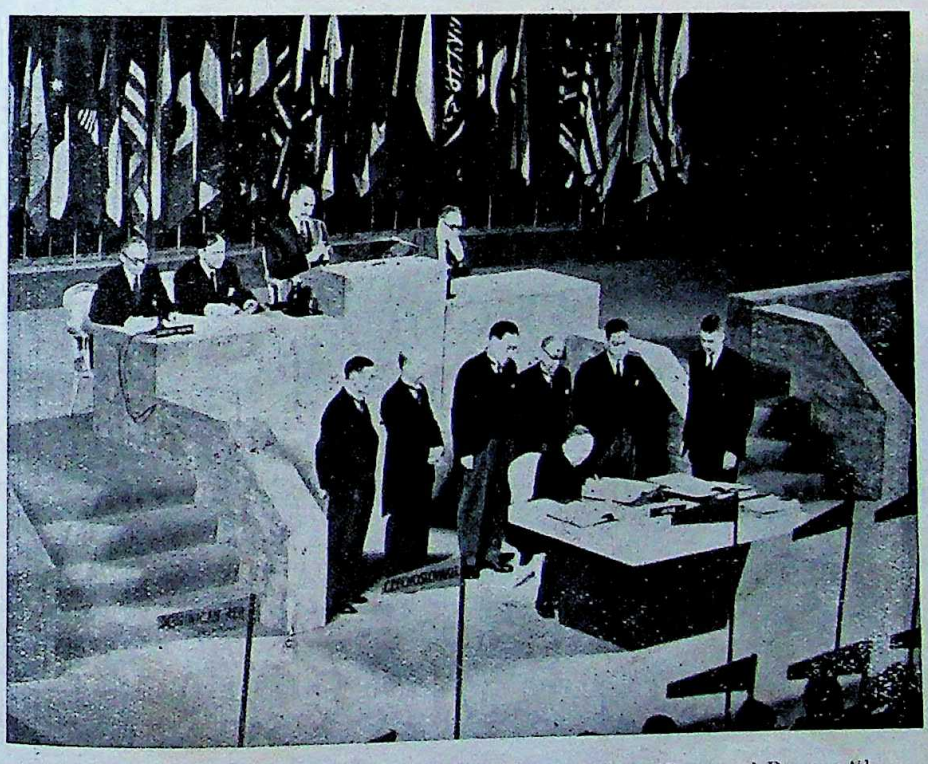
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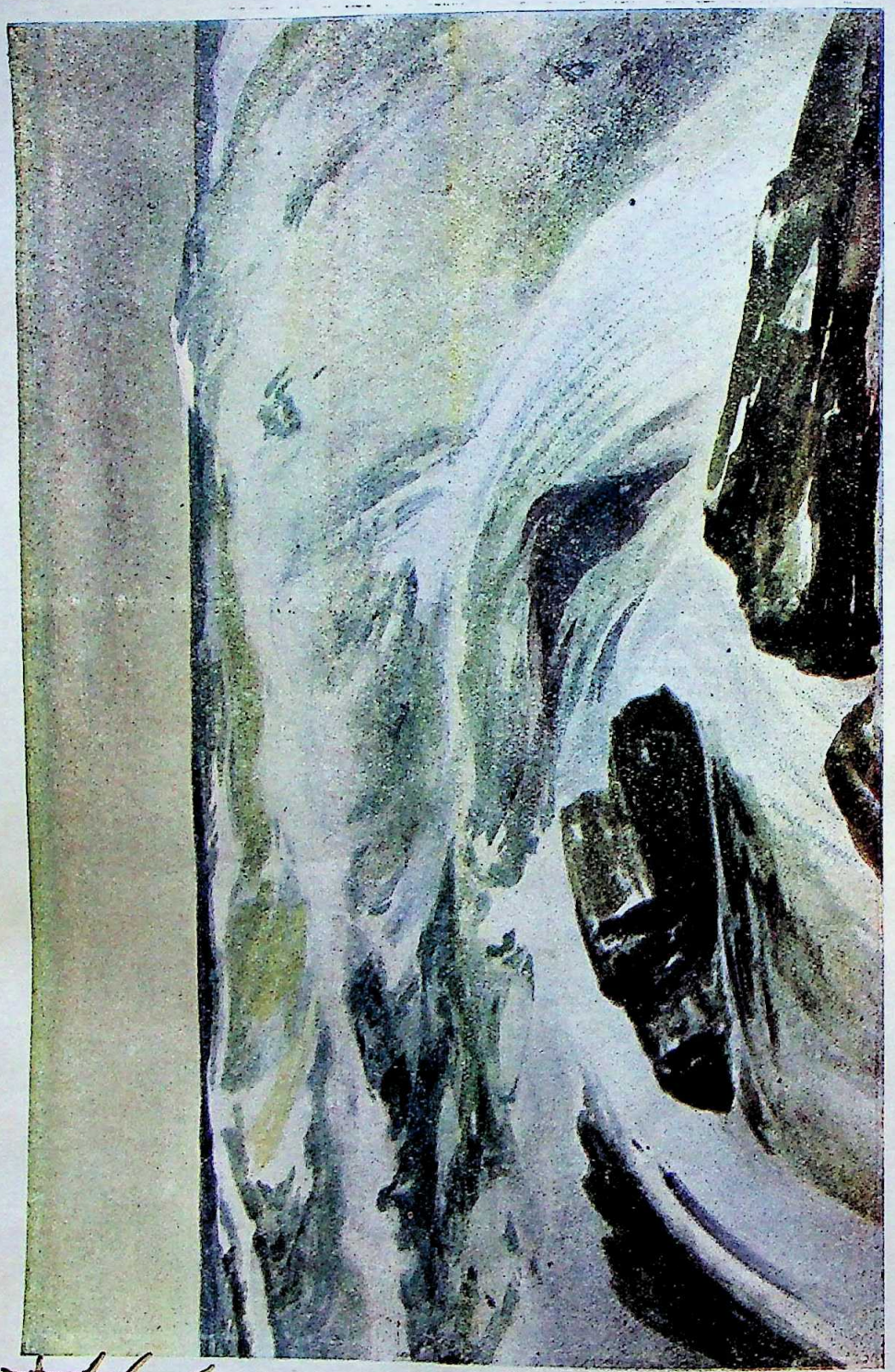
The Chinese Cultural Delegation in New Delhi. The photograph shows among others Prime Minister Nehru, President Dr. Rajendra Prasad, Sm. Lilavati Munshi, Mr. Ting Si-Lin, the leader of the Delegation and Sri K. M. Munshi



Shigeru Yoshida, the Japanese Prime Minister, signs the Treaty of Peace with 48 nations at the final session of the Japanese Peace Conference at San Francisco

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THE MODERN REVIEW

DECEMBER 1951

VOL. LXXXX, No. 6 WHOLE No. 540

NOTES

The Congress Election Campaign

In last month's editorials we wrote,

"We do not know whether Pandit Nehru realizes that he is on trial. We do not refer to the elections. Our Nationals are backward in their ideas of exercising the franchise, which is a direct consequence of the low level of literacy—less than 25 per cent—in the country. Elections are a gamble therefore. . . ."

Judging by Pandit Nehru's campaigning speeches he is still unaware of the fact that he—more than the Congress—is on trial. We shall deal with that later. But the elections are now as much of a gamble as it was a month back. Further, the jockeying for power in the ranks of the dozen or so of the parties in opposition has bettered the chances of the Congress. The strength and the weakness of the Congress are both demonstrated thereby. The strength lies in the unitary organization which, however decrepit and shaky, still stands the country over, and the weakness in the definite exhibition of distrust displayed by the intelligentsia, as evinced by the total volume and number of the independents and parties in opposition.

The Congress has chosen its symbol well. It evidently believes it would be able to lead the illiterate or partly literate masses to the polls, like the yoked bullocks in the Congress symbol. It only needs the picture of a man with a Gandhi-cap twisting the tails of the bullocks and driving them to the polling booths, to complete the simile.

The Congress has made many declarations of faith in the past and Pandit Nehru's particular coterie, which is almost a caucus, has added promises galore before and after coming to power. All these have been observed in the breach mostly, after the passing of the Father of the Nation. We have therefore to examine carefully all the protestations of the mighty in the Congress, now that the elections are on. We will say in passing that whatever criticism we make, these do not bear any reference either to Mahatma Gandhi or his great disciple Sardar Vallabbhai Patel. We refer to the more ornate and immensely loquacious mantle-wearers and shoe-steppers.

The Congress manifestoes released in our home-province, or State, bear the following claims and promises. The claims are:

1. *That it was instrumental in the termination of British Rule and in the achievement of Freedom for India.*

We do agree that Congress, starting from its inception in the eighties of the last century, achieved much of it, and that Mahatma Gandhi was the Man of the Hour. But those that are claiming that they did it by themselves are uttering less than half-truths. The I. N. A. movement of Netaji Subhas was the greatest factor in the disaffection of the British organised Indian army, and that ultimately led to the British decision, as did the underground movement by the Socialists and other groups, who are all outside the present Congress.

2. It claims *that it has consolidated the intransigent Native States firmly into the Union of India.*

We admit that Sardar Patel's achievement was great, but we say it now, that a whole host of others, mostly from outside the Congress ranks, helped and their share of credit is being hi-jacked by the present dictators of the Congress.

3. It claims *that it has planned and legislated for Zemindary abolition and the distribution of land amongst the real cultivators.*

It is an well-established fact that the decisions involved were arrived at long before the Congress came to power, and if any credit belongs anywhere, it should go as much to the Leftist groups, as to the present arbiters of the Congress.

4. It claims *that it has successfully carried out programme in spite of great shortage of Food.*

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We admit that it has succeeded where the British failed miserably. *But the immense expenditure of assets, the enormous wastages and the resultant cataclysmic corruption that has infected the entire administration,* are the price the people have to pay. What has the Congress to say to that?

5. It claims *that it has, and is, Rehabilitating Refugees successfully in a planned fashion.*

What caused the refugee problem? As for rehabilitation, the less said the better, where planning, costs and morals involved are concerned.

6. It claims *that it has given Universal Suffrage.*

It has, and let us see the outcome!

7. It claims *that it is giving the country, planned Compulsory Primary Education.*

Seeing whom the Congress has put in charge of those plans, we can only treat this statement as a joke, which would be comic if it were not so tragic.

8. It claims *that it has started Prohibition.*

It has, but as yet the issue is not clear.

9. It claims *that it has started Great Schemes for Irrigation and Food production.*

The truth is that the schemes were planned by the American specialists before the Congress came into power. That John Matthai as Finance Minister did his best to see that they materialize and after John Matthai was obliged to quit the Ministry, his successor, Pandit Nehru's man, *has done his level best to scotch at least two of the major schemes in the most afflicted area.* Incidentally this Minister has been allowed to stand as an independent, and *John Matthai's nomination paper was rejected!*

10. It claims *that it has established a secular State.*

If it pleases our fetish-worshipping Prime Minister and his satellites, who are more intent on shibboleths than on realities, we shall concede this. But we would advise them to read Dr. Katju's letter to the *Times,* reproduced elsewhere in these Notes.

11. It claims *that it has abolished untouchability.*

This is the gift of the Father of the Nation to his peoples. His unworthy successors would be presumptuous to claim it.

So much for the claims. Now come the pledges and promises. We shall declare right at the start that if Pandit Nehru had kept his promise to the Nation, that of giving nominations only to men of integrity and moral fibre, then these promises would have had some substance. Judging by what he, and his satellites, have done, the least we can say is that these pledges are of the same substance as dreams are!

The Congress pledges itself to bring the millennium in the land if its Nationals put it back in power for the next five years. It did promise so in August 1947, and who is there in this sub-continent of ours, big and small, who does not feel in his very bones as to how those promises were kept in the four years passed? Who that is, excepting the Corrupt, the Black-marketeer and the Political Adventurer?

The Congress promises amongst other things to "Free the people from Want" and to substantially raise the national standard of Health and Education. In view of what has been done in the last four years, we are tempted to term these promises as frivolous. But maybe that Pandit Nehru imagines that he has the powers of a Messiah or a Mahdi, and that he will be able to encompass a miracle even though the forces of corruption and immorality within the Congress has been far enhanced by some new nominations!

The Congress renews its pledge regarding *Refugee Rehabilitation and Linguistic Provinces.* From our direct experience in both these matters, so far as West Bengal and the Bengali race is concerned, and judging by the treatment meted out to all Bengalis by our "brothers" in Bihar and Assam, we have no hesitation in declaring this pledge as dishonest.

The Congress has made great play with its much vaunted Five-Year Plan. This, and all such schemes, could only materialize if the Congress had first of all enforced a Reform plan within its ranks. It is true that a few good men have been brought in, here and there, in the Congress ranks. But one swallow does not make a summer, nor do half a dozen or so. We have nothing to say against these well-intentioned gentlemen who have been inveigled into accepting Congress nominations. But we have no illusions regarding the powers of those few and so we have little hopes about their ability to transform the forces of corruption and immorality that have further entrenched themselves within the ranks of the Congress.

Pandit Nehru's Electioneering

We have our position clear regarding Congress claims and promises in the previous note. We present here some extracts from Pandit Nehru's speeches and one from Sri Gadgil. There are some confessions which would be all to the good if they are sincere.

Addressing his first election meeting in Travancore Sri Nehru said he had accepted the responsibility of Congress Presidentship because he felt it would be wrong for him to run away from it. "I accepted the responsibility for the time being, realizing that the Congress is not functioning as we wanted it to.

"The Congress is not me or any group of persons, but is a force—a great movement of the Indian people. Unfortunately because of circumstances, the intimate contact, which should always remain with the people, has been weakened. I know that and I am sorry for that but we have to revive it."

It was not possible to combine the work of the coming elections and the reorganisation of the Con-

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gress. Therefore, he had come to the conclusion that the work must be taken in hand after the elections were over.

Speaking of the Congress election manifesto, Sri Nehru said it was easy to write down anything and shout slogans. "We wanted to be practical and realistic and, at the same time, as idealistic as possible. We have put forward what we have considered a realistic programme in our manifesto."

Shri Nehru stated at Madras on the 27th November that he would set about "in right earnest" reorganising the Congress—"not superficially but from below" —after the elections.

"I can do it effectively only if the Congress wins the elections," he said. "Though the Congress might have fallen into error here and there and though in many places it was in the hands of cliques and groups which weakened the organisation, the mission of the Congress is not yet over. It is the only organisation with a positive programme."

Referring to the Congress Organisation, Shri Nehru said that the Congress was evolved after generations of good work and it had got into the heart of the people and it had survived all disasters and powerful enemies. It was true that the Congress got entangled into small things forgetting its objects. It went far off from the people and worked in groups and factious spirit.

Shri Nehru stated that the Congress which was working in the Socialist direction had to go much that way, because, after the independence forces of reaction had stood against many economic programmes and plans. The Congress had to fight till the darkest forces of reaction which culminated in the assassination of Gandhiji were uprooted. The Congress had been weakened in spirit by these prevailing forces. Here he narrated how he had to "entangle himself in the Congress organisation" of which he became the President. "I took it up in earnest and I will work in earnest to fight the reactionary forces."

Sri Nehru deplored in strong terms the continuance of Madras Muslim League. He warned Madras Muslims that they were ill-serving their own community.

Pandit Nehru failed to tell the Muslim Leaguers in Madras that all would be well if they followed the example of some notorious Muslim Leaguers and communalists in West Bengal and accepted Congress domination.

Shri Nehru described the alliance of the Socialist Party with Dr. Ambedkar's Scheduled Caste Federation as a "strange and extraordinary combination."

The Congress President was amused at the Socialists' criticism that the Congress had become the "Conservative Party" of India. "Shri Jawaharlal Nehru is Winston Churchill, they say," he said. "Mr. Churchill is a very great man, misguided in the past in regard to India, but very great."

Shri N. V. Gadgil, the Union Works Minister, speaking at an election meeting in Poona said a vote for the Congress Party in the ensuing general elections would ensue ordered progress while a vote for the others would mean increased disorder and perhaps disaster.

While admitting that two parties the one in power and the other in opposition, were essential for a sound working of democracy, Shri Gadgil, who was addressing the cantonment association, put two questions. Do you want to have in our country conditions similar to those existing in France at present, where the governments are extremely unstable *or do we want to put in proper one party, which will enjoy the majority for another five years?*

In the interest of democracy, Shri Gadgil said, the failures and shortcomings of the Congress Party should be forgotten for the time being. He admitted that the Congress Party had made mistakes sometimes, but, he felt that India should have the Congress Government in power for at least another five to ten years.

Shri Asoka Mehta, General Secretary, Socialist Party, in reply to Shri Jawaharlal Nehru's remarks at Madras on November 27 last about the Socialist Party's alliance with the Scheduled Castes Federation, says that the Socialist Party has been interested for a long time in a closer understanding, and possibly integration, with the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. That such an understanding, both with the Scheduled Castes Federation and Adivasi Mahasabha could be reached only on the eve of the elections was an accident.

Shri Mehta adds: "I repeat that it is not a mere election agreement. The Socialist movement in India must draw to it the support of the submerged sections of our people.

"The basic agreement that we have with the submerged people and their organisations is that in India today we have to work for structural changes and not mere functional adjustments. It is here that a dividing line separates the Socialist Party, the Scheduled Castes Federation and the Adivasi Mahasabha from the Conservative Congress that Pandit Nehru leads today."

India's Foreign Policy

There has been some speculation of late, amongst informed circles, regarding the foreign policy of Pandit Nehru and his advisers. Mr. D. F. Karaka, writing in the November 28th issue of *The Current*, assumes that a new orientation has occurred due to the causes as tabled by him. We are unable to confirm his statement, as the situation has not crystallised as yet, but there are straws in the wind, nevertheless, which indicate some change:

Observers close to Pandit Nehru, indicate that a perceptible change has occurred in the last few months

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in our foreign policy, the sole architect of which is Nehru himself.

The hysterical rush towards Communism and its satellites has been stemmed; the hitherto unnecessarily aggressive attitude towards America and the Western Democracies has been halted. From an unreal neutrality which appeared to favour Soviet Russia and Red China on every vital issue, Pandit Nehru has plotted a new middle course: a real, balanced, defensive neutrality which while it does not hitch India to the American star, does not preclude a smooth, working arrangement with that power and the promotion of mutual respect between the two peoples.

This is perhaps the most important change that has occurred in India, and in Asia, since the Communist exploitation of Asian nationalist sentiments the effects of which are clearly seen in many Far Eastern countries.

The most important factor responsible for this change is the realisation which has come to Pandit Nehru of the true import of Soviet aims in Asia as different from their protestations.

The following factors have contributed to that realisation:

(1) The authentic evidence of and concerning Korea;
(2) The violation by the Chinese of our territorial integrity and Mao's challenge to Nehru's leadership of Asia;
(3) The change in the tone of the confidential reports of Sardar Panikkar from Peking;
(4) The circumstances in which our diplomatic mission "dissolved" in Gyantse;
(5) The confidential reports and conversations with men like Sir Benegal Rama Rau, recently returned from the U. S. who must have informed Nehru of the genuine goodwill for India still existing in the American circles that matter;
(6) The tactful, firm but friendly and patient attitude of America's recent Ambassadors to India, Dr. Henry F. Grady and Mr. Loy Henderson;
(7) The unmistakable evidence produced almost daily by our Military Intelligence of the activities of the Kremlin's Agents and Red Chinese fellow-travellers.

The situation in Tibet, following the Chinese *coup*, is clearly indicated in the following news item which recently appeared in the daily press:

The Tibetan Government has, with the approval of the National Assembly (Tsongdu), which met earlier this month, ratified the Sino-Tibetan Treaty signed on May 23 in Peking, according to a report from Lhasa.

Three high emissaries from the Panchen Lama have arrived in Lhasa with valuable gifts and ceremonial scarves for the Dalai Lama. The Panchen Lama is expected to reach the Tibetan capital by the end of December on his way to Shigatse. His caravan, comprising 1,500 camels and 600 mules, will be escorted by 2,000 Chinese cavalry.

A high Chinese official, Mr. Tung Ko-ha, has arrived in Lhasa with 2,000 more Chinese troops. One thousand soldiers from the Lhasa Garrison have been despatched to Shigatse, 57 miles west of Gyantse.

With the arrival of 500 Chinese soldiers at Gyantse earlier this week the prices of commodities have gone up in Tibet's third largest town owing to the liberal circulation of silver dollars by the Chinese in payment of services and supplies. Rice has been imported from Bhutan at Rs 100 per maund. Daily arrival of more troops in Gyantse is expected.

The Tibetan authorities at Gyantse will every week bring 600 maunds of firewood from Shigatse for the Chinese troops who have refused to use yakdung as fuel.

Chinese officers have selected the largest house in the town belonging to Tibetan officials for their headquarters. They have also requisitioned 48 other houses for Chinese troops. Later they will disperse along the Indo-Tibetan tarde route to occupy the trade centres of Phari and Yatung. They will also re-establish the checkposts, on Tibet's southern frontier, held by the Chinese in 1910, prior to the Chinese evacuation of Tibet on the return from exile in India of the 13th Dalai Lama.

American friendliness is being evinced at a high level now as the following news items would show. Appreciation of such concrete sympathy will duly mature as the public come to know:

Dr. Bryce De-Witt, a distinguished physicist, who during World War II was engaged on a research project at the atomic bomb plant in California, U.S.A., is now in India as a visiting professor at the Tata Institute of Fundamental Research, Bombay.

He is here under a Fulbright grant on the invitation of Professor H. J. Bhabha, Director of the Institute, with whom he is collaborating on a special research project.

During his proposed one-year stay at the Institute Dr. DeWitt is scheduled to deliver a series of lectures to advanced students in the field of pure physics.

In 1949-50, Dr. DeWitt was a member of the School of Mathematics, Institute of Advanced Study, Princeton University, and was the National Research Council's post-doctoral fellow in 1950. In the same year he took his Ph.D. at Harvard University.

India has received substantial help in the past, from American specialists in the River Valley schemes. Fresh aid in the same form is in the offing, in a more tangible form, as the following news-item goes to show:

The U. S. Reclamation Bureau has announced that arrangements are being made whereby five American engineering specialists will be sent to India to assist in the development of India's water and power resources.

The specialists will include a dam engineer, a construction engineer, a concrete control specialist, a

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mechanical engineer and an electrical engineer. They will leave for India early next year, and are expected to remain in the country from two to three years.

The specialists will "provide technical service and consultation" to the Indian Government and will have "consultative and technical authority, but no administrative authority," the Bureau said.

The U. S. Technical Co-operation Administration (Point Four) will pay the experts' salaries.

The Persian Tangle

There seems to be little hope as yet of the solution of the Anglo-Iranian dispute, once the oil-fields and the refineries of the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company.

All attempts at mediation from diplomatic angles having failed, and there being little hopes of the *impasse* being resolved after the fruitless termination of Dr. Mossadiq's mission, a new attempt is being made from an economic angle. Whatever the results, the attempt should be welcomed, for as time passes the situation becomes even more desperate.

The World Bank announced in a formal statement in Washington on 20th November that it would be willing to consider any proposal under which it might assist in reaching a solution of the oil dispute.

The Bank said it could enter into oil negotiations only if asked by both Britain and Persia. But the management would be willing to consider any proposal which offered some prospect of success in breaking the deadlock.

"Suggestions have been made to the management of the Bank from several sources that it might be able in some manner to assist in a solution of the Persian oil problem," it said.

"Naturally the management would be willing to consider any proposal whereby the Bank might effectively assist in the solution of an important problem that directly affects two of its members and indirectly a number of others.

"However, before the Bank could take any positive official action, it would have to be requested to do so by both Governments involved and no such requests have been received."

World Bank chiefs are understood to be examining the plan sympathetically and have already studied their statutes to see if there are any legal snags.

If Britain, Persia and the Bank accept the plan the whole operation of extracting and refining oil from Southern Persia would be done in the name of the Bank. The oil would also be sold in its name.

The Bank would be responsible for earmarking a share of the proceeds—25 per cent has been suggested—as compensation to the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company for Persia's nationalization of the industry. It would administer the rest of the income for the Persian National Oil Company.

Britain's Charge d'Affaires in Teheran, on 21st November, presented to the Persian Acting Prime Minister and Foreign Minister, Mr. Kazemi, a copy of Mr. Eden's recent statement on Persia.

The Persian Premier, Dr. Mossadiq, said over the Egyptian radio network last night: "Persia supports Egypt in her holy national struggle."

The Persian Government will send a plane to Cairo on 22nd November to bring Dr. Mossadiq home, according to usually well-informed sources in Teheran He is expected to be in Teheran on Friday.

The Bank Rate

The Bank of England's decision to raise the bank rate, has been followed by the Reserve Bank of India which has made an announcement of a similar rise in its rate. This decision has come as shock and a surprise. The increase in the Indian bank rate from 3 to 3½ per cent together with the withdrawal of the Reserve Bank's support to Government of India Securities has come with the declared intention of fighting inflation. Some people in the financial circles have all along held the view that the Reserve Bank of India and the Finance Ministry have, in their attempts to check inflation, not been utilising monetary and credit controls to the extent possible. There have always been men who differed. In their view, the more imperative need in India was price control and expansion of production. India for some more time to come should have followed a cheap money policy. The major sector of the Indian money market is, unlike England, unorganised. Alteration of Bank rate produces results as anticipated only in a country where an organised money market exists. In our monetary policy, specially at the present moment, nothing should be done which can be utilised as a handle for increasing costs and decreasing production. We desperately need lower costs and higher production. The action of the Reserve Bank in increasing the Bank rate has produced a result exactly opposite of what was anticipated. In addition, this action, followed by subsequent announcements of the Reserve Bank, has introduced an element of uncertainty in the money market which has already produced a very damaging effect on our economic field. It has been rightly criticised in financial circles that the Reserve Bank's attempts at justifying the measures it took for raising the value of money betray a lack of proper appreciation of the rights and privileges of a central banking institution. The markets are almost unanimous on this point, some have gone so far as to dub the Reserve Bank's action as amateurish. Firstly, there was no need for the long press note the Reserve Bank issued explaining the reasons for raising the Bank rate and trying to show that its action was independent of the Bank of England's decision, where a brief press note could have been sufficient. If any explanation was considered necessary at all, it should have come from the Finance Ministry. The Reserve Bank is now a nationalised institution and thus has no power to lay

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down policies independently of the Finance Ministry. But even more tactless was its supplementary press note conveying the Reserve Bank's decision to withdraw its support from the market. It is the accepted practice of the Central Bank of a country not to disclose its intentions about open market operation by public announcements. Its intention is indicated in its actions. This announcement has caused much panic in the money market which could be avoided.

In Britain, the inflation today is essentially a product of Government policy in superimposing a large rearmament programme on an already fully-employed economy. They have a case for applying restrictions selectively. The weapon of Bank rate alone cannot do this. The Chancellor, therefore, has confined his increase to a token amount, stiffening up the short-term market structure a little to indicate that money would not be so easy henceforth. But so far as the economy of the country particularly in industry is concerned, the practical effects must flow from any consequent action applied by the joint stock banks in their loan policies. In India, we have not reached anywhere within miles of a state of full employment. We have no rearmament programme even distantly resembling that of Britain. In addition, more than three-fourths of our money market is unorganised and outside the control of the Reserve Bank, being unresponsive to policies laid down by that body. In the industrial sphere we have little to select for applying restriction, while in our agricultural sphere we desperately need more money at cheaper rates of interest. We fail to understand how our Financial experts expect to obtain the same results in a country where the economy is predominantly agricultural by copying the financial policies of a highly industrialised nation. Such a policy is bound to produce very bad results in an agricultural country. Here, taking advantage of the higher bank rates the rates of indigenous finance will move up and therefore agricultural costs of production and movement will also rise and would thus make for higher costs of production. As the Governor of the Reserve Bank, the present Finance Minister wrongly advised the then Finance Ministry on devaluation which cost the nation tremendously in money and prestige. Now he has committed another blunder which has severely struck Government of India's credit at its very root.

Hinduism and the State

It has been the practice amongst a certain type of newspapers abroad to give vent to their anti-Indian feelings under any guise whatsoever. The *Times* of London has been lately thus conducting a campaign against India, the main argument being directed against the possibility of a secular State being firmly established in India. It is in reality a veiled attempt at the justification of the "two-nation" theory of the Muslim League.

The following letter written by Dr. Kailasnath Katju, exposes the hollowness of the arguments advanced. Besides contradicting the false propaganda launched by the *Times*, this letter should also serve to educate the more ignorant amongst our politicians who are in the habit of decrying all things "Hindu" under completely mistaken assumptions that Hinduism means fanaticism or orthodoxy of the nature of Islamic or Catholic bigots:

"Sir,—Your recent leading articles indicate the opinion that Hinduism and a secular State cannot go together. I suggest that your view proceeds upon an incorrect appreciation of the basic doctrines of Hinduism. In western Europe and America, professedly, the entire social structure is founded upon Christian faith and civilization. In the past the State discriminated between Jews, Catholics, Protestants, and other Christian groups; there were inquisitions and persecutions, and in England Catholics were excluded from public employment. Today law has abolished these discriminations. Its language is undoubtedly wide, but actual practice is the test, and public social opinion. Consider, for instance, the plight of coloured people in the United States and South Africa. The same considerations apply to the predominantly Muslim countries in North Africa and western Asia. The social structure rests there upon Islamic civilization.

"The Christian and Muslim faiths are exclusive in their nature. Their adherents believe that there is only one way to the salvation of mankind. Non-believers being in error, the faithful are enjoined to carry the message of Christianity and Islam among them and bring them into the fold. That duty has been well discharged, sometimes with great violence. I suggest that historical religious traditions render the establishment of a genuine secular State in Christian and Muslim countries difficult.

"The ancient Hindu doctrine, on the contrary, commands toleration of all other faiths. A devout Hindu is taught that God is one, though called by many names, and all places of worship are equally sacred, be they temples, mosques, churches, or synagogues. Therefore, for Hindus no question of persecution or of conversion, voluntary or forcible, arises. Again, the relationship between a Hindu and his God is personal. Congregational worship is neither enjoined, nor encouraged, nor practised. Accordingly, religious beliefs have never formed an integral part of the political life of the country. For centuries, so long as India remained free, Hindus, Buddhists, Jains, and other sects lived in harmony and enjoyed equal political rights. India gave shelter to, and welcomed, early Christians and Muslims and Parsis from Iran, who practised their religions and suffered from no disability whatsoever. Here there never has been a State religion so-called.

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"It was because the genius of the race so definitely inclines that way, and in the Constituent Assembly members were predominantly Hindus, that a real secular State was so readily established in India. The Indian caste system misleads but, originally based not on birth but on vocation, does not form an essential part of Hinduism. The Indian Constitution expressly abolishes "untouchability" and forbids its practice in any form whatsoever. It provides that all citizens, theists and atheists alike, are equal before the law, entitled to its protection, to freedom of conscience, and to profess, practise, and propagate their religion, and are equally eligible for public appointments. The State is not only religiously neutral, but has paramount authority to make laws governing, for example, the status of women, marriage, divorce, succession to property and other social matters, superseding existing rules, whether based on religious tenets or not. These provisions are in consonance with our ancient doctrine whereby territorial, tribal, and even family custom was a source of enforceable law, and could abrogate or modify rules prescribed by ancient law-givers.

"Finally, prohibition of all discrimination between different citizens in India is not merely lip-service but of actual day-to-day application because of the composition of its population. A visit to any Indian city would, by its many places of worship, show how diversified are its religious and racial elements. I stress again that Hindu doctrine and tradition do not countenance anything but a secular State as understood in the western countries."

The Plight of the Bengali

The plight of the Bengali people after the partition, has very seldom been expressed in so very few and so very poignant words, as by the Governor of West Bengal, Dr. H. C. Mookerjee, on the occasion of his visit to Nagpur. We support every word of his, but would add that the only hope of the Bengali is in the revival of the indomitable spirit of faith and adventure that their forbears displayed in the past.

Presenting an address of welcome on behalf of the Bengali Association, Justice Sen referred to the plight of lakhs of Bengalis ousted from their hearth and home as a result of partition and said they looked to Dr. Mookerjee with hope. Another address was presented on behalf of Mani Mela.

Replying Dr. Mookerjee said, "I am grateful to you for the honour you have done me. I am fully conscious of hardships of the Bengalis, I have had personal experience of these. Like you all here I also am a Bengali. I have seen the plight and privation of those who, bereft of their hearth and home, deprived of their wherewithal, snatched away from their kith and kin, have been constrained to seek shelter in West Bengal.

"I do not quite know what relief I can render to them. For they are so many and our resources are so limited and small that in trying to help all we might be able to help none, so little will come to the share of each.

"The Bengali is completely broken today. His pride and his culture are no more. He is a beggar today. And I am afraid, constant importunity to others will one day give rise to resentment and refusal. I do not know how you Bengalis here are faring, but to me it seems generally speaking that a Bengali today is unwanted everywhere. Our only hope is God.

"I can give you no hope, no encouragement. With the passing of every day our condition is getting worse and worse. All that I can say, is, I will try to do what little I can, but with what results is not for me to say. For to raise any hopes would be a fraud on you.

"I wish I could spend more time with you all, but I am in the hands of others and must rush back for another engagement."

Society and State

According to Indian traditions, society was the supreme expression of human association, and the State was its instrument to realize the purposes which it felt to be necessary, desirable and conducive to the highest ideals of conduct. But modern dispensation has reversed the relation; the instrument has become the master and dictator. This unnatural arrangement is at the root of the evil that plagues us. And it is time to halt and neutralize its effects.

This can only be done by recalling humanity to their true function and purpose in this world. The framers of the Indian constitution have laid it down in clear language. The Social Order, it has been said, approved and aspired to by the people, is based on the following principles:

India shall be a Sovereign Democratic Republic based on—

(I) *Justice*—social, economic and political.
(II) *Liberty*—of thought, expression, belief, faith and worship.
(III) *Equality*—of status and of opportunity.
(IV) *Fraternity*—assuring the dignity of the individual and the unity of the nation.

On the eve of the elections, we should like every candidate and voter, man and woman, to re-dedicate themselves to the service of this eternal quest of the human spirit. That will enable them to raise this process of selecting the best representative to the Legislature above the dust and heat and littleness of controversy.

Unfortunately the majority of people in this country are not only illiterate—and therefore unable to settle for themselves the line of thought and action necessary for their social weal, by means of perusing the written counsels of the wise—but are also so bewildered by the problems that beset them from all quarters, that no hopes for the future can be entertained unless a band of informed and selfless workers be formed into a mission of uplift.

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This is Politics

The *New York Times* in its issue of November 12 last gave a heading to the article of its London correspondent, Raymond Daniell—"Arguments are in Reverse"—that shows that in politics, in day-to-day politics at least, there is nothing absolute. The heading is quite justified as the description below will show:

"In the banked longitudinal benches to the right of the Speaker, there now sit Winston Churchill, Anthony Eden and Richard Austen Butler, leaders of the Conservative Government, who for six long years sat on a corresponding bench on the opposite side of the House. That side is occupied now by Clement Attlee, Herbert Morrison and Hugh Gaitskell, leaders of the Opposition.

"So much for the physical change. It is less striking than the metamorphosis that, superficially at least, has overtaken the philosophical and ideological approach to national problems by speakers for Labor and the Conservatives. Both have been busy in the last week taking words out of each other's mouths.

"It was surprising to hear Mr. Butler, a Conservative Chancellor of the Exchequer, pleading the case for more 'austerity' and more controls in almost the same words as Sir Stafford Cripps might have used. It was even more confusing to hear spokesmen from the Labor Opposition using the same arguments against denationalization of steel Mr. Churchill had used earlier against nationalization of this vital industry.

"Yet that was exactly what happened in the first week of this Parliament. Mr. Butler, faced with an economic crisis, resorted to drastic import cuts and imposed new restrictions on credit and currency. He said also that strategic stockpiling would have to be slowed down, prompting some Labor speakers to observe that if any of them had made such a proposal they would have been accused of selling out to Aneurin Bevan.

"Mr. Butler was attacked also by Maurice Edelman, a Labor member, for driving the 'last nail into the coffin of private enterprise' by raising the bank rate (the rate for making money available to financial markets) one-half of 1 per cent. And Mr. Attlee, who so often has been accused by the Conservatives of putting Socialist doctrines before the national interest, arose at one point to assert that the Conservative plan to restore the steel industry to private hands was 'a mere piece of doctrinaire private adventure.'

But the strangest of all was the appeal of Mr. Attlee and Mr. Gaitskell to Prime Minister Churchill to abandon plans to annul the nationalization of steel in the interests of 'national unity,' because it would be 'unpardonable' at this time of crisis 'to create further uncertainty' in an industry so important to defense. These were almost the very words used by Mr. Churchill in his unsuccessful effort to induce Labor to postpone the nationalization act more than a year ago.

"It was a week in which the Conservative speakers went out of their way to express their devotion to the social services and the principles of the welfare state, and in which the Labor speakers sought to prove themselves the housewives' friends by attacking proposed cuts in food imports and advocating a slashing of imports of tobacco, gasoline and wines.

"The Labor Party speakers tauntingly accused the Conservatives of a belated conversion to Socialist principles now that they had the responsibility of governing the country. The Opposition guffawed at Conservative retorts that they did not know until they took office how grave a crisis confronted Britain after six years of socialism.

"In one other respect, party roles have been reversed. In the last Parliament, it was Conservative pressure that kept Labor members in their seats at all sessions and far into the night for fear of snap divisions that might bring the Government down. This time Labor has the power to hold the Conservatives in thrall and seems to mean to use its power.

"In the last Parliament, Conservative moves to amend the King's address, which outlines the Government's program, were attacked by Labor as unprecedentedly contentious. But now Labor has adopted and accepted the precedent."

This reversed roles have emboldened us to entertain the hope that Winston Churchill will prove to be a more accommodating politician to negotiate with. In the case of Ireland he and Lord Birkenh ad took the lead in shaking hands with murder represented by Michael Collins. On this experience Deshabandhu Chittaranjan Das built the theory that the Tories in Britain were more amenable to pressure and were more ready to yield power to under-privileged classes or countries. Trusting to it, he started negotiations with Lord Birkenhead through Lord Lytton, then Governor of Bengal. It was just before his Faridpur speech as President of the Provincial Conference—his last political will so to say. That episode has not been cleared yet. One witness is still with us—Dr. Radhakumud Mukherjee. At that time it was the talk of the town that it was at Miss McLeod's house at Belur Math that Deshabandhu Chittaranjan and Lord Lytton met, that Dr. Mukherjee was the go-between. It is up to him to clear the mystery.

We will look with a certain amount of curiosity to what Winston Churchill does to restore balance to his country's economy. Politics in Britain depends now on the success or failure of his attempt. Ministries may have to come and go.

If the post-election picture is strange, stranger still is that, given by the *Worldover Press* observer, Maurice Cranston, of the mood of the British people on the eve of the elections.

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"It has been said that the British people never vote to put a good government into office. They think no government is good—only that some are less evil than others. Certainly in Britain today you will hear little passionate and positive advocacy of either party which is contending for power on October 25th. Uppermost in Labor voters' minds is the thought, 'Keep the Tories out!' Conservatives are dominated by the corresponding imperative, 'Put Labor out!'

"Prime Minister Attlee chose a crucial moment for the poll. This country is on the edge of its worst economic crisis yet. Everyone knows there will be a fuel shortage this winter, since the mines have frankly failed to yield the coal the winter will require. Before the war there were in Britain 2,000,000 unemployed people and several million badly paid people who could not afford coal to heat their homes. Now that these people have work and good pay, they demand coal. But the mines Labor has nationalized have not provided the extra coal to satisfy this new market Labor rule has created. The responsibility is one the Labor Government neither can nor should repudiate.

"But the crisis to which Britain is moving at ever increasing speed is something more serious than a shortage of coal. Her imports are rising and her exports falling, both sharply. In 1950, Britain was exporting goods worth £229,000,000 more than she imported. Despite steadily increasing output, the rise of prices for so many of her essential imports began to cut export gains in proportion to import expenditures. Between January and April of this year the balance was reversed as compared to the good year of 1950, and imports were running at £130,000,000 more than exports. Between May and August that adverse balance rose to £630,000,000.

"There have of course been export gaps before: seriously in 1947 and less seriously in 1949. The 1947 crisis was relieved by Marshall aid; the second by cuts in the social services. Both were also relieved by the general process of recovery from the war. Nothing of the kind can be expected to dull the impact of the coming crisis. The party returned on October 25th must face an economic challenge more searching than any in the history of this country.

"The surprising thing is that neither party has faced these issues at all squarely. The Tories have been rather more frank than the Socialists, but the policy they recommend is, to a degree, nebulous. More production and more work, they say, is the key to the question. And, of course, they are right. But what methods does the Tory party stipulate to achieve more work and more production? First, a return to the profit incentive. They promise to unfreeze profits and unfreeze wages. The prospect of such a program has already given heart to the investing class. and on the day Mr. Attlee announced a general election, stock exchange prices rose by several million pounds."

In passing we may remark that after the election the market crashed to the tune of a £800,000,000 fall in prices!

"The working class takes less kindly to the slogan. 'More work' means an end to restrictive practices in industry. That would increase production. But it would be a very optimistic Tory who hoped that a Tory government could succeed where Labor governments have failed in making trade unionists abandon restrictive practices. *The Economist*, the journal of informed capitalist opinion, has long recommended a small measure of unemployment as a means of keeping the working class productive. But no Tory candidate, to this correspondent's knowledge, has dared to put this policy to the electorate.

"The positive side of Tory addresses to the public have been remarkably similar to those of Labor. The ends which are envisaged—rearmament, social welfare, a foreign policy tied to U.S. and Commonwealth development—are shared by Tories and Socialists, strange as that unanimity would have seemed 30 or even 10 years ago. It is one of the ironies of the present situation that both the leading British parties should be agreed on fundamental lines of progress at a time when there is slight chance of much progress being made.

"The British public is in large measure being offered a change of man rather than a change of principle. The Tories say they will be 'empirical' where Labor has been 'doctrinaire.' This may well be a wise way of arguing. However, the Tories will probably catch more votes by complaining about the sharp rise in the cost of living, although the rise here has been markedly less severe than in free-enterprise countries like France.

"Furthermore, there is at the back of many voters' minds the belief that the United States will deal more generously with a Tory than with a Labor government. Rightly or wrongly, the British suspect that the closer a European government approximates that of Western Germany or France, the more money Americans will invest in it."

—

Anglo-Egyptian Tension

Egypt has been waging a two-front war—one against continuance of British control over the Suez Canal area, and the other against the same control over the Sudan. This she has been doing in the name of—"Unity of the Nile"—the area watered and enriched by the gift of the river Nile.

The story of Anglo-Egyptian "con-dominion" has been often told in these pages. The year 1899 which saw the defeat of the Mahdi, the prophet among the Sudanese, brought about this dual rule arrangement. But these 50 years have made many changes in the minds and aspirations of the people of the Sudan. And Britain has been trying to accommodate her policies

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to these. An appreciation of these are given below in order to enable our readers to rightly understand the facts behind front-pages news.

"In 1948, the British Governor-General promulgated an ordinance, setting up a Legislative Assembly and an Executive Council in the Sudan. In spite of Egypt's protest the plans to hold elections to the Assembly were proceeded with. Quite a noise was created at the election. The parties favouring union with Egypt, in large or small measure, formed a United Front and boycotted the elections. Anti-election demonstrations were held which were dispersed by the police. In some instances, the poilce opened fire to disperse mobs. Parties, which favoured independence for the Sudan, contested the elections.

"Those favouring union with Egypt are not of one mind. While Wad el Nil (Nile Valley) demands complete fusion with Egypt Ashigga (Brotherhood) wants self-government under Egyptian sovereignty. Ittihadian Party (Unionist) stands for Dominion status under Egyptian Crown with the right to secede. Ahrar Ittihadian (Liberal Unionists) want eventual independence through a preliminary stage under Egyptian Crown. Nor are the champions of the independence of one mind. The Umma (People's Party) wants independence now and here, the question of republican or monarchical constitution to be decided by subsequent plebiscite, while others ask for independence on republican basis. Some want independence after a transitional period under international trusteeship. However soon after the new Assembly met, it adopted by 39 votes to 18 a motion, sponsored by Umma party, asking the Governor-General to approach the Condominium Powers for a declaration, granting self-government to the Sudan before the end of 1951. Egypt at once declared that she would not be influenced by the vote of the Assembly. 'The electorate by which the Assembly was elected represented only one quarter of one per cent of population.' Egypt did not refuse self-government, but it should be on the basis of unity of Egypt and the Sudan.

"The Nile is the life stream of Egypt. The control of the Upper Nile is a question of paramount importance to Egypt. But Egypt cannot refuse to take note of the growing movement for independence in the Sudan. It might have been fostered by interested parties. That does not alter the fact that it exists."

The latest reports (November 24) from Khartoum, the Sudan's capital, are not re-assuring to Egypt and her supporters in the Sudan. The *Times* correspondent in that city anticipates the "likely" split in the "Struggle Front"—that ill-assorted groups which were trying to offer a united front to Britain and her pretensions. This "Struggle Front" is made up of the Ashigga and other minority pro-Egyptian factions. And the leader of the former, Mr. Dardini Ahmed Ismail, president of the small "Unity of the Nile" party, has retired from politics, declaring that "the pro-Unity party is not led by honest people." He is said to be respected by all parties, and his retirement is apprehended to be the end of the "Struggle Front." As we write these lines (November 27), there is no hopeful news from the Sudan.

The Communists of the "People's Democracies" label have been fishing in these troubled waters. Egypt's claim for undisputed rule over the Sudan does not constitute "shackles of enslavement" in China Communist eyes. And the real villain of the peace is not Britain but the United States.

This is the line of propaganda that the Soviet ruling class have made fashionable. Their fellow-travellers in other countries have accepted it, and propagate it with all their might. Even Indians are found in this company illustrating once again that Europe has yet an appeal to many of us. As the English-educated class amongst us used to ape Europe's fashion, so do these people do today. Political freedom has not freed them from the "shackles" of a new imperialism.

North Atlantic Pact Signatories

These 12 States, big and small—Great Britain, France, Canada, Belgium, the Netherlands, Luxembourg, Denmark, Norway, Italy, Iceland, Portugal and the United States, have been organizing themselves to halt a Soviet Union attack on their democratic habits all in the name of peace. The latter also have been making great noise about their peaceful intentions. Their Peace Conferences have become a regular feature in newspapers of the world. We have thus got used to these war-and-peace cries.

There has developed a certain competition between these group of Powers. The Atlantic group have been trying to recruit to their ranks Spain, the last relic of "Fascist" attempt to rule a civilized people, we are told. The United States, as their leader, have been nursing this idea, and General Franco is reported to be putting up his price. The matter is being discussed in the press, but owing to the prejudices of democratic opinion in the Western world, it has not come before the U.N.O.

Meanwhile, a Mediterranean Pact is in the offing with Turkey and the Arab States as partners. The Soviet Union has warned Turkey that should she choose to join it, an unfriendly act will be committed against her. But for all practical purposes there is already an understanding by which Turkey has been receiving financial aid and military equipment in order to enable her to stand up to Russia. The age-long Russo-Turkish feud is being whipped up. Strange things happen in politics, the ally of today is the enemy of tomorrow and *vice-versa*. So, the world jogs on in spite of wars and revolutions.

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Asian Solidarity

On 29th October last Burma's Prime Minister, Thakin Nu, told a Press Conference at Calcutta that he had discussed with the Indian Prime Minister in New Delhi various matters, including steps Burma and India should take with regard to Japan. Both India and Burma, who did not participate in the San Francisco Conference on Japanese Peace Treaty, were now awaiting the ratification of the draft treaty by the Governments of the countries concerned.

On the internal situation in Burma what he told us was reassuring. The general elections in the third batch of districts would be held on November 16 and the last instalment of elections was due to take place in December. According to the present schedule, the new Burmese Parliament would come into being by January 4 next year. He said that the process of coming into being of a separate Karen State was on and as soon as Karen insurrection in some parts adjoining the Karen majority district had been controlled, the inauguration of the new State would be formally done. For the present, Parliament members from the Karen areas had formed a Council for Karen affairs and elected from amongst them one as a Minister for Karen Affairs, who would automatically become the first head of the newly created State after its inauguration.

Nowhere in Burma were Communists or any other brand of rebels so strong as to face the Government forces. But as they conducted their sabotage operation from difficult hide-outs, it required sufficient troops to completely weed them out.

Burma had two five-year plans. By executing the first, the Government would 'liquidate finally' the insurrectionary forces in the country, and the other visualised nationalisation of all lands with payment of compensation.

On devleopments in Asia, the Burman Prime Minister appears to have ideas that are almost identical with India's. Speaking on Asian politics as a whole, the Burmese Prime Minister said there were some people who 'were out to cause disruption in Asia.' He did not specify who those people were but added, 'they are some individuals.'

Some countries in the East were yet to be completely free, and unless all the Asian countries were free, solidarity of Asia would not be possible. Indo-China's case is an instance of the determination of a European power—France—to continue its old practice of exploitation. Thakin Nu also informed the world that the three Prime Ministers of India, Burma and Indonesia would be meeting soon to decide their course of action.

Leaders of India's thought and life—Rabindranath Tagore, Gandhiji, Srinivasa Iyengar, C. R. Das—had spoken on Asian solidarity. It was left to Netaji to show how it could be practically done. That responsibility has fallen on men like Thakin Nu. But the greatest stumbling block to it is the separatist conceit and ambition of the Islamic world. But as a first step we would be satisfied with South-East Asia's solidarity. That is possible almost immediately if the Masjumi Party of Indonesia is controlled, and the U.S.A. does not use the Philippines to twist the idea. These two "ifs" contain the future.

Inter-Racial Relations

The prejudice of white-coloured people, or "colourless" people as Mrs. Besant used to call them, has become a subject of controversy even in the 62-nations U.N.O. Its General Assembly has been sitting at Paris for its sixth annual session, and India has lost no time in bringing her charge-sheet again against Dr. Daniel Malan's realm. The South African Premier is of Dutch parentage, and is generally known in that country as one of the Boer leaders, whose colour-conceit is of the fiercest. But under their skin the Briton is as much infected by it as his Boer neighbour. This in a nutshell is the problem in South Africa, nay all over Africa. For, the Boer-prejudice has spread, and threatens to engulf the whole continent where the whites hold political sway.

In view of the catastrophic nature of this issue, involving her children, India has been obliged to challenge this outrage on the ethical basis of human relations. She gave South Africa a Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi who for about 20 years fought for the self-respect of coloured peoples, as also of his own people resident there. They are a tiny minority of about 300,000 while the whites are 3,000,000, and the Bantus, the natives of the country are about 70 lakhs.

And since the foundation of the United Nations Organization, India, an original member, has been persistent in attempts to right this wrong. But the Anglo-Saxon Powers—U.S.A., Britain, Australia, New Zealand—have been observing some sort of neutrality which is fraught with danger to all concerned, whites and non-whites alike. This has been brought out in a pamphlet issued by the Institute of Race Relations of South Africa. The quotation below gives the argument in its reality; it also shows that thinkers even in South Africa are striving their best to rid their body politic of this poison. It has been quoted in the *Indian Opinion* as the front-page feature. The weekly was founded by Gandhiji nearly 50 years back and is now edited by his son Shri Manilal Gandhi:

> "In spite of the numerous recommendations made by interested organisations and skilled observers over the past fifteen years in particular, South Africa has largely turned a deaf ear to the warnings that unless some provision were made for the training and ultimate absorption of the rising generations of Non-Europeans as useful citizens into the community, such potential citizens would become

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a burden, if not a menace, to the society which rejected them.

"Regardless of whether one considers that such Non-Europeans should be integrated into the South African society of today, or whether they should be isolated into their own society, the problem is left untouched; for, in either event they cannot become useful citizens unless they have been given the aims and aspirations of such and the necessary training and guidance to harness their tremendous potential to a useful purpose.

"More spectacular problems, like those of the recent war, have been allowed to eclipse the urgent need of providing for the training of this vast group of people, so that today South Africa is faced with the alarming problem of dealing with thousands of Non-Europeans who, because they have been unable to see any prospects of bettering themselves socially or economically, have turned in sheer hopelessness to the idle and lawless alternatives left to him.

"Threatened by the monster they have created, the European citizens of the larger South African centres have, seemingly, still no conscience regarding their deed, and it would appear no real appreciation of the magnitude of the problem that their thoughtlessness (if not deliberate neglect) has brought about. They demand that lawless Non-European youth be removed from the Townships and placed somewhere out of the way. No one is particularly concerned as to just where it should be placed, but all are agreed that it should be removed. However convenient such a measure might at first prove, it is obvious that the problem as such would be left untouched. What provision has been made for the mounting stream of children growing daily nearer to adolescence? When they are youths will they have been offered any hope of a self-respecting, useful life within a community which values them as fellow-citizens?

"Whatever measures are taken to deal with the present ugly situation, and it is to be hoped that this will not be required to deteriorate before some measures are taken, South Africa must ensure that no stone is left unturned to transform this vital, useful energy into a national asset. More attractive avenues of employment must be thrown open to the Non-European as an incentive of greater educational qualification and higher degrees of trained skill, and every effort to settle this large section of the community as a happy, healthy and useful body must immediately be taken.

"No monies, time or trouble spent on such a campaign, could be considered too great, for, if we do not destroy this monster and remove its cause, it will undoubtedly destroy us."—*Press Statement by South African Institute of Race Relations.*

Soviet's Economic Reports

Soviet newspapers and commentaries reaching us tell us of the stupendous advance in the condition of the people from Russia to Mongolia—all under the inspiration of the "great Stalin." It has become the habit of Soviet writers to credit the Soviet dictatorship with super-human powers. It is this spirit to which R. D. Cole refers when he called Communism a sort of religion, minus belief in an after-death life and in heaven.

But there are people who question this habit and challenge the very basis of Soviet progress reports. One of them, Harry Schwartz, professor of Economics, Syracuse University (U.S.A.) in his book, *Russia's Social Economy,* gives a quick survey of its marked features from the October revolution to the 4th Five-Year Plan (1950) with State Socialism and its other derivatives. This book is reviewed in the September (1951) of the *Political Science Quarterly* of the Columbia University, and we are enabled to give our readers a summary of his doubts about the statistics flaunted before the world. The confusion created in our mind by these appears to be shared by others. The following lines are relevant to the subject:

> "On the deficiencies of Russian statistics, a perennial source of frustration to all students of the Soviet economy, Schwartz has a full summary of the present state of the debate, to which he himself has been a frequent contributor. He agrees with most other Western observers that Soviet statistics are not purposely falsified; the rapid development of the Soviet economy after 1926-27—the year the prices of which are taken as constant weights in measuring production—is the basic technical factor exaggerating the growth of physical volume of production. After 1930, the U.S.S.R. was producing many products never before made in the country as well as improved versions of goods already made in 1926-27. These new goods, valued at later prices, received a much higher weight in the measuring of industrial production than if 1926-27 prices had been used. Thus an upward bias is imparted to the official index. An additional tendency toward exaggeration exists in the case of consumer goods because of inadequate measurement of small-scale private production in the late 1920's. Thus the increase in consumer goods' production in official statistics for the 1930s reflected mainly the growth of output of large state enterprises, while neglecting to take account of the counter-balancing decline in consumer goods' production caused by the extinction of small producers."

To show that the human element is as frail in the Soviet territories as elsewhere, the following extract from the *Worldover Press* is given below:

"As a social phenomenon rather than a cause for finger-pointing, it is instructive to note that the Soviet Union, as well as the United States, has been having its troubles with crooks and corruption in high places. According to the *Leningradskaya Pravda,* one Zvyagin, Director of Store No. 6, Kalinin, embezzled over 3,000 rubles. He was allowed to make restitution, then discharged with a warm recommendation as a "faultless worker." In a new post on the strength of this character reference, Zvyagin promptly embezzled again. The Leningrad paper recounts case after case of falsified book-keeping entries, outright theft by officials, and in one warehouse the stealing of goods valued at 200,000 rubles. Similar cases of gross corruption have been reported from many parts of the U.S.S.R., for example, by the *Kazakhstanskaya Pravda,* the *Sovietskoie Gosudarstvo I Pravo,* etc. In

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one of the best-advertized consumers' unions, at South Kazakhstan, concealed shortages, embezzlements, unlawful spending of funds, and other offenses, brought losses amounting to 1,423,800 rubles."

"Santiniketan Revisited"

Under this caption is published a small article in the November 17 number of the *Vigil*—Delhi Weekly—giving the "reactions" of some of the Ashrama inmates to "the recent evolution of the Ashrama into a Government-sponsored seat of learning." The writer, evidently an old student, reports developments which, to say the least, are depressing, to people who are admirers of the poet's experiment in the making of men and women in India. Pioneers such as India's "Sentinel" have invariably experienced the drowsiness of their companions in the watch for the integrity of the soul, and Rabindranath could not expect to escape it. But we still like to believe that the men and women on whom has devolved the duty, shouldered by the poet almost alone during his lifetime, are awake to the sacredness of the trust left by him.

We will allow the writer to describe in his own way the states of mind prevalent in Santiniketan.

> ". . . all of them were symbolised in the new barriers and barricades which have been put up around open spaces,—those lungs with which in days of yore you breathed in the Eternal in space and in spirit.
>
> Tagore, observed one of the old residents, proceeded, while building up the institution, from the village to the universe. Now the city has been made the starting-point and the prayer of the administrative staff appears to be, 'O Lord God, let a city of Gold arise on this erstwhile old Jerusalem, the paradise of a poet's dreams of the divinity of humanity turned into golden vision and golden wheat, silvery song and self-sacrificing, nay, Self-realizing service.'
>
> Said another of the inmates, young in age but with his roots in the teachings and traditions established by the Poet, "The Poet has sung of the distant being brought near. Today, alas! the near has been made the distant. To go to your fellow-inmate you have to take a round-about path, for the barriers have made it impossible for you to go direct to him. Further, during working hours you cannot approach Authority as one human being approaching another human being, as you did before, but through a mediator, be that mediator inanimate like the red-tape or animate like the P. A. to the Boss. Look at the multiplicity of offices and equipments and appointments."
>
> "The human touch," remarked a third, grown grey in the service of the Poet's ideals and activities, "has disappeared altogether. Three to four decades ago the Poet described the then prevailing system of education in the country as if it were a tin of a popular brand of condensed and 'congealed' milk, untouched by the human hand, and in protest he created Santiniketan. But now even here they meet one another like the characters in the Poet's play, 'Kingdom of Cards'!"
>
> "The field has been turned into a factory," declared a fourth. "For, standardization has taken the place of spontaneity, and commercialization, of consecration."
>
> A fifth summed up the change that has come over the institution in recent months thus, Block, lock, and flock!" What he implied was that more blocks of big buildings dot the green more locks are put on policies and programmes, and the flock of sheep is increasing so fast in size that it is becoming wellnigh unmanageable.
>
> Was the omission from the Act of the words, "Shantam, Shivam, Advaitam" anticipatory of the shape of things to come? For today, wherever going round the institution one has to make a special effort to contact the spirit of Quiet, the spirit of Concord and the spirit of Cohesiveness which once constituted the glory and greatness that was Santiniketan,—a Home and Heaven of the spirit."

The writer has thus expressed his disillusionment in the last paragraph. We share his feelings with regard to the omission from the Act the words "Shantam, Shivam, Advaitam" enshrined in the life of the Ashram by the Maharshi. In the columns of this journal we have more than once condemned this vandalism. But to our sorrow neither "Visitor," the Rashtrapati by the right of his exalted office, nor the Chancellor, Shree Jawaharlal Nehru, appears to appreciate the enormity of this act of State, sanctioned by the Central Legislature by votes of the majority. This one act has pricked the bubble of democracy—respect for the feelings of millions of human beings—to us. Will it be made an election issue in the district of Birbhum at least?

These are fears that many of us share. And it is impossible to think of a bright future. This the conductors of *Science and Culture*, India's foremost science journal, do in their November number just to hand. Their suggestions are worth trial.

"The future of the Visva-Bharati: It appears to us that it will be difficult to fit in the following Santiniketan Institutions in the general scheme of a university. These are:

(*i*) The Rabindra Bhavan, which will be the national collection of all materials concerning the Poet's life and activities. (*ii*) The Sangit Bhavan, whose chief responsibility will be to preserve the correct tradition of rendering the Poet's songs, festival of the seasons, plays and dance dramas. The devising of improved musical notations, for more precise transcription of the Poet's musical compositions, will also be its responsibility. The role of the Sangit Bhavan will thus be in many respects similar to what Wagner intended Bayreuth to be, the repositor of his music dramas. (*iii*) Kalabhavan's future will depend largely on the personality and capacity of the Director selected to succeed the great artist Nandalal Bose. Creative artistic activity does not ordinarily form part of university work. (*iv*) Regarding the Santiniketan School it is desirable that the school campus should be separated completely from that of the University,

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and it should be placed in charge of a committee who are conversant with Rabindranath's educational writings including the Poet's School, and have understanding and sympathy for his ideas.

"The rest of the Institutions at Santiniketan and Sriniketan can be incorporated in a university with two main groups of activities:

(*a*) Consisting of the well-developed post-graduate departments of art, specializing in research and study of the religions, literature, history, philology and languages of the main cultural groups in India, and of Asia. When funds permit and suitable trained men become available, a department of comparative study of Western culture and religion can be opened, centered round the Dinabandhu Bhavan.

(*b*) The rest of the college departments of Santiniketan, suitably expanded for the purpose, together with as many departments of the Institution for Rural Reconstruction at Sriniketan, as can be fitted into the scheme, can form a splendid nucleus of a Regional University; we use this expression in preference to the term 'rural university' coined by the last University Commission. This regional university will be able to provide training in, as well undertake investigations pertaining to problems of agriculture, soil conservation, aflorestation, rural economics and industry, health and village rehabilitation problems, affecting part of Burdwan, Birbhum, Bankura and Midnapore districts, all of which possess similar ecological characters. It should be the responsibility of the Government of West Bengal to support the regional university financially, as well as by maintaining under joint management with the University departments, experiment stations for agriculture, soil conservation, afforestation nurseries and health organisations. Such collaboration has become the practice in the U.S.A. with very satisfactory results. It is time that a trial should be given of this procedure in this country."

History of India's Railways

The re-grouping of India's Railways centred at Bombay, has given an occasion to the Press to refer to their start and growth. We summarize from the *Sunday Times* (Madras Weekly) what a correspondent writes on the subject specially with reference to South India:

"As a purely experimental measure the construction of three lines: (1) from Calcutta to Raniganj; (2) from Bombay to Kalyan and (3) from Madras to Arakonam was sanctioned in 1845. As there was no capital in India and British capital being unwilling to embark upon such enterprises the East India Company had to accomplish these early constructions by guaranteeing a fixed rate of interest on the capital invested by the British Companies. It was on the recommendadtion of Lord Dalhousie that the construction of trunk lines was taken up by the Government, and it was Lord Dalhousie that drafted the first plans and sketched the routes for the main trunk lines. But in this plan the attention was not directed to connecting contiguous trade points, and to exploring thoroughly the trade of each district and each region through which the railway passed by a systematic construction of feeder lines. Instead, the scheme followed was to construct grand trunk lines traversing the length and breadth of the country and connecting the big cities of the interior with the big ports of Calcutta, Bombay and Madras. By 1875 most of the big cities were so connected by grand trunk lines constructed by British-guaranteed Companies who were sure of five per cent interest on their investment. Protection against famine was one of the main reasons for the railway extension in India. The Famine Commission of 1880 found that greatest mortality due to famine was found in those tracts in which transport facilities were worst. In 1884, the Railway Committee reported that the railway extension should be pushed on vigorously in India for the development of internal trade and also for the economic improvement of the people. The development of railways produced the most important effect of levelling up of prices of food-grains and also of being instrumental in helping the growth of Indian industries especially coal and cotton, not to speak of many others.

"From the early years of the present century the Government embarked upon a programme of more intensive railway development with the result that between 1900 and 1914 nearly 10,000 miles of new lines were opened up. Some idea of progress of railway construction in India may be had from the following figures: Between 1844 and 1870 only 4,255 miles of railway lines were opened to traffic, and during the next ten years another 4,239 miles were added thus bringing the total to 8,494 miles in 1880. Between 1880 and 1900 which was the period of the new Guarantee system 16,258 miles were opened up while during the next 14 years 9,904 were added, thus bringing the total to 34,656 in 1914. In 1932-33, there were 42,950 miles of railway lines opened to traffic. After this period attention was directed to the construction of interior lines with the double object of opening up of new lines and developing of traffic on main lines. Shree N. Gopalaswami Ayengar has pointed out in his Railway Budget speech (1951) that all railway expansion is starved and there is great need to open up the unopened country to the other parts of the country by laying fresh railway communications. Great and extensive areas still remain untouched by railways.

"The whole history of railway expansion in India bears testimony to the two indisputable and irrefutable facts: (1) that the railways have not merely become self-supporting but are yielding good returns; (2) that

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the railways have led to the great development of the country in every way. Hand in hand with the development of irrigation, there must go on expansion and development of railway communications also. Calculations whether the new lines will be paying or not need not frighten the authorities in view of the successful and profitable results obtained in the development of railways in India. There is a great need for railway expansion and it is the duty of the State to see that every 'habitable part' is brought within the easy reach of a railway line.

"So far as Rayalaseema is concerned many new railway routes have been recommended by both the former 'Ceded Districts Development Board' and the present 'Rayalaseema Development Board.' Plans for constructing the following routes which pass through Rayalaseema and the Mysore State have been submitted to the authorities, both Central and of concerned States. Mr. K. Hanumanthiah, President of the Mysore State Congress and also a member of the All-Railway Finance Committee, has promised that he would get these lines investigated; the presidents of Hassan and South Canara District Boards have agreed to put forward these lines for consideration before the members of the Central Government. The following are the new lines proposed:

(1) The Central Broad Gauge Railway route connecting north and south branching off at Guntakal and passing *via* Uravakonda, Kalayanadrug, Sira (Tumkur District), Chikkanayanahalli, Tiptur, Hassan and Mangalore.

(2) Converting the Metre Gauge from Hassan to Mysore and the proposed Sathyamangalam line into Broad Gauge.

(3) Metre Gauge connecting Kalyanadrug with Tumkur.

(4) Metre Gauge connecting Devanageri (Mysore State) with Hindupur, Lepakshi, Bagepalli, Madanapalli, Chittoor and Madras.

When these lines have been constructed, there will, no doubt, be a network of transport. But how they will affect irrigation and navigation throughout this vast country-side has to be considered, and that can only be done by a Central organization who are not moved by regional considerations or enthusiasms. The past has taught how the railways affected adversely the sanitation and health of the country, and the food productive capacity of India. In Montagomery Matin's annals it was told that the Tanjore area was the second biggest rice-producing region, the first being Burdwan. What they are today we know. Burdwan is malaria-stricken and flood-infested. Is Tanjore any the better?

World Health Organization and South-East Asia

The fourth session of this organization's South-East Asia Regional Committee closed its sittings during the last week of September last. Dr. Svasti Daengsvang, chief delegate of Thailand (Siam), had presided over the session, and Dr. Antonio Luis De-Sousa Sobrinho, Director-General of Portuguese India acted as Vice-Chairman. Dr. Nani was the Regional Director. Delegates from different countries in South-East Asia attended, their names being:

Afghanistan: Dr. Ghulam Haider Maher.

Burma: The Hon'ble U Khin Maung Lat, Minister for Social Services; Mrs. Aung San (Daw Khin Kyi), Director of Women and Children's Welfare; Dr. Maung Gale, Director of Medical and Health Services.

Ceylon: H. E. Mr. D. S. De Fonseka, Minister for Ceylon in Burma; Mr. A. J. Joseph, Assistant Secretary, Ministry of Health and Local Government; Dr. W. A. Karunaratna, Medical Officer of Health.

India: Lt.-Col. C. K. Lakshmanan, Director, All-India Institute of Hygiene and Public Health, Calcutta; Dr. C. V. Ramchandani, Assistant Director-General of Health.

Indonesia: Dr. M. Soerono, Secretary-General, Ministry of Health; Dr. R. H. Mamoen, Medical Officer.

Thailand: Dr. Svasti Daengsvang, Deputy Director-General of Public Health; Dr. Sombun Phong Aksara, Medical Officer.

French India: Dr. Lacour, Chief of Health and Prophylaxis Services, Pondicherry.

Portuguese India: Dr. Antonio Luis de Sousa Sobrinho, Director-General of Health Services; Dr. Pachoco de Figuiredo, Director of Medical College, Goa.

The Director deplored the insufficient funds of his Regional Committee to allow provision of quantities of equipment and supplies while under the Technical Assistance-assisted programmes equipment and supplies were limited to 25 per cent of the total costs.

The Committee in a resolution requested the Regional Director to draw the attention of the Director-General of WHO to the Committee's strong views on this question.

The endorsed regional programmes budgets for 1952 and 1953 provide the continuation of the present projects and launching of new ones in the control of malaria, tuberculosis, yaws, venereal disease, typhus and the promotion of maternal and child health services. The programmes agreed to include also assistance for strengthening educational and training institutions; provision of medical and teaching missions and refresher courses in paediatrics; launching of mass BCG campaigns; expert consultants on public health, leprosy, nutrition, dietetics, health education, population control; provision for health demonstration areas and rural health units; assistance for promoting local production of DDT, antibiotics and other essential supplies; establishment of thoracic surgery centres and assistance in plague research.

The other subjects discussed by the Committee were long-term planning of regional requirements—

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Fellowship Programme—Improvement of Dental Hygiene—control of trachoma and population problem.

There were Sectional Meetings in addition. Burma's Minister of Social Service, Mr. U Khin Maung Latt, inaugurated the Tuberculosis Conference. The Director emphasized the point that it was essential that Asia should find means to reduce the vast pool of infection. BCG vaccination did not provide the whole answer but could play an important part.

This Conference was initiated by the United Nations Children's Fund whose Regional Director, Mr. S. N. Keeny, described the purpose of the Conference. Their interest in financing the Conference was owing to the special importance of BCG vaccination in protecting children. He hoped that as a result of pooling knowledge and experience the Conference might develop methods suitable to Asian conditions for conducting campaigns cheaply enough to reach all those needing BCG vaccination. Mr. Keeny stated that UNICEF was prepared to provide supplies, equipment and top international personnel so long as its resources lasted.

Some evidence that BCG vaccination may protect against leprosy as well as against tuberculosis was placed before the Conference by Dr. Dharmendra of the Leprosy Section of the Calcutta School of Tropical Medicine. Dr. Dharmendra is at present carrying out a survey for WHO of the leprosy situation in Burma. Scientists had long recognised tuberculosis and leprosy as sister diseases, stated Dr. Dharmendra; he gave a brief account of recent research which seemed, moreover to suggest that persons who had gained immunity to tuberculosis through BCG vaccination might at the same time gain immunity to leprosy. He emphasised, however, that much more research would be needed before definite conclusions could be drawn.

The experts unanimously agreed that BCG vaccination was harmless and was to be recommended as a means of fighting tuberculosis, especially among young people, in Asian countries where there was a high rate of infection and where it was out of the question to introduce on a sufficiently large scale the costly anti-tuberculosis measures which had been successful in Western countries.

Among the more important of the Conference's recommendations were that proper supervision to ensure the maintenance of a consistently good technique of testing and vaccination was essential, as was the systematic re-testing of a proportion of the persons vaccinated in order to check the results achieved.

How History is Written!

The following interpreation of events during the "Swadeshi" era appears in a volume—*History of India*—written by two Ph.D.'s; which students of the Calcutta University have to read and accept as truth. The book was published in 1944:

> "An extremist party developed within the Congress under the leadership of Bal Gangadhar Tilak, a great son of Maharashtra, who found able assistants in Lala Lajpat Rai and Bipin Chandra Pal. The Partition of Bengal strengthened the hands of this party, and in the Surat Congress of 1907 there was an open breach between the moderate and extremist sections. Simultaneously a terrorist movement was organised in Bengal. Lord Minto took repressive measures, some prominent leaders were deported without trial . . ."

In these few lines has been summarized a whole chapter of half-truths. The terms "extremist" and "moderates" were coined by Anglo-Indian journalists, and no Indian should use it in the serious discussion which a history is supposed to contain. The birth of the "terrorist movement" ante-dated the partition of Bengal by Lord Curzon, and from a historian's point of view Maharashtra should be given the place of honour in pioneering it, for in 1897 Damodar Chapekar shot to death Rand and Ayst. About repressive measures these two historians have jumbled the dates. The "Fuller" regime in East Bengal, the organized dishonour of Hindu women caused a reaction, so also the forcible dispersal of the Barisal Conference which caused Hindus to use the bomb and revolver to terrorise the British bureaucracy and their agents—the followers of Nawab Salimullah of Dacca. Then did Lord Minto put his "lawless laws" into motion. This narration and chronology is given in order to show that cause and effect are not as represented in that piece of writing.

"Widows" of Partition

Sometime ago a Meerut news told us that a question has been raised by the case of certain Muslim women whom the press christened as "widows of Partition." The question was,

> "Can those Muslim women who refused to accompany their husbands to Pakistan apply for dissolution of marriage?"

This problem has baffled lawyers here. It is reported that in a number of cases, Muslim parents refused to send away their daughters with their husbands to Pakistan. What will be the fate of such women now? Muslim law provides for many eventualities in which a woman can apply for divorce. The Muslim law-makers, however, could not foresee the formation of Pakistan and eventually they set no provision for the dissolution of marriage on these grounds.

So far as we know the privilege of divorcing belongs in the main to the male Muslim. In the present case, the male is in Pakistan, the female is in the Indian Union. So the Muslim parents in India have taken the law into their hands and are determined to keep their daughters out of Pakistan's reach. And the lawyers are confounded.

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Shree Chakravarty Rajagopalachari

In our comments on Bengal's Governors since August 15, 1947 we referred to the way in which "C.R." as the South Indian politician is lovingly called by his friends, succeeded in re-gaining the esteem of Bengalees by the sheer appeal of his intellect and freshness. The London *Economist* writing on his retirement writes with admiration of this "shrewdly independent thinker, a realist and a moderate—attributes all too rare in revolutionary ranks." "Almost inevitably, a leader in such a struggle is apt to become embittered and to brand all who are not with him as against him. Yet, while he yields to none in patriotic ardour and determination, the clarity of Shree Rajagopalachari's thought has never been clouded by his feelings, and no crisis has ever stung him out of the gentle persistence characteristic of his speeches and writings."

The writer appears to deplore that "C.R." was not elected first President of the Republic of India, and he has contrasted with him Babu Rajendra Prasad who is noted for his wise good humour, his tolerance and his chairman's skill in evolving agreement; while another greatly respected moderate of broad views and conciliatory disposition, Khwaja Nazimuddin, is Governor-General across the border in Pakistan.

We have a certain feeling, however, that "C.R." would have done equally well, if not better, in the present Indo-Pakistan relation. His realism would have made concessions that we would not have liked.

We wish him peace of mind and rest, and expect that out of these would come out interpretations of India's culture on which he can speak and write with understanding and penetration. May God grant him peace and a long life!

Women's Co-operative Industrial Home

This institution owed its birth to the pioneer spirit of Lady Abala Bose, wife of Acharya Jagadish Chandra. We do not know that there is any other institution in India that can claim to sell goods made by women, sold by women in shops mainly conducted by them. This story has to be retold today when Lady Bose is not long with us and amongst us. When the institution was started in 1935-36, its necessity was felt as a result of experience gained by the work of the Nari Siksha Samiti (1919) with its subordinate institutions—Vidyasagar Bani Bhawan (1922) and the Mahila Shilpa Bhawan (1926). Both these combined the rudiments of general education imparted through Bengali with an intensive course of education in home industries. The original fund of Rs. 6,000 was supplied by the Central Government. Subsequent help has come from the same Government with Bengal—West Bengal as the legal intermediary. This help has been rendered inevitable by the "refugee" problem. Under this head come about Rs. 10,000; the West Bengal Co-operative Ministry supplied Rs. 13,000; and the same Government made a lump grant of Rs. 1,500, and has for about eight years been paying Rs. 225 every month as help to a women's industrial school.

But more can be done. We have been shown how in their attempts to co-operate with the "Grow More Food" campaign, their vegetable garden has been fully financing its expenses now. The Food Minister has visited the Home, now centred at Kamarhati, on lands where there had been military structures measuring about six acres with extensive *jheels* (lakes) and tanks, an ideal place for a colony of women who have been forced to earn their living while learning certain suitable industries and crafts. Promises of help have been made, but these have yet to take shape. With regard to the basic industry of weaving, it is being literally kept starved. The Supply Minister, Shree Nikunja Bihari Maity, has presided over the Home's meetings, made promises that have failed to materialise. The monthly requirements of the looms are about 1,200 pounds of yarn, while they get only 300 pounds.

This difficulty has been created by the Central Government's yarn distribution policy, and the Central Minister, Shree Harekrushna Mahatab can remove it. We draw his attention to this matter. The same difficulty is met in the supply of dyes for colouring yarn and for printing the finished products. The supply of lower count yarn has forced on the Home the necessity of specializing in the weaving of bed-sheets, of door and window curtain as also of rough towels. Shree Nikunja Bihari Maity is an unwilling partner to creating this handicap in an industry which is as much to his interest to advance as of the women who are co-operatively organized for an experiment in associated work.

The long-term plans elaborated by the Secretary are the usual things—poultry-farming, fishery, bee-keeping, electrically-driven tractor. Most of these have proved successful in the Bani Bhawan branch at Jhargram (Midnapore). On the last, we have the best authority to say that a tractor will sit idle for more than 9 months in the year. Six acres are no job for it. When these acres have been put to the utmost and best use, the enlargement of the colony will be a proposition that can be seriously discussed. This enlargement raises questions. For, there are other claimants to be considered. And a women's colony should be satisfied with its 6 acres.

Tribal Welfare in Madhya Pradesh

The three merged districts of Madhya Pradesh cover an area of 30,000 square miles and have a population of 25 lakhs, or about 85 persons per square mile. Most of the people are scheduled as aboriginals and their backwardness is a challenge to our conscience. The common features are: lack of communications,

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extreme poverty, chronic drunkenness, high incidence of VD and yaws, and a tribal system of internal government. On certain days in the week, whole groups of villages, including even children, get intoxicated out of their senses. Nudity is common in several parts and many people subsist on a diet of roots and raw meat.

The development of this region, comprised in the three districts of Raigarh, Surguja and Bastar, has now become the concern of the Madhya Pradesh Government. In spite of their potential forest and mineral resources, these districts are at present completely unproductive; and although the Madhya Pradesh Government gets a subvention of Rs. 45 lakhs from the Union Government, it is incurring a revenue loss on them.

Nevertheless the Madhya Pradesh Government is doing its best. A system of metalled roads is being built up and several bridges have been constructed. Schemes for schools, uplift centres and medical aid are taking shape.

There is, however, no definite plan of development and much of the work is on the traditional lines of the more advanced districts.

A post of an officer of the rank and seniority of a Commissioner is therefore necessary. He will supervise the work of the three district officers, select and train his personnel, co-ordinate the various activities and take quick decisions on behalf of the Government. Although this Commissioner should be administratively responsible to the Madhya Pradesh Government his appointment should be approved by the Central Government and his salary paid in part by the Centre, because one of his main duties should be to establish a closer contact between Delhi and Nagpur in this field than exists at present. He will scrutinize the expenditure and secure grants from Delhi. He will be responsible to Delhi for the Central Government schemes.

Similar officers could also be appointed in other States. The cost will be small compared with the supervision and control which these officers will ensure. They will also prevent some of the present wastage of money and manpower.

There is no dearth of good officers in our country and there should be no dearth of finances for tribal development. What is needed is a proper system of planning and proper management.

The above is taken from an article in the *Harijan* of November 24 last written by "Mohitgar" who apparently is a man who is actively associated with the uplift of the "tribals," the original inhabitants of India who had once supplied kings, administrators, soldiers and commanders to vast area in this country. Today their descendants are found retired to deep forests and hilly countries and maintaining a sub-human existence for fear of alien touch and a measure to protect their own patterns of conduct. Their progress in modern setting is a problem that is almost international, every State having its underprivileged classes. In India, there may be special characteristics of their life worth preserving. But that would require a spirit of understanding and fellow-feeling that has not been generally found in human history.

"Mohitgar" writes with knowledge, and we share his views except the suggestoins about a paraphernalia of officers, high and low. It is notorious that a bureaucracy stifles sympathy, imagination and initiative—qualities that are found rarely in the bureaucracy. Perhaps, these are inevitable. But we have still faith in human nature to hope that whole-time disinterested and non-official workers will be available for all the activities that have to be carried if India of our aspirations is to be built up. "Mohitgar" is a living example of this.

Anti-Indianism in Pondicherry

The *Press Trust of India's* correspondent at Pondicherry was assaulted at a restaurant for being an Indian, and he was asked to leave if he valued his life This is not an isolated instance; if it had been so we would not have noticed it. But it has become a habit with a small section of Franco-Indians to indulge in these pranks. They fear that the French possessions in India, small places, three or four in number will form part of the Indian Union as Chandernagore has chosen to do. And for reasons unexplained they do not appear to relish this prospect. These hyphenated Indians are indeed a sorry lot. And during his sojourn on earth, Sri Aurobindo had to tolerate their hostility. They dared charge him, the "Mother," and the inmates of his Ashram, with being more French than Indian. This because the "Mother" claimed France as the land of her birth, and Sri Aurobindo was a lover of French culture and the Ashramites had no individuality of their own.

This perverted mentality had moved them to attack the Ashram even, and in June (1947) last a spokesman of this spiritual fraternity had felt the necessity of issuing a statement explaining the attitude of the "Master" in this particular matter. We publish it as it appeared in the Indian press as a record for reference for all times.

> "He (Sri Aurobindo) feels certain and has expressed it more than once, that the different parts of India, whoever may be their present rulers, are bound to join the mother country and that India, free and united, will become a dynamic spiritual force bringing peace and harmony to the war-scarred world and suffering humanity in general.
>
> Asked whether this meant that Sri Aurobindo desired Chandernagore, Pondicherry and other French settlements in India to join India, the spokesman said: "Certainly so." He (Sri Aurobindo)

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has prophesied that these small foreign pockets in India would sooner or later become one with India and India would become the spiritual leader of the world.

As a spiritual home the Ashram as such adopts a neutral attitude towards the burning question of the day in Pondicherry, namely, the referendum to decide the future of the French settlements in India, the spokesman said. He, however, strongly refuted the notion in certain quarters that the Ashram is pro-French and referred to one of his public statements wherein he stated, nobody here (Ashram) is for the continuation of the French rule in India."

J. M. Rakshit, Rustomji Patel

Jamshedpur has reasons to commemorate the memory of two of its citizens—Dr. J. M. Rakshit and Mr. Rustomji Patel. As reported in *Tisco Review* of October last, we summarize their life-story:

Dr. J. M. Rakshit, for eighteen years Chief Medical Officer of the Steel Company, died in Calcutta on the 22nd September, 1951.

Born in 1891, he took his M.B.B.S. degree from Bombay University and his F.R.C.S. from Edinburgh. He was also an L.M. of Rotunda. He joined the Steel Company on the 1st February, 1927, as Deputy Chief Medical Officer, becoming Chief Medical Officer on the 11th November, 1931.

A first class surgeon, a popular and efficient administrator, a keen sportsman and in every way a worthly citizen, Dr. Rakshit participated in a variety of civic activities, but was particularly interested in the promotion of sports and games in Jamshedpur. He was President of the Bihar Cricket Association, of the Jamshedpur Sporting Association, the Jamshedpur Young Men's Association, the Milanee and a member of a very large number of sporting, social and cultural institutions. He was also District Surgeon of the St. John Ambulance Brigade, Jamshedpur.

Mr. Rustamji P. Patel, prominent businessman and one of the foremost citizens of Jamshedpur passed away on the 21st September, 1951.

Born on the 16th July 1888, he was at the age of 12, left on his own resources by the untimely death of his father at the early age of 32 in South Africa where he too had early gone to seek his fortune. Struggling against seemingly impossible odds, Mr. Patel made his own way in life without becoming cynical or ruthless in the process. Once fully established and prosperous, he assisted a number of young people in different circumstances to meet the difficulties which he had had to face alone in his youth.

Mr. Patel was associated with almost every known institution in Jamshedpur and Jugsalai. He was Vice-President of the Jamshedpur Notified Area Committee and a Trustee of the Jamshedpur Charitable Trust. He was a member of innumerable committees of social service institutions and it appeared to be a tacitly acknowledged convention by all citizens of Jamshedpur that whenever any worthy cause required a scrupulous treasurer in the organisation, Mr. Patel was the obvious choice.

Mr. Patel showed the deepest interest in education and had greatly contributed to the Jugsalai High School and the Jamshedpur High School both in funds and in service. He was its secretary and honorary treasurer and treaurer of the Jamshedpur High School.

Mr. Patel had left marks on the social life of Jamshedpur and he will be greatly missed by thousands of friends and admirers. A large number of institutions will find it impossible to fill his place.

Sadhan Chandra Roy

Bengal has lost an experienced electrical engineer by the death of Sri Sadhan Chandra Roy in his 72nd year. Second elder brother of Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy, Sadhan Chandra was an engineer of note to whom more than any other, the present success of the Shillong and Gauhati Electric Companies are due. Naturally enough his activities were extended to the other fields of commerce and industry. We tender our condolences. May Sadhan Chandra Roy's soul rest in peace!

Lala Deshbandhu Gupta, Lajpat Rai, O. P. Samuel

Born on June 14, 1901. He was the son of a well-known Arya Samajist of Karnal district. At home, under his father's influence, he was nurtured in an atmosphere of revolutionary social progress. He was an undergraduate of the Punjab University when the agitation over the Rowlatt Report first began. The Report, and later on the Act based on it, rudely awoke him to the realities of the Indian political situation. Then followed the Jallianwallabagh Massacre and other Punjab wrongs which reacted violently on his sensitive mind. When Gandhiji's call for Non-co-operation came in 1920, it found a ready response from him; he left College and joined the national struggle. After sometime, however, the young scholar returned to his studies as many did, but he could not keep away from the field of politics. So, while continuing his studies he found a place for himself in the Tilak School of Responsive Co-operation then led by Lala Lajpat Rai who took him into service under him in conducting the *Bande Mataram*. Deshbandhu Gupta thus had his start in journalism under one of the makers of modern India. His training consisted partly of taking down the editorials for the paper, dictated by Lala Lajpat Rai.

After leaving College finally, Deshbandhu again joined Congress work; for some time he was engaged in organising Congress Committees in his native district of Karnal. Paying a visit to Delhi for inviting some of the leaders to Karnal, he took a prominent part in organizing boycott of the Prince of Wales'

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visit. The Government's plan was to stage a welcome to the Prince with the co-operation of the depressed classes for which a conference was convened. The Delhi Congress Committee upset the plan by capturing the conference so as to carry it along the path of Non-co-operation. This success was in a great measure due to the bold and energetic efforts of Deshbandhu Gupta. He was soon elected Propaganda Secretary of the Delhi Provincial Congress Committee.

Before long, he was arrested and put into Naini Jail. It was during his stay here that he came into contact with Swami Sraddhananda and his subsequent political career was shaped by the joint influence of the idealism of the Swami and the personality of Gandhiji. On his release from jail in 1923, Deshbandhu Gupta found a job in the Swadeshi Store in Delhi. Sometime in 1923, Swami Sraddhananda founded his well-known paper *The Tej* and invited him to become its first editor. The murder of Swami Sraddhananda in 1926, threw additional burdens on him, and he had now the sole charge of *The Tej*. It was his ability as a journalist no less than the memory of Swami Sraddhananda's martyrdom, that very soon made *The Tej* a powerful organ of Indian nationalism.

The paper ceased publication for a while in 1931 as a protest against the Government of India's Public Safety Ordinance of that year when the Civil Disobedience Movement was on. He had, in the meantime, been sent to jail for a year in connection with his work for *The Tej*.

In 1942 when the Congress launched on the "Quit India" Movement, Deshbandhu Gupta stopped publishing his paper in response to Gandhiji's call. It was the only Urdu daily to participate thus in this last struggle for India's freedom. Deshbandhu Gupta was at this time taken into custody together with some of his colleagues in the paper and put into detention for a fairly long term. In 1946, he was elected to the Indian Constituent Assembly. In 1950, he was elected Chairman of the All-India Newspaper Editors' Conference, he was also President of the Delhi State U. N. Association for some time till last year. Early in 1951 he was elected Chairman of the Indian Federation of the United Nations Associations.

Lajpat Rai was born in 1917 at Sheor in Bhopal State, he belonged to a Seth family and was the son of late Ranjit Singh, a landlord in Bhopal. The family originally came from Pindri, district Karnal (Punjab), but later on settled in Bhopal. He had his early education in Bhopal and Pilani (Rajasthan) and showed promise as a public worker from his student days. He took part in all important political movements during the last decade. He was a prominent worker of the Bhopal Branch of the All-India States Peoples Conference. He was for a considerable time Private Secretary to Janab Asaf Ali, and acted as such till the latter became India's Ambassador in Washington. Later, he worked as the Secretary to the Congress Party in the Constituent Assembly; he was appointed Secretary to the All-India Newspaper Editors Conference in 1949. He was a prospective candidate on Congress ticket for the House of the People from Bhopal Constituency. He was to have left for Bhopal on his return from Calcutta after attending the meeting of the Standing Committee of the A.-I.N.E.C. A young man of amiable nature and pleasant manners he was popular in the model *basti*, the locality in Dlehi where he lived. He leaves behind him a young widow, old mother, one younger brother, three sons and one daughter, a large number of relatives and friends to mourn his premature death.

O. P. Samuel, known amongst his friends as "Siss," was connected with the advertising profession in India for 23 years. He was one of the pioneers of Indian advertising and greatly helped to improve the quality of its service. He was a delegate from India to the recent International Advertising Conference held in London. His work at the Conference had gained for India a good response from the Press abroad. This success brought him into the *Free Press Journal* (Bombay) as its manager, and his death removes a great figure from the journalistic world of India.

There were thirteen other deaths owing to the air-crash at the Dum Dum airport on November 21 last. Most of them were cut off from their career in its height. Deshbandhu Gupta, Lajpat Rai, O. P. Samuel will be almost irreplaceable in their offices. To the families of these men we tender our condolences. God grant them strength to bear this loss.

Shri Shoorji Vallabhdas

We regret to record the death of Shoorji Vallabhdas, who breathed his last in Bombay on the 14th November at the age of 64. He was associated with the old All-India Village Industries Association, Wardha from its inception, and was a member of its Managing Board. He took interest in *Go-seva* also.

His courteous behaviour, sense of humour, regular and clean habits and kindly disposition, together with his keen business acumen, judgment of men, and capacity to detect sharp practice, were pleasing to all.

He was a devoted follower of the Arya Samaj and its generous patron. About a week ago, he sent a sum of Rs. 12,600 and odd which had been lying with him to be utilized for helping constructive workers in distress. The amount has been credited with the A.-I.S.A. for being administered according to his instructions.

In the Sarva Seva Sangh, the Village Industries Department in particular, has lost a valuable friend in him. May his soul rest in peace!

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CHURCHILL'S VICTORY IN 1951 BRITISH ELECTION

Estimate of an Asian

By Prof. TARAKNATH DAS, ph.d.

In the General Election of October 25, 1951, although the British Labour Party had more votes—taking the total votes cast in Great Britain—than the British Conservatives,—the British Conservatives under the leadership of Hon. Winston Spencer Churchill have won the victory. Industrial centres with large working class population voted for the Labour, while the rural districts favoured the Conservatives. On the basis of popular votes, the Labour won; while on the basis of constituencies, the Conservatives a minority party (from the standpoint of popular votes) won. Thus this victory of the Conservatives is not a very secure one. However, ascendency of Mr. Churchill in British politics is a revolution affecting not only British politics but world politics as a whole.

To be sure, Mr. Churchill, on the basis of his former utterances at Harvard University and also Fulton (Mo), will try to strengthen Anglo-American partnership in every possible way. He will try to convince Mr. Truman that the British Conservative Party will make "Anglo-American collaboration in world politics" the cardinal principle of British foreign policy. Mr. Churchill will abandon the British policy under the Labour Government in so far as it was opposed to increased armament production and formation of solidified "United Europe" against Soviet Russian expansion. Of course, Mr. Churchill will ask for greater economic aid for Britain, so that for purely financial reasons, she may not have to supply war materials like rubber and other articles on large quantities which may be useful to Soviet Russian war economy. In fact, Mr. Churchill will try to formulate an Anglo-American Foreign Policy, as he did during the late Franklin D. Roosevelt's administration, which will be most beneficial to Britain. Indeed Mr. Harriman has been given the role of the late Harry Hopkins and the former has already gone to London to consult Mr. Churchill.

Mr. Anthony Eden, the Foreign Minister of Britain, will play an important role in helping Mr. Churchill in carrying out his world policies. In this connection, one should carefully read the speeches of Mr. Eden last summer during his tour in the United States, specially at the University of Denver. In these speeches Mr. Eden emphasised the point that Anglo-American world partnership in world affairs is the most important factor in maintaining world peace. To be sure, the United Nations is a very important instrument for furthering the cause of peace; but in the field of practical politics Anglo-American co-operation is more important than the United Nations. Mr. Eden tried to convince his American friends and audience (and he did not have very great difficulty in carrying out his purpose), that America needs British support no less than British needs American support to maintain their mutual interests.

II

In Anglo-American collaboration, the question of checking Soviet Russia in Europe will have its first place. It seems that there will be no difficulty in pursuing a common foreign policy and common defense policy which will amount to this: Germany must be utilised to the fullest extent in matters of European defense against any further Soviet Russian expansion. However, the question of economic recovery of Germany which may again become a serious competitor of Britain may be a sore point for Britain. But Mr. Churchill will find it difficult to oppose American policy of full collaboration with Germany, inasmuch as Mr. Churchill has been an ardent advocate of a United Europe in which Germany should be accorded an equal partnership.

Mr. Churchill will do his best to re-assert British power in the Mediterranean and the Middle East. This will bring him face to face with difficulties with Egypt and other Arab countries as well as Iran. It seems that the United States Government has taken a stand regarding the Iranian oil issue to the effect that Britain should honour the nationalisation of oil policy of Iran, while Iran should make a reasonable settlement regarding compensation due to Britain which owns more than half of the shares of the Anglo-Iranian Company. To avoid any anti-American reaction in the Middle Eastern oil countries, America will not take an out-and-out pro-British stand against the Iranian claims. It seems that Britain will have to accept a compromise solution on Iranian Oil issue, as it may be worked out at Washington.

In solving the Anglo-Egyptian dispute, Mr. Churchill and his Foreign Secretary will have to stick to the programme of the Labour Government, which adopted the policy of maintaining British forces in Egypt and the control of the defence of the Suez Canal and also continuance of indirect British control over Sudan. It is also certain that the Egyptians will not quietly surrender to British usurpation of Egyptian sovereign rights under the cover of a treaty. If the Anglo-Egyptian statesmen have the far-sightedness

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which is needed to solve the present crisis, they should follow the wise policy of Viscount Allenby in Egypt, instead of the present policy of aggressive demonstration of British power in Egypt. Field Marshall Viscount Wavell in his study of *Viscount Allenby in Egypt* has clarified that

> "It would have been easy enough with the force at his (Allenby's) disposal to take stern measures of repression and retaliation; but these could only make it more difficult to arrive at the friendly understanding with the Egyptian people without which our (British) position in Egypt would have been impossible."—Viscount Wavell: *Allenby in Egypt,* London, Oxford University Press, 1944, page 41.

During the era of 1919-22 when the Wafd Party of Egypt under the leadership of Zaglul Pasha was determined to end British protectorate, British statesmen of the type of Milner, Curzon, Lloyd George, Churchill and others were opposed to making any concession, unless Egypt first agreed to sign a treaty which would safeguard British rights in Egypt, to maintain forces in Egypt for the defence of the Canal and continuance of con-dominion in Sudan. Viscount Allenby, the then British High Commissioner in Egypt and a British patriot, was also an advocate for upholding British rights, but he suggested that the British should at first renounce the protectorate over Egypt and then under a new friendly atmosphere should negotiate a treaty. Viscount Allenby was denounced by many Tories of those days; but in the end his wise statesmanship prevailed. The British did end the protectorate and then a new treaty between Egypt and Britain was signed.

It is to be expected that due to American stand for moderation, Mr. Churchill's Government will not favour continued forced occupation of the Canal zone and further antagonising the Egyptian people. If the Anglo-American statesmen follow Allenby's policy, then the Egyptians will follow the Turkish example of full collaboration with the Anglo-American Powers. Bullying tactics will not work in Egypt; but it may have its repercussions against the Anglo-American Powers (specially the United States) in Arab lands. Arabs, like the rest of the world, know that Britain, without American aid and support, would not be willing to risk using force in the Middle East. If America wishes to avoid trouble in the Middle East, then she will have to make it clear to Mr. Churchill that moderation and conciliation with firmness will be the policy for them to follow.

It has been a matter of speculation on the part of many that Mr. Churchill and others may suggest that the Jews (the State of Israel) should be used against the Egyptians. To be sure, the Jews are not in friendly terms with the Egyptians and the present Anglo-Egyptian conflict has comparatively improved Israel's position in world politics. But every Jewish statesman must bear certain amount of suspicion against Messrs. Churchill and Eden, the architects of the Arab League to be used against the French and the Israelis. Furthermore, many far-sighted Jewish statesmen would regard it to be a great folly for them to encourage British aggressiveness against Egypt or any part of the Middle East. To be sure that Israel should actively co-operate with the Anglo-American Powers and Turkey for the defence of the Middle East; but it will not be to the interest of Israel to act as a mere tool of Mr. Churchill's policies in the Middle East and thus worsen Israel's relations with Egypt and other Arab States.

To check Soviet Russian and Communist Chinese aggression in East Asia and the Pacific, the American Governmnet will continue to co-operate with Japan. Under these circumstances, Mr. Churchill will have to co-operate with America. But Mr. Churchill's prime interest in the Pacific is to protect Hongkong and also secure the major part of China trade. To assure these objectives the British Government recognised Communist China. But any aggressive collaboration of Britain, America and Japan may induce the Chinese Communists to take over Hongkong which will be injurious to Churchill's prestige and Britain's vital interests in the Pacific. In the past Mr. Churchill had been very stubborn regarding the retention of Hongkong at any cost. One of the causes of the rift between Churchill and General Chiang Kai-shek was that the latter wanated to recover Hongkong while Churchill even threatened the end of Anglo-Chinese collaboration. In the Cairo Declaration, Churchill forced General Chiang to omit the mention of recovering Hongkong from the British. It is however clear that the British cannot retain nor recover Hongkong without American support. Therefore Churchill will try to play China against Japan, but will have to co-operate with the United States in the Pacific, as Australia has agreed to do.

III

Mr. Churchill during his election campaign and on various occasions has repeatedly suggested that he would try to have a conference of Stalin-Truman and himself to settle all outstanding problems and to further the cause of peace. What may be the outcome of such an effort?

It is needless to emphasise that Churchill's main interest is to protect British interests all over the world. It was once reported that while some one opposed Churchill's proposition of making an alliance with Soviet Russia, the veteran British statesman answered that he was opposed to Communism but would not hesitate to make an alliance with Soviet Russia—even with a Devil—to protect and further the interests of the British Empire. It is also a historic fact that Mr. Stalin, to get Churchill's support against the Nazis, at a conference in Washington, through M. Molotov, gave full support to Churchill against Indian Freedom, while Roosevelt and Chiang Kai-shek were

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in favour of Indian Freedom. Thus an Anglo-Russian deal may not be improbable.

In fact, Mr. Eden will have the opportunity of seeing M. Visinisky at the Paris meeting of the United Nations and broach the subject. If Soviet Russia agrees to recognise British interests in the Mediterranean and the Middle East and South East Asia, then Britain would support Soviet Russia's claims in Central Europe and the Balkans. None should forget that Churchill, to appease Stalin, agreed to Soviet demands in Poland, which has resulted in Soviet control over Poland. If such an agreement between Soviet Russia and Britain be possible (which will be popular in Britain), then Churchill and Stalin would try to induce Mr. Truman to join them in a Three-Power Pact by which America will be given assurance of non-interference by Soviet Russian and Communist Chinese allies, in the Pacific.

If such an agreement be arrived at among Britain, Soviet Russia and the United States, it may take the form of a *new super-Yalta,* with Churchill as the chief architect, Stalin as a supporter and Truman as a follower. But it should be expected that this super-Yalta will not last very long as Neville Chamberlain's pact with Hitler at Munich, which had the full support of Franklin D. Roosevelt and his supposedly anti-fascist advisers. So far as Britain will be concerned, this agreement with Stalin will be definitely directed against economic and political recovery of Japan, Asian countries and Germany which will become a source of greater tension in these lands, which might later on give a chance to Soviet Russia to win over Germany, Japan and other Asian countries in the ever-widening sphere of expansion. Will Truman agree to any such agreement?

IV

Mr. Churchill is no friend of the Asian peoples. His attitude towards them has been typically fascist —political, economic and racial imperialism. He was not only opposed to Indian Freedom but he was one of the main architects of partition of India. He wholeheartedly supported the Moslem League of Jinnah and his programme and gave every possible aid to bring about Pakistan which is a cancer on the side of India. During the Hyderabad dispute his sympathy and support was for the Nizam and opposed to India. It is notorious that Mr. Churchill and his friends have been actively supporting Pakistan in regard to Kashmir dispute.

India knows that irrespective of any political party, Churchill has been and remains an enemy of India and his government will do its best to use American support against India's vital interests. This will force India, unless America can convince the Indian public that America is not anti-Indian, to seek support from elsewhere. It would mean that India will try to cement Indo-Chinese-Russian collaboration and support Egypt in every possible way except going to war against Britain. There is certain indications in this direction. Mr. Panikkar, India's Ambassador to Peking, is going to attend the United Nations Session in Paris where India will again champion the cause of Communist China for the Seat of the Security Council. It has been also reported that Mr. Nehru has given an interview to the effect that he favours Egyptian sovereignty over the Suez Canal.

In case Mr. Churchill continues to pursue anti-Asian policies and receives American support the result will be the rise of anti-Anglo-Americanism all over Asia, including Japan. The Japanese have not forgotten that Churchill was opposed to any compromise with Japan before the Pearl Harbour attack. In fact, the Japanese believe that Roosevelt's unbending opposition to Japan was partially, if not greatly, due to Churchill's anti-Japanism. Nationalist China as well as Communist China is opposed to Churchill's policies. Today Iran, Egypt and all the Arab States are suspicious, if not hostile to Churchill's policies. Any mistake in dealing with Asian countries, following Mr. Churchill's demands which may ignore sovereign rights of Asian countries, will be utilised by Soviet Russia to spread her influence in Asian lands.

To be sure, Anglo-American Powers with their Atlantic Allies and with the support of Japan, Germany and Turkey will be able to hold their own against any combination of Powers in favour of Soviet Russia in Europe and Asia. Wise statesmanship on the part of America demands that, due to British policy—Churchillian policy—against Egypt, India and other Asiatic peoples may not be induced to make a common cause with Soviet Russia.

I wish to emphasise that Indian statesmen should realise that their making a common cause with Soviet Russia, to check any possible mischief which might be caused by Churchill's policies, will be most dangerous for the future security of the State. The safest policy which should be pursued by India is, while preserving friendly rtlations with other nations, to have close collaboration with the United States, Japan, and that China which is not an ally of Soviet Russia. This will further the cause of her national security and Asian independence.

New York City, November 4, 1951

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IRRIGATION IN INDIA

Its Past and Present

By Prof. C. B. MAMORIA, M.A. (Geog.), M.Com.

The success of agriculture certainly depends in a very large measure upon, *inter alia*, adequate and regular water supply. There are many reasons why the cultivation of land in this country is not as efficient comparatively and as productive per unit of land cultivated or labour employed as in other countries, notwithstanding certain advantages of soil and climate. Amongst these, the scarcity, uncertainty or irregularity of water supply may easily rank the highest. The main source of our water supply needed for agriculture is, of course, the annual rainfall. Thanks to the wonderful working of Nature, rains come to water the parched lands on more or less fixed date so as to facilitate the several stages of agricultural operations nicely dovetailing them one into the other.

Necessity of Irrigation

The rainfall, though on the whole abundant, often fails, on an average once in a decade, *e.g.*, the normal annual rainfall varies from 460 inches at Cherrapunji in the Assam Hills to less than 10 ins. in Western Rajputana. This shows that not only is the rainfall inadequate but it is also unequally distributed throughout the seasons. By far the largest portion of rain in the country (except south-east of the Peninsula) falls between June and October. During the rest of the year it is very little. It is because of this tendency of rainfall and its liability to failure that before the era of railways and canals "ghastly famines ravaged the country periodically and scarcity was the common lot of the people over large areas in many years."[1] Thus the water is not available precisely as and when it is required though in the same season it may be in excess in some parts and deficit in others. Where it is in excess it causes heavy floods which damage the land or standing crops; while where it is deficient it creates conditions of scarcity bordering upon or eventuating in a famine. Successful cultivation cannot be assured for any considerable period unless facilities are available for watering crops artificially when necessary.[2] "It was because of the realization of the supreme importance of irrigation that in India it has been practised, from time immemorial, to supplement and conserve the rainfall by construction of wells and storage reservoirs, and by bunding streams."[3]

Some Crops Require More Water: Besides, some crops like rice and sugarcane require a regular and abundant water supply which is rarely provided except in the most favoured regions. The intensive cultivation of land under the pressure of increasing population has made second or winter crop necessary and this requires artificial supply of water in the absence of winter rains.

Earlier Cessation of Rainy Season: In some years the rainy season ends earlier when agriculture requires more water. So if crops are not watered, India has to face the terrible famines which cause untold miseries and hardships to the population. So in order to overcome these chronic droughts irrigation is necessary.

Geographical Factors Favouring Irrigation

There are certain geographical factors which have led to the development of irrigation in India. They are:

(1) The rivers rising from the Himalayas are perennial, as they have their courses through the perpetual snows of the Himalayas, which give them constant supply of waters.

(2) The slope of the plains is so gradual that the canals which are taken out in the upper courses of the rivers can easily irrigate the land in the lower valley.

(3) There is an utter absence of the rocky ground in the northern plains and this enables the easy cutting of the canals.

(4) The soil is fertile which makes the greatest use of irrigation and

(5) The clay in the sub-soil is in such a depth that acts as reservoir for the rain water which sinks through the porous alluvium of the plains and which is later tapped by wells.

Different Types of Irrigation Works

The geographical factors have determined the predominance of a particular kind of irrigation method in the particular portion of the country. There are three main types of irrigation works—canals, wells, and tanks. All those sources irrigate about 50 million acres of the Indian soil. Of this area, about 50 per cent is irrigated by canals, 30 per cent by wells, 10 per cent by tanks and 10 per cent by other sources.

All kinds of irrigation works are not suitable for every kind of soil, *e.g.*, the alluvial tract is specially suitable for canals and wells, in the crystalline tracts irrigation from tanks is most extensive and in the Deccan tract a considerable area is cultivated under wells.[4]

The area under irrigation in India is over 50 million acres. This is the largest of the areas irrigated in any country of the world, two and half times the area irrigated either in U.S.A. or in Pakistan. The acreage irrigated in India exceeds the combined acreage under

1. Bernard Darley: *Economic Problems of Modern India*, Vol. I, p. 148.
2. *Ibid*, p. 148.
3. *Report of Royal Commission on Agriculture*, p. 325.
4. H. S. Chatterjee: *Indian Economics*, p. 222.

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irrigation in U.S.A., the U.S.S.R., Japan and Italy.[5] These five countries, between them, occupy roughly ten times the area of the Indian Union. The following table gives the extent of irrigation in India as compared with Pakistan:

Irrigation in India and Pakistan, 1945-46
(in thousand acres)

Region	Irrigated area	Net area sown	Irrigated area as percentage of net area sown
Undivided India	70,700	286,216	24.5
India	48,228	236,808	20.2
Pakistan	22,482	49,418	45.0

The length of India's irrigation channels is over 60,000 miles, more than two and a half times the circumference of the earth. Years ago Sir Charles Trevelyn observed:

> "Irrigation is everything in India. Water is more valuable in India than land, because when water is applied to land it increases its productivity at least six-fold and generally a great deal more; and it renders a great extent of land productive."

In India, irrigation has a two-fold purpose, *viz.*, a protective purpose to ward off the famine in certain areas and a productive purpose to increase the productivity of the soil.

Well Irrigation

The well-irrigation is the most important and most indigenous form of irrigation in India. It is well suited to the poor farmer, because it is cheap to build, it requires no elaborate machinery to work it, and does not need any specialised engineering skill to build or work it. The wells used include fissure wells in rocks, spring wells and tube-wells which vary considerably in depth, or tubes of small base from which by power pumping large supplies of water can be obtained continuously throughout the year.[6]

Well-irrigated Areas: Well-irrigation is more important in:

(1) The Indo-Gangetic basin. The Western U. P. is particularly noted for well-irrigation. In fact, "the whole of the area from Benares to Delhi is drilled like a seive with wells of ten to fifteen feet depth."

(2) The southern black cotton soil tract and Bihar and Assam.

(3) The sub-montane areas on the eastern side of the Western Ghats including the southern districts of Bombay and Madras especially Coimbator, Madura and Ramnad.

(4) The sub-montane regions of the East Punjab, U.P. have 51.5 per cent of its irrigated area covered by wells, the Punjab 25.4 per cent, Bombay 14.0 per cent, Madras 17.8 per cent, Bihar and Orissa 11.7 per cent, the total area irrigated by wells in India being 11.7 million acres.

The method of lifting water differs in different parts of the country and to a very great extent the method adopted is the most suitable for that area.[7]

Well-irrigation has definite advantages of its own which make something like 30 per cent of the total irrigated areas in this country come to be served by this means. Because the well water entails trouble on the part of the cultivator for raising it from varying depths, he is naturally careful and economical in its use. Due to the high cost of lifting water from the well, it is generally used for high-grade crops. Its *prorata* burden is consequently reduced and benefit increased. It has been estimated that well-irrigated land is more important than canal-irrigated land. No doubt well-irrigation serves in bulk large areas from a single system; and so has helped to bring what were practically desert regions under the plough. The canal also helps to improve the chances of well-irrigation.

There is still a large scope for the expansion of well-irrigation in India. The Royal Commission on Agriculture thought that every effort should be made to encourage the formation of co-operative societies for the construction of wells. The Government should also on its own initiative construct wells in the rural area and grant literally *takkavi* loans for the purpose, and levy reasonable charge on those who utilize the well-water for irrigation. The limit of great irrigation works have been reached, more attention will have to be paid in future to sub-soil water as the source of supply for new fields to be developed to meet the ever-increasing pressure of population on land.

As early as 1903 the Indian Irrigation Commission maintained that there was no single province in India in which irrigation from well might not be very largely extended with advantage and that in areas where sub-soil water lies close to the surface of the soil, well-irrigation is actually preferable to canal-irrigation. Recently, considerable official encouragement has been given to the construction of wells under the 'Grow More Food' campaign. The Famine Inquiry Commission of 1944 had recommended that the State should encourage the development of private wells

5. The approximate area under irrigation in these countries is: India 50 million acres; U.S.A. 20 m. acres; U.S.S.R. 8; Japan 7; Egypt 6; Mexico 5.7; and Italy 4.5 million acres.

6. *Agricultural Commission Report*, pp. 232-33.

7. The following are the more popular means of raising water from a lower level to that which will command the area to be irrigated:

(1) The single mouth with a self-delivery tube which automatically empties the water when it comes up to the mouth of the well. In U.P. they are not provided with self-delivery tubes, hence an additional man is needed for emptying the leather bag when it comes at the mouth of the well.

(2) Where underground water is abundant Persian wheels are also used, as in Rajputana, Punjab, Kathiawar, and Bombay.

(3) The *Dhekli system* is a crude contrivance for raising water. It consists of a long pole working on a post and weighed commonly with compact mass of mud at one end and a bucket attached by a long rope to the other end. The water is raised in small quantities and the process is very weary and monotonous. Vegetable growers adopt this system with great convenience and economy.

(4) The *Boki system* in which two men stand on opposite sides of the water-pit holding the strings attached to flattened out leather basket throw water from a low level to a high one.

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by: (*a*) the collection of full information as regards subsoil water supply, (*b*) the appointment of a special staff charged with the duty of advising and assisting the villager in the sinking of wells, (*c*) the grant of *takkavi* advances, and (*d*) the introduction of more efficient means of lifting water especially in tracts with a deep water table.[8]

Tube-wells are comparatively of recent development in India. Technical advice and assistance are given by the Government Department for their installation, usually for moderate fees. Four conditions are in general essential for the success of a tube-well irrigation scheme, *viz.*, (1) the flow of water in the subsoil must be adequate to meet the surface demands, thus ensuring a stable water table; (2) the depth of this water table below the ground level must not ordinarily exceed about 50 feet; (3) the irrigation demand must prevail over a wide tract for an average period of not less than 3,000 hours in a year; and (4) electric power must be available over the tract in question at a rate not exceeding half an anna per unit.[9]

The use of tube-wells and power-driven plants for irrigation purposes have been of very recent origin in India. These wells have an advantage over canals in this that the water can be taken directly at the places required and the flow on the spots takes place by gravity *e.g.*, in the Ganges Valley it has been estimated that the most economical well is that which yields 33,750 gallons per hour. The area that may be irrigated from such a well is a variable factor and depends upon the climate, crop and soil conditions but on an average it may be said that it can irrigate at least 120 acres of sugarcane and 300 acres of *Rabi* crops. The cost of pumping water depends upon the efficiency of the pumps, the detph of water and the price of electricity or other sorts of fuels.

Tank-Irrigation

Tanks and embankments are a special feature of the Deccan. The rivers of the Deccan are not snow-fed and they are solely dependent upon rain water. There are many streams which become torrential during the rainy season but dry up in the season when the rain ceases. The undulating character of the region together with a rocky bed makes the construction of wells prohibitive. Moreover, as the hard rock does not suck up water so wells also cannot be made there. But the tanks can be easily made by means of constructing dams in hollow spaces in which rain water is stored in large quantities for distributing a regular supply of water through the channels to the arable lands in the winter season. Lastly, the scattered population of the tract also favours the system of tank-irrigation. So this is the only possible and efficacious method by which the abundant rain water can be conserved that would otherwise flow out uselessly into the ever-hungry ocean. Tank-irrigation has reached its highest perfection in the south, specially in Madras.

The tank may vary in size. It may be any thing from a work like Lake Fire and Lake Whiting in Bombay or Periyar Lake in Travancore State to the very small village tank capable of irrigating about 5 acres or even less. The large works are few in number, need considerable technical assistance and require a large expenditure of money to make them reasonably safe against breaches. Government agency alone is, therefore, suited to the construction and maintenance of such works. But there are numerous small units scattered all over the country, the maintenance and repair of which by a Government Department might be said to offer as difficult a problem as maintaining village tanks in repair. Further, it has come to be regarded as an axiom by Irrigation Engineers that it is less costly in the long run to allow these works to breach every 15 years or so than to go the expense of preventing breakdown under abnormal conditions. Their upkeep should be entrusted to the village communities concerned who can give the requisite attention in time. This needs the formation of broad policies and the enactment of suitable laws to make the policies effective.

Canal-Irrigation

Canal-irrigation is the most important form of irrigation in India because of its cheapness, and the ease and certainty with which water is supplied. The irrigation canals of northern India which turn to productive use the water of the Indo-Gangetic system rank amongst the greatest and the most beneficent triumphs of modern engineering in the whole world. The canals in India are of two classes, *viz.*, inundation canals and perennial canals.

Inundation and Perennial Canals

The inundation canals are drawn directly from the rivers without making any kind of barrage or dam at their head to regulate the flow of the river and the canal. They get water when the river is well-flooded and not when the water-level of the rivers is low. But as soon as the flood subsides and the water-level of the rivers is reduced below the level of the canals' head, these canals dry up. The great defect of these canals is that the water supply is quite uncertain. They provide irrigation mostly during the rainy season. During the dry season when irrigation is needed most these canals are useless because of their dryness.

On the other hand, the perennial canals are constructed by putting some form of barrage across the river which flows throughout the year, and diverting its water by means of a canal to be irrigated. Such canals are independent of the natural level of the water in the river. Within this class falls the canal system of the East Punjab and Uttar Pradesh.

Ways of Charging Water Rates

The charges for irrigation water are levied in

8. *Famine Enquiry Commission Report*, pp. 135-136.
9. *Famine Enquiry Commission Report* (1945), pp. 133-134.

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different ways in the different provinces, *e.g.*, in Madras and Bombay different rates of land revenue are charged according as the land is irrigated or not. The former includes the water rates. In other parts of India, the water rate is a separate charge and is adjusted to the benefit received approximately. The area actually irrigated is measured and a rate is charged per acre according to the crop grown. By this means the water rate is adjusted to the service rendered. Lower rates are charged where water has to be lifted to a higher level; while where the mere flow of water by gravitation irrigates the land, the rates are somewhat higher. In some cases the outlets of canals for water are rented for a lump sum; or the charge is made according to the volume of water actually used. But these methods have proved cumbersome and unpopular. Water rates, therefore, on the whole follow the principle of "No crops, no charge." The cultivator naturally dislikes to be liable for water rates which have no connection with the area under cultivation or the quality of the crop raised.

The rates, it may be added, vary from Province to Province. Even in the same province they vary according to the nature of the crops, *e.g.*, for sugarcane it vraies from Rs. 7-8 to Rs. 12 in Madras; from Rs. 9 to 11 in East Punjab and from Rs. 5 to 12 in U.P. Similarly for wheat it varies from Rs. 4-4 to Rs. 4-4-7 in East Punjab and in Madras, and Rs. 3 to 5 in U.P.

If extra crops are grown and additional water is needed an extra charge is made for the same. If the crop fails to mature, or if the yield is less than normal, either the whole or part of the irrigation assessment is remitted. In contrast with this practice, in West Bengal and Madhya Pradesh, there is a system of long-term fixed charge whereby the cultivator pays a small rate for a term of years, whether or not he takes the water. This practice is suitable for these provinces as the normal rainfall there is generally high and may be depended upon for the required water supply. Artificial irrigation is thus a kind of luxury for which the cultivator would not pay a high rate, as he would not ordinarily need extra water costing excessively in his judgment.

Irrigation works have nevertheless been constructed to guard against possible failure of rains; and so the most acceptable method seems to be to make an initially lower charge, which makes water available to the cultivator when he wants it during the terms of years for which the charge is fixed. From the viewpoint of the cultivator this is also economical as he need not wait till the last moment for the water he may need. And from the point of view of the Government also, it is fair as a certain minimum charge is assured to ease the burden of interest and maintenance charges.

Government Classification of Canals

Canals are classified by the Government in a different way. Before 1921, they were classified as (*i*) Productive, (*ii*) Protective and (*iii*) Minor.

(*i*) *Productive works* are those which are expected to yield a net revenue sufficient to cover the interest charges on the capital invested within ten years of their completion. Such works are financed from the general revenue or more often from funds raised on Government security. Most of the largest irrigation works in India belong to this class.

(*ii*) *Protected or unproductive works* are not expected to yield a direct return but are a mere measure against famines. They are financed from the current revenues, generally from annual grants for famine relief and insurance.

(*iii*) *Minor works* are small works for which detailed capital or revenue accounts are not maintained. Such works may be productive or unproductive.

Since 1921, this classification has been abolished. Now loans can be raised for any work of public utility. Now all irrigation works for which capital and revenue accounts are kept are classified under two main heads: (*i*) Productive and (*ii*) Unproductive. A third category is those of which capital accounts are not kept. The following table shows the area irrigated by Productive, Unproductive and Minor works during 1945-46:[10]

Province	Productive works (Acres)	Unproductive works (Acres)	Minor works (Acres)
Assam	..	..	3,401
Bihar	654,520	122,324	..
Bombay	4,246	456,527	180,320
C. P. and Berar	..	709,109	56,708
East Punjab	3,644,110	27,814	..
Madras	4,534,713	409,515	1,421,999
Orissa	..	339,564	282,577
U. P.	4,069,841	1,801,497	82,438
West Bengal	..	265,256	..
Total India	12,907,430	4,131,636	

Development of Irrigation

During the last sixty years there has been a steady growth in the irrigation from the State works. The total area irrigated was 10.5 million acres in 1878-79. It rose to 28.1 million acres in 1919-20, to 28.33 million acres in 1922-23, to 28.2 million acres in 1926-27, to 31.64 m. acres in 1929-30, to 32.5 m. acres in 1936-37 and 48.2 m. acres in 1945-46.

The main increase has been in the class of productive works, which irrigated 4½ million areas in 1878-79, 10.5 million acres in 1900-1, 20.76 million acres in 1926-27; 23.50 million acres in 1929-30 and 27.73 million acres in 1935-36 and 26 million acres in 1941-42.

New Schemes

During the last five years there have been considerable activities in all parts of the country in connection

10. *Indian Year Book*, 1949, p. 431.

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with the new irrigation and hydro-electric projects. After preliminary or detailed investigations, a large number of new construction schemes have been taken up. Some of these schemes are purely for purposes of irrigation, some are purely for generation and transmission of hydro-electric power but there are others which are multipurpose in nature.

Today 135 such schemes, at a total of Rs. 590 crores are under construction in different parts of the country. Twelve of these may be called major projects, costing over Rs. 10 crores each and Rs. 439 crores in all. There are 24 medium-sized projects costing between Rs. 2 and 10 crores each, Rs. 103 crores in all. In addition, there are 99 smaller schemes costing less than Rs. 2 crores each and Rs. 48 crores in all. It will take six to ten years before these projects are completed; it will take a few years more for irrigation to be developed fully and yet a longer time to build up the load for the entire hydro-power potential that will be developed by these schemes.

Water Resources Dispute between India and Pakistan

A dispute has arisen between the East and the West Punjab Governments regarding the supply of water by East Punjab to the Central Bari Doab and the Dehalpur Canals in West Punjab. With the partition of the Punjab, the Upper Bari Doab canal system has been dissected diagonally, and about 40 per cent of the area hitherto irrigated by the Upper Bari Doab Canal now lies in West Punjab. Secondly, the Ferozepore headworks lie in East Punjab, whereas the Dehalpur Canal and the Sutlej Valley Canals, which take water from the Ferozepore head-works with their entire irrigated area are in West Punjab. As the sources of supply of water are in East Punjab, while the areas hitherto irrigated from these are located in West Punjab, an inter-dominion conflict on the ownership of and rights to canal waters has arisen. In December 1947, the East Punjab and the West Punjab Governments entered into a stand-still agreement for the supply of water to West Punjab. Thereafter the Government of East Punjab contended that the proprietary rights in the waters of the rivers in East Punjab vested wholly in them. The West Punjab Government agreed that after a period of two years from June 1948 during which it would receive water as usual in gradually diminishing quantity, it would try to create alternative sources. The Government of East Punjab does not want that West Punjab should take this water in future. It wants to go ahead with the Bhakra Dam Project, for which it has to draw water from this source. The East Punjab Government also wants to utilise waters of the river Beas for bringing land under irrigation in South-East Punjab, particularly in the districts of Hissar and Rohtak where there was a famine in 1939. This quarrel regarding the use of water from East Punjab canals and head-works by West Punjab cultivators has taken the form of a dispute in International Law.

Economic Effects of Canals

The economic effects of the development of canals on agriculture, population, trade and industry are tremendous in places of habitually deficient rainfall like Rajputana and the areas that lie in the famine zone like U.P. and C.P. and Deccan Plateau. The irrigation facilities in these provinces have averted the great disaster that might be brought by the chronic droughts and saved millions of people from death. It is said and not without foundation that India adds every year an Egypt to its lands. They have banished the grim spectre of famine and brought peace, prosperity and a higher standard of living to the whole country.[11] Various parts of India which were once treeless, waterless, sunburnt waste-lands have now been converted by the beneficent hand of man into flourishing lands. As Mr. Darling puts it, "The colonies have, in fact, opened (for the Punjab) an era of prosperity undreamed of in the past."[12]

The increase in irrigated lands has been a boon to the cultivators for not only is the out-put of their fields ensured in ordinary years of drought but also the amount of produce is very largely increased in ordinary years at a comparatively low cost. Mr. Mukhtar Singh was of opinion that artificial irrigation can step up production by 26 per cent. Dr. Sudhir Sen asserts that increase in yields due to irrigation is considerable, in case of rice the increase is 50 per cent and in case of wheat 66 per cent. The experiments conducted on paddy and wheat under irrigated and non-irrigated conditions in Madras, Madhya Pradesh and Uttar Pradesh confirm that irrigated crops, if well managed, yield twice or three times in comparison to rain-fed crops. The Advisory Board of I.C.A.R. holds that the production of irrigated crops per acre is on an average 50 to 100 per cent higher than that of the unirrigated crops in the same locality.

In almost all parts of the country commercial crops have always monopolized irrigated zones. Thus jute is confined to the fertile Ganges-Brahmaputra delta and we are told that river inundation bringing down rich alluvial deposits enables the cultivator to plant this exhausting crop year after year without expenditure on manure.[13] Of sugarcane we learn that in Uttar Pradesh and Bihar the crop is entirely irrigated, elsewhere it depends for the most part upon the sufficiency and the timeliness of the monsoon rainfall.[14] It is but natural that where irrigation is available, commercial crops enjoy precedence at the cost of food-crops.

Besides making the land productive canals afford a

11. Bernard Darley: *op. cit*, p. 167.
12. Darling: *Punjab Peasantry in Prosperity and Debt*, p. 119.
13. Cotton: *Hand-book of Commercial Information*, p. 141.
14. *Ibid*. p. 156.

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good means of transport and communication. No doubt railways can afford transport and communication but canals can do something more than this. They can ensure and enhance the productivity of soil by providing water supply which railways cannot do.

Financially considered, irrigation works are a great source of revenue to the Government of India. When the cultivable tracts of land are brought under plough the Government charges water rates, land revenue and other taxes on the commercial and industrial activities connected with them. Thus as Mrs. Knowles writes:

> "The irrigation works have made security of life, they have increased the yields and the value of the land and the revenue derived from it. They have lessened the cost of famine relief and have helped to civilize the whole region. *In addition they yield a handsome profit* to the Government of 7 to 8 per cent."[15]

"But the benefits of irrigation," in the words of Sir Bernard Darley, "cannot be measured only by Government receipts nor indeed by the area irrigated."

India has an ever-growing population which must be fed; the time is not far off when every available acre will be cultivated and still more land will be required to raise food for the multitude. The only remedy for this desperate situation will be to increase the yield from the land already under cultivation. Much has already been done in this direction with the help of canal irrigation. The cheaper classes of grain, more particularly millets and pulses, have given place to good rice and wheat, and the diet of the people has improved accordingly. The yields also have been increased enormously with the introduction of improved seed by the Agricultural Department. Much, however, remains to be done and it is safe to say that with better seed and more efficient cultivation the yield from crops in India can be increased by 30 to 50 per cent, according to the location of the land. As the pressure of population on land increases the value of these great irrigation works, constructed in the past, will become more and more apparent. In the mean time, they have banished the grim spectre of famine and brought peace, prosperity and a higher standard of living to the whole country.[16]

Defects of the Canal Irrigation

Irrigation water when misused spoils the soil beyond repair. Mr. Pugh traces back the history and remarks that soil civilization in the Middle East disappeared because of misuse of irrigation water. The Agricultural Reorganisation Committee of U.P. (1948) points out that at some places yield of crop decreases due to irrigation water. This is due to: (a) a greater demand on soil nutrients to produce higher yields, (b) the leaching effects of irrigation and (c) connection of injurious salts in the upper layers of the soil.

Canal irrigation, however, suffers from a very serious defect against which it is very necessary to guard effectively. An abundant supply of water from the canals for irrigation does not only lead to a great waste of water but also what is more serious it causes water-logging and salt-effervescence.

"Waterlogging may be defined," says Professor Brij Narain "as the rise in the level of the sub-soil water which renders land unfit for cultivation."

The approach of the danger is marked by certain well-known stages which have been very lucidly described by him thus:

(*i*) For one or two years *barani* crops are unusually successful, and there is a spontaneous growth of the rich crop *maina*.

(*ii*) In the third year patches of *kallar* begin to appear on the affected soils and the seed does not germinate on these patches.

(*iii*) The yield begins to diminish and the patches extend till they cover the whole field.

(*iv*) Depressions in close proximity to the canal remain permanently damp and have water of a rusty colour.

(*v*) An obnoxious odour is emitted by the abadies and the drinking water tastes raw.

(*vi*) The spring level rises and comes closer up to the surface of land.[17]

What happens actually is that the salts of the soil come up to the surface with the rise of the sub-soil water-level. The canal acts in two ways in causing this phenomenon. They intersect drainage lines and cause rain or flood water to be held up. Secondly, they cause their own waterfall vertically until it reaches the spring level.

> "If the sub-soil outflow is not enough to balance the inflow, the spring level rises being drawn up by capillary attraction and all the salts of the earth come to surface and make the land unfit for crops."[18]

This causes the soil to deteriorate by bringing out *alkali* or *reh* to the surface of the soil. In West Punjab it is reported that some 125,000 acres were thrown out of cultivation by the rise of subsoil water and a still larger area was rendered unsuitable for growing of crops by the appearance of salt-*kallar*. Similarly in the Nira valley of Bombay alkali lands have arisen from canal irrigation. It has been reported that 51,000 acres have been damaged in this way. The damage is enormous the area representing more than 25 per cent of the actual area of irrigation.[19]

The Agricultural Commission held that this wastage was not entirely due to the want of incentive on the part of the cultivator to economise water supplied by the Government, but to their uncertainty of water supply; and to ensure economy, they recommended that more investigation and experiments on the lines suggested by the Irrigation Commission should be undertaken, before it was decided to sell water by volume.

15. Dr. Knowles: *Economic Development of British Empire Overseas*, Vol. I., p. 367-68.
16. Bernard Darley: *Op. Cit.*, p. 167.
17. Brij Narain: *Indian Economic Life*, p. 383.
18. Brij Narain: *Ibid*, p. 383.
19. *N. P. C.'s Report: River Training and Irrigation*, p. 51.

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The remedies usually suggested for this phenomenon are: (*a*) Pumping out of water by tube-wells and other methods of drainage, (*b*) Proofing of canal beds by concrete, (*c*) Opening out of closed and obstructed drainage, (*d*) Replacing canal irrigation by well-irrigation, (*e*)Prevention of over-irrigation by forcing the cultivator to economise water, (*f*) Attempts should be made to change the time of supplying canal water, and the beds and sides of canals should be rendered impervious, *inter alia,* by treating them with sodium carbonate.[20]

Moreover, canal-irrigated areas have shown susceptibilities to encourage malaria with its very harmful and pernicious effect on the health of the peasants and the village folk. In order to safeguard against this danger the Royal Commission recommended that careful drainage surveys should be made in future in all irrigation projects and drainage maps should be prepared. Sir John Russel also emphasized the urgent need for proper soil surveys and agricultural analysis:

> "It may be laid down as an absolute rule that no irrigation scheme should ever be carried out until a proper soil survey of the region has been made. Barely one half of the water delivered at the head of the canal reaches the field."

The problem of transmission of water also deserves consideration. The site favourable for a reservoir of water may not suit as off-take for the alignment of a canal; the area under a canal may be such that a plentiful application of water may do it harm; or it may be that the conditions of soil or climate will give a greater value to water in irrigation lower down the valley. In the central table-land, however, there is usually no difficulty in utilising river-beds as a means of conveying water. Here rivers flow in the lowest parts of the valleys, and generally the beds are rocky without any subterranean passages through which water can be lost underground. We are, therefore, favourably placed in this matter of transmission, which has a very important bearing in the extensive use of water; the only loss may be said to be that of evaporation.

As a corollary to this, tracts should be commanded by means of canals not too long. Considerable lengths of canals mean loss of water and great increase in cost of delivery. Even in Northern India where there is the advantage of water being cheaply obtained, transmission through long canals tells heavily.

Even more important than these questions of storage and transmission of water, is the question of selection of lands that are worth irrigating. At present the Revenue Survey Records class as cultivable a large area of land which is so poor indeed that it cannot be irrigated with advantage; also there may be tracts of undulating lands where the slopes are stony and have but little soil on them. It is essential that the soil should be of a good order of fertility and we must have a detailed land classification to determine whether the land is worth the water to be applied to it. The water resources will ultimately limit the productive capacity, and should not be used so as to be out of balance with the lands proposed to be irrigated.

Besides these, it is also necessary to disseminate more knowledge on irrigational practices through demonstration and propaganda on subjects like (i) water requirements of different crops, (ii) proper time and frequency of water application, (iii) fertilizer application in conjunction with irrigation water, (iv) economic use of irrigation water and (v) post-irrigation operations and moisture conservation practices.

Irrigation Policy of the Governments

Irrigation in India had been practised from very early times. This fact is proved by the existence of old wells and tanks in various parts of the country, *e.g.,* in the Chingleput district of Madras two tanks which still irrigate a fairly large area are referred to in the writings of the eighth and ninth centuries.[21] Whatever irrigation works were there were generally constructed on a small scale which were not very conducive to the economic development of the society; larger works as such were unknown. Canals also were constructed by the past rulers, *e.g.,* the Western Jamuna Canal dated from the 14th century and the Eastern Jamuna Canal was constructed by the Mughals. The Cauvery Delta system in Madras dated from the second century A.D. All these were inundation canals, which were constructed by employment of forced labour. They were fed by the rainfall. But the fall of the Mughal Empire in the 18th Century prevented the maintenance and repair of canals by forced labour. According to Dr. Anstey:

> "The lack of capital and the engineering skill, in security of tenure and the consequent unwillingness to sink capital in fixed improvements and ever recurring invasions and internal political dissensions, seriously checked the extension of irrigation."[22]

During the 18th century therefore, the Jamuna canals fell into decay. These were destroyed and in many places covered with jungle.

I. East India Company's Role in the Development of Irrigation: Improvement of Old Works

The E. I. Co. first of all devoted its attention to the revival and improvement of old irrigation works. It spent large sums of money partly in repairing the ancient irrigation works and partly in undertaking new construction works. The most important works that were remodelled were:

(1) The *Western Jamuna Canal* was improved in 1821. The famine of 1832-33 further led to the

20. John Russell: *Report on the Working of the Imperial Council of Agriculture.*

21. D. C. Harris: *Irrigation in India,* p. 14.

22. V. Anstey: *Economic Development of India.*

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extension in this canal. But the construction work was done in a hurry and it therefore led to water-logging. According to Bernard Darley, "Due to faulty alignments and hasty construction, much of the country became water-logged and most unhealthy."[23] Therefore, in 1873, the canal was remodelled as a whole so that drains were dug, channels were re-aligned on watersheds and the country was reclaimed.

(2) The *Eastern Jamuna Canal* was improved in 1830. Due to faulty construction it had to be remodelled; and

(3) The *Grand Anicut* across the river Cauvery was remodelled by Sir Arthur Cotton in 1836. He built the upper Anicut, consisting of simple bar of masonry, 2,562 ft. long, and 5 to 7½ ft. high resting on the wells with an apron in the rear.[24] There were twenty-two small sluices in the weir to permit free passage to sand and water not required for irrigation. During 1843-44, the sluice ways were increased and the masonry dam, known as Cauvery Dam, was built. The entire system of weirs was remodelled during 1899-1902.

Construction of New Works

The East India Company also started construction works of the following new schemes:

(1) The success achieved in the reconstruction of these old canals encouraged the engineers to undertake new weirs in several provinces with a view to ward off the famine conditions. This led to the construction of the upper *Ganges Canal* by Sir Proby Cantley in 1840, which was completed in 1854. This canal has turned one of the famine-ridden tracts into one of the richest in India.

(2) Another great work begun by the company was the construction of the *Upper Bari Doab Canal* which replaced the Hasli Canal in 1849 and was completed in 1859.

(3) Another important work was the construction of the great *Godavari Canal* under the direction of Sir Arthur Cotton in 1846. "On the left flank of the river was the head regulation of the Eastern Delta system, with a navigation lock and connected under-sluices. Two weirs (the Dowlaishwaram weir 4,940 ft. long and the Ralli weir 2,859 ft. long) spanned the Gautami-Godavari. The Godavari was also crossed by two weirs (the Maddur Weir 1,548 ft. long and Viziswaran Weir 2,598 ft. long). The head works thus comprised of 11,945 ft. or 2¼ miles of weir, three canal bears, with navigation locks and three sets of under-sluices."[25] Though it was a great achievement, yet the construction was defective due to poor materials and apparatus. Hence by 1890, two of the canal heads and three head locks had been rebuilt on improved designs. The irrigation facilities provided by the works have transformed the rural economy of the Godavari Delta. Famines are now largely unknown in this area, which was most liable to famines before.

(4) The construction of *Kistna Delta Project* was undertaken in 1852 and completed in 1855. In addition a large number of small works were constructed and repaired. The Company also improved many inundation works in the Punjab and Sind after 1851. The most important works developed were the Begari Canal and the Fuleli Canal.

Thus before the era of the railways, the East India Company took in hand some important works. This was due not only to the desire to fight the ghastly famines but also to the fact that the period under review also witnessed an era of canals in England between 1780 and 1830. However, the English canals were meant for navigation while the Indian canals were primarily designed for irrigation.

II. Canal Construction by Private Companies

The success of these canals encouraged private companies to undertake the construction of canals, though they proved to be failures. The above schemes were constructed out of revenue and therefore, imposed a heavy strain on the Company's finance. The Court of Directors in 1857 proposed that the construction of irrigation works should be undertaken by persons as private enterprise. Sir Arthur Cotton outlined several ambitious irrigation schemes. He proposed the construction of a number of canals radiating east and west from the Tungabhadra and the Kistna. According to this project, four weirs were to be constructed on the Tungabhadra and on the Kistna. These weirs were to be supplied by the excavation of five large canals. Further, 600 miles of river channels were to be improved to provide navigation facilities and a coast canal constructed to link the Kistna Delta with Madras. Another 600 miles were to be constructed in the west, stretching up to Poona and Mangalore. This project was to cost about £2 millions. Another scheme was outlined to irrigate and navigate the area from Santhal Hills to Dacca; and this was to be connected with the Ganges Canal at Kanpur by means of an artificial canal about 550 miles long. Still another 200-mile canal was to join Ganges Canal with the Sutlej river, to provide navigation facilities between Bengal, the Punjab and the U. P. The Orissa Canal was expected to extend the navigable line—about 4,000 miles long from Karachi to Calcutta and Madras.

Two companies were floated to take up the scheme. The East India Irrigation and Canal Company was formed in 1858 which commenced work in 1863. This company was to construct Orissa and Midnapur Canals, but by 1866 it had spent all its

23. Bernard Darley: Vol. I.
24. D. G. Harris: *Irrigation in India*, p. 17.
25. Harris: *Op. Cit.*, pp. 25-28.

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capital, even though a large part of the construction work was still untouched, and failed to obtain additional capital. The Government, therefore, took over the work paying £900,000. These works have proved invaluable to the agricultural population they serve, besides offering very useful navigation facilities. But financially these works have never been a success owing to the fact that the average rainfall over the tract is 60 inches per annum, a fact that was entirely ignored when the project was framed.[26] The East India Company had also undertaken to construct the same canals but owing to shortage of capital, they were constructed by the Government from the very outset, though on a smaller scale than originally planned.

Another company, the Madras Irrigation Company, was formed in 1862 with a capital of £1 million. This Company undertook to construct the Kurnool-Cuddapha Canal, at an estimated cost of £550,000 but after the construction work was undertaken the Company spent the whole of the capital it possessed and had, therefore, to borrow £600,000 from the Secretary of State to complete the work. Later on the Government purchased this company for £1,185,500. The main causes of the failure of these schemes were the desire of the companies to secure immediate profits and the lack of experience and knowledge of local conditions.

III. Construction by the Government through Loans

In view of the appalling loss of life caused by the famine of 1866, the Government of India realised the necessity for the rapid construction of a network of irrigation canals. The Secretary of State for India, therefore, accepted the principle of financing productive works by loans raised in the open market. This new policy led to the construction of five important irrigation works in U.P., Bombay, N.-W. F. P.[27] and the Punjab.[27] These canals were: (1) the Sirhind Canal in the East Punjab, (2) the Lower Ganges Canal in U.P., (3) the Lower Swat Canal in N.-W. F. P.,[27] (4) the Desert Canal in Sind[27] and (5) the Mutha Canal in Bombay. This work is one of great value, far more so than the direct returns from it indicate. The necessity of affording a supply of good water to Poona would alone have been sufficient justification for the project and, added to this, a tract extremely liable to famine is efficiently protected. Although classed as unremunerative, the project has proved a thoroughly sound investment on the part of the Government.*

IV. Protective Canals Elsewhere and Colonization Canals in the Punjab

In the meantime the Government had begun to realise their responsibility for famine relief. It was after the publication of the Report of the Famine Commission of 1880 that remarkable development took place in the protective irrigation works which were most liable to famine. Since 1818, the Government began to set apart a sum of Rs. 1½ crores each year for the Famine Relief and Insurance Fund, out of which a sum of Rs. 75 lakhs was to be spent on the protective railways and irrigation works. The first protective work undertaken was the *Betwa Canal* in the U. P.; and the *Rushikalya Project* consisting of reservoirs, weirs and canals, and the *Nira Canal* in the Bombay Presidency and the Periyar canal system in Madras were constructed. Two important works in Sind were the *Jamrao Canal* (lying between Eastern Nara and the Indus) and the *Western Nara Canals*.[28]

In addition to these famine protective works, construction of colonization canals took place in the Punjab. This scheme has turned a barren, waterless and uninhabited desert into a garden inhabited by a contented peasantry with flourishing agriculture. The area lying between the rivers Jhelum and Sutlej was having rainfall from 5 to 15 inches and was inhabited by a few graziers and herders. In order to open up some of these waste tracts and at the same time to relieve pressure on land in highly populated region elsewhere, Government took over these unreclaimed lands as 'crown waste' and embarked on a scheme of colonization.[29] But the preliminary survey was carried on under great difficulties. In the desert of the Punjab, the temperature was often continuously over 110 deg. with no shade and only ugly brackish water to drink. Work carried out in malarial jungles was worse inasmuch as the constant illness of the staff and the labourers made progress much difficult. Moreover, the frontier working party had to be guarded by soldiers. Not only was the inadequate supply of labour a constant obstacle especially in the waste-lands of provinces like the Punjab and Sind but the difficulty of getting fuel to make bricks and lime also hindered construction. Finance also imposed its all-important limitations.

The first colony canals were the *Sohag*, taken out from the Sutlej, and the *Sidhnai Canal* in the Multan district. The former was later absorbed into the Sutlej Valley canals. These canals yielded 40 per cent on the capital outlay. They promoted the growth of prosperous colonies in West Punjab and encouraged the Government to embark on a more ambitious canal project, the *Lower Chenab Canal*.* The land between the Jhelum and the Sutlej was divided into squares of land subsequently standardised at 25 acres each and on these were settled members of the various agricultural tribes from the old districts. *The Chenab Colony* was

26. Bernard Darley: *Op. Cit.*, p. 154.
27. Both these now belong to West Pakistan. They respectively irrigate 160,000 and 200,000 acres of land.
* Harris: *Op. Cit.*, p. 47.
28. Both of them now belong to West Pakistan.
29. Bernard Darley: *Op. Cit.*, p. 157.
* Now in Pakistan.

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established in 1892, the *Jhelum Colony* in 1901 and *Jamrao Colony* in 1898 in Sind.

V. Irrigation Commission and After

The appointment of the Irrigation Commission was the result of the famines of 1899-1900-1901 and the success of the productive and protective works undertaken during the second half of the 19th century. The Commission reported in 1903 and laid down a definite policy regarding. the "selection, financing, and maintenance of canal works." As regards the productive work, the Commission held:

> "All productive work must be regarded as essentially protective. The direct revenue which they earn is a valuable asset, more especially as it is usually at a maximum in years of drought when so many other sources of revenue are liable to contract. As already shown, it is a measure of the increase in the wealth of the country due to the works, a large share of which comes back to the State indirectly. Population is attracted from the more congested district, and in times of famine, many emigrants from distressed tracts find agricultural employment on the new areas brought under cultivation. Every extension of irrigation increased the security of the food supply of the country in years of drought, and, in these days of cheap railway freights, the produce of irrigation can be carried to those parts in which it is most required. For these reasons, we think that programmes of future expenditure on irrigation works should provide for the construction of as many productive works as can be proposed, in whatever parts of the country they are situated, and without reference to the urgency of protection for the locality. Promising projects should be held in abeyance only when funds cannot be allotted for them without interrupting progress on irrigation works of any kind which have been actually commenced, or withholding money from works more urgently required for protective reasons; or when adequate establishment is not available for carrying out the works; or when the success of the works depends upon colonisation operation which it may be more convenient on general grounds to postpone."[30]

The recommendations of the Commission gave invaluable encouragement to the development of irrigation works in India and the total capital expenditure on productive and protective works was doubled. A large number of new works were undertaken.

The first important work to be undertaken was the great Triple Canal Project in the Punjab, consisting of the *Upper Jhelum Canal* (built in 1915), the *Upper Chenab Canal* (completed in 1912), and *Lower Bari Doab Canal* (opened in 1913). The entire system was completed in 1917.[31] During this period the *Lower Jhelum Canal* was also constructed in the Punjab; and the *Upper Swat Canal* in N.-W. F. P. The Famine Commission had no intention of restricting the growth of irrigation facilities in India. They wanted future development to proceed on efficient and economic lines. They said:[32]

> "It must not, however, be supposed that we estimate the probable net cost of protecting any tract, which is now liable to famine, at a sum which is equivalent to three times the probable expenditure on famine relief. There are no doubt many tracts in which protection cannot be provided at a less cost than this, and they are generally the tracts in which protection is most urgently required. But there are others in which it may be hoped that the unproductive outlay will be much less. Works which will be productive, or in which the capital cost is not likely to exceed 20 times the net revenue, will not involve any unproductive outlay, and it will be unnecessary to consider the questions of their protective value at all. And we think that, in all tracts in which the cultivation is at all insecure, protective works may be sanctioned without hesitation whenever the capital cost is not likely to exceed thirty times the net revenue, or whenever a net return of more than 3 per cent on the capital outlay may be anticipated. The indirect returns which will accrue on the expenditure, and the protective value of the work will certainly suffice to justify the sanction. When a lower return than this is anticipated, it will be necessary to pay closer attention to all the circumstances of the case; and especially to the urgency and the certainty of the protection which the work is designed to afford. In such cases the work will either be abnormally costly to construct or maintain, or the value of irrigation, except in years of extreme drought, will be so small or doubtful as to justify caution in according sanction. This examination of the subject leads to the conclusion that, however great may be the indirect value of irrigation works which may be classed as productive, it will diminish rapidly for works on which the direct returns are likely to fall below the productive standard, and may become so inappreciable, even in districts which are liable to frequent famines, as to render the construction of works inexpedient."

The suggestions of the Commission have found the basis of the irrigation policy of the present century. The first important productive work undertaken during this period was the *Tribeni Canal* in Bihar. Other protective works undertaken in the C. P. were Mahanadi, Waingana, Tondula and Ramtek canals. Similarly, in Bombay, a large number of storage works were constructed of which the *Pravara and Nira Right Bank Canals* were important.

VI. Development During Post-War Period

After the inauguration of the Reforms of 1919, irrigatoin became a provincial subject. The Provincial Government now possesses much larger initiative in the construction of canals. They have to obtain the sanction of the Government of India only if the estimated cost is more than Rs. 50 lakhs. Loans can be taken not only for productive works but also for other works. Money can also be utilized from the Provincial Famine Insurance Grant when it is not re-

30. *Report of the Indian Irrigation Commission*, para 114.

31. These systems now have gone to Pakistan. The 'Triple canal system' consists of 433 miles of main canal and branches and 301 miles of distributories. The total cost of the schemo was about 11 million pounds. The total area commanded by it is about 4 million acres. It irrigates nearly 2 million acres.

32. Vide Report, para 111.

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quired for famine relief. Due to the post-war prosperity many new irrigation schemes were launched, several of which have been completed. Of these the most important was the *Sutlej Valley Project* in the Punjab and the states of Bahawalpur and Bikaner, by making four weirs for irrigating over 5 million acres or nearly 8,000 sq. miles of land at a cost of Rs. 21 crores and was completed in 1932-33.[33] Another work of great magnitude was the construction of *Sukkar Barrage* project in Sind at a cost of Rs. 24 crores to command a gross area of 7½ million acres.[33] Besides these, *Sarada Canal* was built in 1928 in U.P., and the *Cauvery Mettur Project* in Madras and *Damodar Canal* in Bengal were also constructed.

Irrigation Research in India

Great strides in irrigation (including hydraulic research) have been made in India within the last 35 years. Some of the activities have been *ad hoc* and inspired by the personal interests and scientific ambitions of individual engineers; but substantial advance has been made through organised research.

The first in the field was Bombay where special Research Division was created in 1916 to investigate local problems on land drainage and reclamation. In 1920 a hydrodynamic research station was opened on a small distributary near Poona. By 1925 the activities of the Research Station developed beyond belief and the water supply available for model work was found to be inadequate. The station was consequently moved to Khandakvasla below the Khandakvasla Dam where conditions for research were excellent. After 1945 the activities of the Central Research Station at Khandakvasla multiplied and problems were referred to it from all parts of the country. During the 33 years of its existence over 1,500 experiments have been carried out that relate to river training, the design of channels and hydraulic works, navigation, soil and agricultural problems.

The Hydrodynamics Research Station of Khandakvasla was taken over by the Government of India in 1937, to assist river training, research problems and irrigation and was renamed as the Central Water Power Irrigation and Navigation Research Station early in 1948. In order to meet the increased demand for research facilities from the Central, Provincial and State Governments, the Station is now under expansion.

After Bombay came Punjab, where the danger of water-logging and deterioration of land by salts became alarming. Investigations were started in 1925 and gradually a hydraulic laboratory came into being at Lahore. This had since developed into one of the finest research institutions in the world but was lost to India by partition in 1947. A new Research Institute was set up with head-quarters at Amritsar.

33. Both these projects now lie in Pakistan.

The Irrigation Research Station in U.P. was established in 1930 at Lucknow but has since moved to Roorkee. Investigations have been carried out on calibration of flumes and falls, the study of non-silting distributary heads, fluming of structures, water requirements of crops, earth dam construction, river training and sub-soil supplies available in different doabs in the western districts of U.P.

The River Research Institute of West Bengal was set up in 1943 and comprises the River Model Station at Galsi, Tidal Model Station at Belgharia, the Soil Mechanics Laboratory at Russa and the Statistical Laboratory at Anderson House, Alipore (Calcutta).

The Krishnarajasagar Research Station at Mysore was established in 1945 immediately below the Krishnarajasagar Dam on the river Cauvery. The Hyderabad Engineering Research Departments, the Irrigation Research Station, Poondi, Madras State, the Soil Engineering Research Station, Chepauk (Madras), the Concrete Laboratory, Chepauk, and the Hirakud Research Station (Orissa) have all been established in the course of the last decade.

Irrigation Organisations

Besides the Irrigation Departments of various Provinces and States, there are three central bodies dealing with irrigation matters, *viz.*, the Central Waterpower, Irrigation and Navigation Commission, the Central Board of Irrigation and the Central Groundwater Organisation.

The Central Waterpower, Irrigation and Navigation Commission (CWINC) was set up by the Government of India in 1945, with the object of initiating, co-ordinating, and furthering the schemes for the control, conservation and utilization of water resources throughout the country for the purpose of irrigation, waterpower generation, navigation and flood control, and if so required, the construction of new schemes. The Commission consists of a chairman, two full-time members, and technical administrative staff to perform these functions.

The General Board of Irrigation (GBI) was set up in 1931 to co-ordinate research on irrigation and allied subjects conducted at all research irrigation stations in India. The Board maintains one of the finest libraries on irrigation, hydro-electric and other subjects where enquiries from engineers in India and abroad are dealt with.

The Central Groundwater Organisation (CGO) was established in 1946 in conjunction with the drive for "Grow More Food Campaign" and its objectives include (*a*) assisting provinces and states in securing materials for execution of tube-well projects and training their personnel in the use of equipment, (*b*) assisting in the construction of tube-wells, and (*c*) collecting and co-ordinating information available about sub-soil supplies and carrying out research in developing improved methods of exploiting groundwater supplies.

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PARTY, GOVERNMENT AND STATE

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By Dr. A. K. GHOSAL, M.A., Ph.D.

The recent crisis in the Congress culminating in the resignation of Pandit Nehru and eventually patched up by the offering of the stewardship of the Congress organisation to the Prime Minister raises some important issues giving food for some general reflections regarding the position of political parties in relation to the State and Government under parliamentary democracy which are set forth in this paper. We are not concerned here with the rights or wrongs of the dispute that offers the occasion for these reflections. Our approach in this study will be simply analytical and academic and although made in the context of the peculiar situation of this country, our observations will necessarily have a wider and general application.

The dispute that arose between the Congress President and the Prime Minister is not a personal one, but is to be traced to the lack of appreciation of the changed position of the Congress before and after the transfer of power which calls for a clear determination of the relationship between the parliamentary wing of the party and its organisation outside. Pandit Nehru himself made a passing reference to this at a Press Conference on August 28 last when he is reported to have observed:

> "The position of the Congress President and the Congress Executive today could not be said to be the same as before."

Before the transfer of power the Congress was not just one of the political parties in the usual acceptation of the term, but claimed, with no little justification, to represent the entire nation, as it was the rallying point of all forces of national resistance to imperialistic domination and the spearhead of the struggle for national emancipation. So long as the Congress was engaged in the fight for freedom it had to be regimented in the pattern of a disciplined army and all its members had to submit to the stern discipline of the organisation which headed up to its highest Executive—the President and the Working Committee popularly designated in the language of military technique as the High Command. But with the transfer of power came about a transformation in the character of the Congress also from a fighting organisation of the nation to a ruling party in power and as the pattern of government of the country even before independence had become assimilated to that of a parliamentary democracy the position of the Congress *vis-a-vis* its parliamentary wing and the Government formed out of the latter required a new adjustment on the lines obtaining in countries like England where parliamentary democracy prevails. In the new posture of things the Congress should no longer claim to represent the nation as a whole, which would logically lead to totalitarianism and theory of one-party state in direct contravention of the democratic ideal to which the Congress stands committed, for such a claim would be the very antithesis of the basic assupmtion of parliamentary democracy, *viz.*, alternation in office and opposition between rival political parties according to the choice of the sovereign people. Nor should the party outside the Parliament control its members in Parliament and the Government in minute details, because the postulate of parliametary democratic government is the control of the executive by, and its full responsibility to, Parliament, and that responsibility does not cease to exist even if it be obscured by meticulous interference of an extraparliamentary authority. That does not mean that after election the members returned on the party ticket would become completely independent of the party, because they are pledged to implement the broad policies accepted by the party organisation outside Parliament and formulated in the programme placed before the electorate on the eve of election and because both have the same background.

But the point that is to be noted is that the system of parliamentary government requires that short of this agreement on broad policies the Parliamentary wing of the party and the Government should be released from all day-to-day interference in the conduct of government, because as a government it represents not simply the party or the parliamentary majority but the State—a neutral force and it has to so conduct the administration, sometimes even by series of compromises, as to make itself the mouthpiece of the whole people consisting of both the majority party and the minority parties for the time being at any rate. It cannot do that if it is ramshackled by directives of the party executive at every step. Of course occasions may arise when exigencies of parliamentary politics may lay too great a strain on their allegiance to the party and when it becomes their duty to resign and go to the electorate for a fresh mandate. Parliamentary system rests on a nice balancing of forces and any maladjustment in the balance requires correction by appeal to the electorate or sovereign people, and political sagacity and statesmanship lies in the power of discerning when exactly that occasion arises. So far as the recent crisis in the Congress is concerned, it arose because the situation was confused by the Congress stepping straight into office and power without a fresh general election and the position will be much more clarified after ensuing general election if the Congress comes into power after contest with other political parties. As Pandit Nehru is reported to have observed in course of his statement at the Press Conference referred to above:

> "Next year a wider Parliament will be elected by millions of people and it is rather difficult to

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think that it can be controlled by a party executive. The party executive lays down for its own party broad policy and the party should follow it. Now, in regard to this matter, if I belong to a party, obviously I must follow the broad policy which that party lays down. Suppose, the Congress Executive gives a mandate to me and says—Do this or that, that is an important matter and I should accept it. If I think I cannot accept that I must say I cannot accept. If in spite of that they say you must accept it, then I get out. If the Congress Executive asks me to resgin from the Prime Ministership I resign immediately. But I do not think the Congress Executive should interfere in my work apart from the big policy that should be laid down either in Parliament or administrative work or as to who should be members of my cabinet."

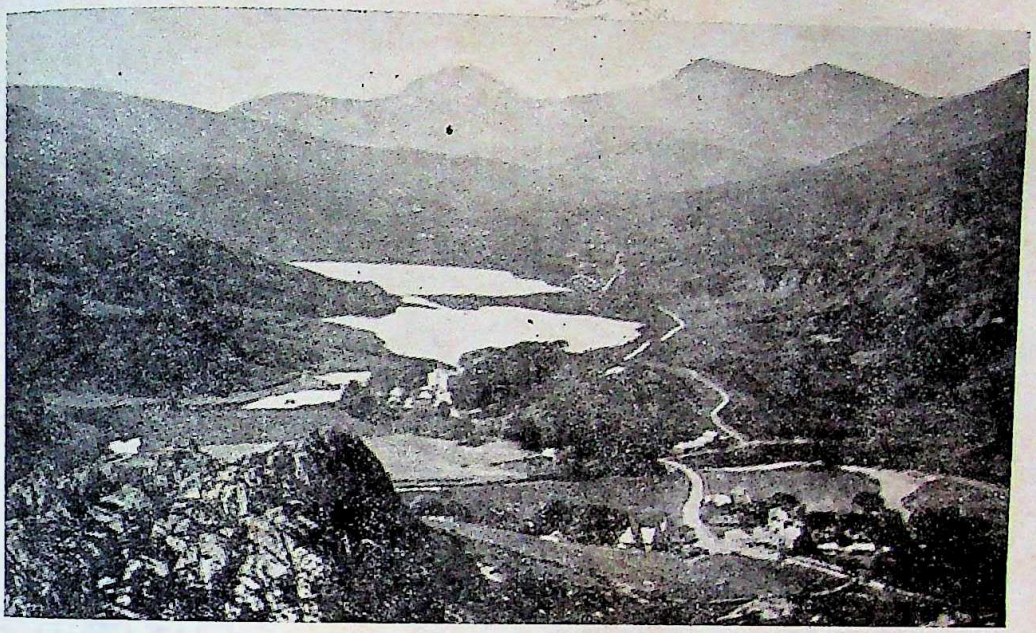
Thus it would appear that the crisis in the Congress was caused by its traditional outlook, its totalitarian claim to represent the nation as a whole and its failure to adjust itself to the new situation brought about by the transfer of power. If the Congress is to remain true to the profession of its democratic ideal and for the matter of that of a parliamentary type of democracy it has got now to eschew its traditional totalitarian claim and play the role of just one of the political parties in the country with its own programme many of whose features would of course be a legacy of its past tradition, but touched up so as to suit the new environment, otherwise there is every likelihood of a party dictatorship developing behind the facade of parliamentary democracy. We have before our eyes many examples of such development in recent history to put us on our guard. The best way to guard against such sinister development is to draw a clear-cut line between the political wing of the party and the parliamentary wing—the sphere of the former being to work among the people and the electorate outside the machinery of the State represented by parliament and Government to win over the electorate to place itself in the seat of power to implement its policies and programme which may have appealed to their imagination, while the sphere of the latter is to work inside the Parliament either in the role of the Opposition to act as a check on the excesses of the Government by healthy and responsible criticism or in the role of the Government for the whole nation instead of for the party only, according as it happens to be in a minority or majority in Parliament. Except in respect of the general outlook and broad policies the parliamentary wing of the party is not to be subjected to meticulous interference by its organisation outside and is to be given a measure of autonomy to carry on its functions inside the machinery of government if it is not to be handicapped in the proper performance of its role. It would perhaps be no exaggeration to say that parliamentary form of democracy can only succeed on the basis of jealous vigilance against control of the government in the political wing of the party outside Parliament. Because parliamentary democracy rests on the principle of complete dependence on and responsibility to Parliament of the Government to the exclusion of any extra parliamentary authority and even the control of the parliamentary majority by a party caucus outside Parliament is repugnant to the spirit of parliamentary democracy, whatever may be the position in fact. If democracy professes to rest on the doctrine of the sovereignty of the people there can be no room for any other authority to stand between the people or the electorate on the one hand and Parliament and Government on the other. The function of political parties is to help the electorate in giving shape and form to their collective will, in mobilising their scattered energies and canalising them in useful channels, in fact they are the instruments for achieving the ends of democracy, but still they should not be allowed to usurp the sovereignty of the people. If a political party through control over its parliamentary majority and the government is allowed to control the machinery of State, it will be placed in a position of definite advantage over all others and would be placed on the high road to party dictatorship. Even if the party does not take advantage of its position, it would still be open to suspicion of such practice in the eyes of others much to the detriment of clean public life.

It is desireable, therefore, that there should be organisational separation between the political party outside and the parliamentary party inside Parliament. It is from this angle that the recent combination of the leadership of the Congress both inside and outside Parliament by Pandit Nehru has come in for legitimate criticism in some quarters, as it would tend to confuse the line of separation between the Congress organisation outside and the parliamentary Congress party and the Government and tilt the scale heavily in favour of the Congress party in the country as against other parties by the added weight of the head of the Government to the leadership of the Congress party. Just as no individual in a democratic state should be in a position to say, "I am the state," so also with any party. Even Pandit Nehru himself is not unaware of these implications of the step. At the Press Conference referred to above he deprecated such combination of the two offices except as an emergency measure. He is reported to have said:

"I definitely think that it is a wrong thing practically, and even otherwise, for the Prime Minister to be Congress President. But that being the general rule. I cannot say what necessity might compel one to do under special circumstances, when a hiatus is created or something like that. . . . I do not think it can work as a permanent proposal. It can only mean suppression of one function, practically speaking. Either the Prime Ministership becomes dominant or the other. Both cannot. So, as a practical proposal, I do not think it is feasible. That may occur during a crisis for a temporary period, but it should be avoided as far as possible

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Capel Craig and Snowdon



Swallow Falls, Betsyceed

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Rations of rice are distributed to needy citizens of Seoul by Korean authorities



Massachusetts Institute of Technology, one of the leading technical institutions in the United States of America

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unless circumstances are such that one does a thing which is not normally desireable."

To sum up, the underlying reason and desirability of the proposed separation (in the limited sense indicated above) between the party outside Parliament on the one hand and the party members in Parliament and Government on the other lies in the fact that for the time being the latter becomes the mouthpiece and agent of the State which is a neutral force and as such should not function in a purely partisan spirit. In the words of Prof. Laski: "The whole underlying conception of parliamentary government is based upon the view that the State is a neutral factor in Society. In the ceaseless interplay of party warfare now one party, now another, becomes the Government and so becomes entitled to the operation of its authority."*

* Laski : *Parliamentary Government in England*, p. 181.

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LIAQUAT ALI KHAN

A Brief Life-Sketch

By Dr. M. HAFIZ SYED, M.A., PH.D. D.LITT., T.D.
University of Allahabad

Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan was born at Karnal in the East Punjab on October 1, 1895. He was the second son of the late Ruknuddaullah Shamsher Jang Nawab Rustam Ali Khan. He claims descent from the illustrious King Nausherwan the Just of Iran. He was married to Begum Raana, a distinguished economist, educationist and social worker.

After education at home Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan went to Aligarh for further studies. He was also a student of the Allahabad University in 1919. He took his M. A. degree from Exeter College, Oxford. He was called to the Bar from Inner Temple, London, in 1922.

Mr. Khan joined the Muslim League in 1933 and was elected its General Secretary, in 1936. He held that office till 1947. He was elected a member of the U.P. Legislative Council in 1926 and continued in this position till 1940. He became the Deputy President of the U.P. Legislative Council in 1931 and continued in that capacity till 1938. He was elected to the Central Assembly in 1940.

He was a member of the Executive Council of the Agra and Aligarh Muslim Universities for a number of years. He was the President of the Anglo-Arabic College Society in Delhi from 1940 to 1947.

Working in close collaboration with the Late Mr. M. A. Jinnah he made the Muslim League the most powerful organisation of the Muslims. He was elected deputy leader of the Muslim League Party in the Central Assembly in March 1943. He was a good parliamentarian and debater. He was the Chairman of the Central Parliamentary Board of the Muslim League.

Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan was mainly responsible for the great victory of the Muslim League in the general election in 1945. He was invited to the Simla Conference in 1945 and 1946.

He was appointed a member of the Viceroy's Executive Council in 1946 and leader of the Muslim League bloc in the Interim Government. He was the first Indian Finance member to present a budget of 1947-48. He went to England along with Mr. Jinnah to represent Muslim India in December 1946, when it was decided to divide India into India and Pakistan.

As the right-hand man of Mr. Jinnah he became the first Prime Minister of Pakistan in 1947. He also held the portfolios of Defence, and States and Frontier regions. He was the convener of the Pakistan Muslim League and elected its President in October 1950.

The news of Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan's assassination has cast a gloom all over India and Pakistan and it shocked not only his admirers and fellow-citizens but also those who had political differences with him. Our beloved Prime Minister mourned the loss in an affectionate manner and said that he always received unfailing courtesy and kindness at his hands. Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan was one of those few leaders of Pakistan who had full faith in mutual co-operation and goodwill and treated differences of opinion with generous toleration.

Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan was born and bred in India. He was educated in the M.A.O. College, Aligarh, and the Allahabad University. He counted among his friends some eminent Indians, one of whom was Mr. C. Y. Chintamani, the first editor of the *Leader* who had high regard for his liberal views. Politically he had leanings towards Congress ideals. It was he who drafted the famous Independence Resolution which was passed by the All-India Muslim League in 1937, the actual wordings of which were these:

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"Resolved that the object of the All-India Muslim League shall be the establishment in India of full independence in the form of a federation of free democratic state in which the rights and interests of the Musalmans and other minorities are adequately and effectively safeguarded in the constitution."

In spite of this clear declaration of his political conviction in unity and solidarity of one Indian nation he did subscribe later on to the view of the fantastic notion of the two-nation theory in India due to the necessity of political exigencies as adumbrated by the Muslim League. Whatever may have been his political views under the compelling influence of Muslim League politics, Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan sincerely believed in the establishment of cordial relation between India and Pakistan. The Nehru-Liaquat Agreement of April 1950 is an obvious evidence of this fact. To quote his own words:

"It will inaugurate a new era in which we shall be able to settle mutually our common disputes which have resulted in growing dissensions between the two countries."

It is a matter of regret and disappointment that the agreement has not worked well. Dissensions between two countries have not yet ceased. Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan is not wholly to be blamed for the failure of this agreement. It is admitted on all hands that Prime Ministers cannot both frame and execute policies. The execution of policies is the task of officials. No agreement can possibly work efficiently if officials do not co-operate with the Government. We are reminded of the words of Mr. Ghulam Mohammad. Once he said, "Agreement between India and Pakistan has not been implemented because there had been high level agreements; officials at low level have taken the law into their hands and had infringed the agreements." It is not only the officials but also the people of Pakistan who more often than not, took the law into their own hands and infringed agreements reached between India and Pakistan. They lack political insight. They are not sufficently tolerant. They were wrongly led to believe that the Hindu population of their country was *Kafir*.

Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan has full faith in mutual toleration. If all Pakistanis appreciated his noble attitude, there would have been no exodus on a large scale of Hindus from Pakistan and possibly no danger of war between the two dominions. Pakistan has had the misfortune of losing its popular Prime Minister at a time when she needed him most.

Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan rightly believed that all disputes whether domestic or international should be solved by peaceful methods. Let us remember that Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan will have lost his life in vain if Pakistanis continue to preach what is called veiled violence.

He had a remarkable role to play in his own way, and he established his claim to eminence by playing it to the satisfaction of his chief the late Mr. M. A. Jinnah. As a finance minister in the Interim Government of Lord Wavell he produced a much-discussed budget. As a general Secretary of the Muslim League for many years he proved his skill as an organiser. It was in recognition of his valuable services that Mr. Jinnah elevated him to a high position, *viz.*, the premiership of his new dominion. If Pakistan has attained a certain amount of stability and progress in the course of four momentous years, the credit goes to her premier. It will be sometime before we shall be in a position to take stock of his contribution to the creation and consolidation of Pakistan. The future historians alone will be in a position to adjudge his achievements and failures as one of its builders and administrators. Let us bear in mind the simple fact that if Pakistan is to survive, she must tread in the footstep of Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan and try to produce at this hour of her national calamity leaders and officials who by their firmness and moderation can wean the people from the path of hatred, violence and war and unite them all for the constructive work of peace.



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EVE OF THE GENERAL ELECTIONS

By C. L. R. SASTRI

"I never wonder to see men wicked, but I often wonder not to see them ashamed."—Swift

I am writing this article on the eve of the general elections. Our people, to put it succinctly, should be exhorted by every responsible writer to exercise their franchise not wildly but wisely. They exercised it wildly during the last elections. That tragic mistake must, on no account, be allowed to be repeated. Circumstances have not been so favourable to us since then that we can afford to continue committing such Gargantuan blunders till the last syllable of recorded time. It is, perhaps, a counsel of perfection to expect any electorate—composed both of the ordinary run of men and of those whom Stevenson happily called "the more cultivated among the ignorant"—not to be led astray by the calculated wiles of the parties contesting the elections. These wiles are designed to catch them on the wrong foot. As far as *our* electorate was concerned it *had been* caught on the wrong foot in 1946. Our *soi disant* premier political organisation, the Congress, dangled the enticing carrot of "No creation of Pakistan save and except over our dead bodies" before the noses of the gullible public, and the gullible public duly succumbed to that blandishment. The Congress leaders were taken at their face-value. It must have caused them no end of merriment to witness how easily they could bamboozle the people. It was almost as though they could play on the people as on a stringed instrument.

The Embrace of Death

Was it not Barnum who put us wise to the supreme fact of life that a sucker is born every minute? I am certain that, during elections, a sucker is born every second; and that, in our hapless country, a sucker is born every *split* second. The result was that, as they had confidently anticipated, the Congress won the elections by a very comfortable majority, indeed. Their ruse succeeded beyond their wildest dreams. The electorate, in a manner of speaking, ate out of their hands. The poet has a line, "Ignorant of their doom the little victims played": I may say, likewise, that ignorant of their doom the electorate tripped over one another's heels to embrace our Congress leaders. It did not know, at the time, that it was an embrace of death: I am not sure it knows it now. That is why I am writing this article. I am afraid that it is still, after so many heart-rending disasters, under the old spell—even if it be conceded that the first fine careless rapture has departed beyond recall. A concatenation of circumstances has woven a halo around the Congress's head that can, with difficulty, be destroyed. The Congress is a name to conjure with: "there is magic in the web of it." It was the Congress that persistently led the freedom-movement in the country.

The Liberals

It is, of course, conveniently forgotten that, for well-nigh thirty-five years, the Congress had been in the hands of the much-maligned Moderates, later christened Liberals. It was these same Moderates, or Liberals, that had been responsible for instilling in us the craving for freeing ourselves from alien domination. It was Dadabhai Naoroji and Gopala Krishna Gokhale who made us politically-conscious in the days when the later darlings of the multitude were hardly heard of in the next street, not to speak of China, as Hazlitt puts it somewhere. It is their names, more than those of any others that will be inscribed, in letters of gold, on the roster of our freedom-struggle. It was only after 1920 that it fell to the lot of Mahatma Gandhi to hit the headlines as the undisputed leader of the Congress. The Gandhian Congress is thus only thirty years old. But public memory is notoriously short and the part that the Liberals played in our freedom-movement has been studiously ignored. If the Congress is still, as I have suggested, a name to conjure with, the credit for it must, in all fairness, be ascribed to the Liberals who held the fort for a longer period than the Gandhian Congressmen. These latter merely stepped into the breach created by the resignation of the former *en masse* from the organisation whose imposing edifice they had built, brick by brick, with their loving hands.

"If You have Tears . . ."

I wish to put it on record that brave men lived before, as well as since, Agamemnon, and that if the Congress continues to enjoy a modicum of prestige today, notwithstanding its eggregious errors (of commission, no less than of omission), it is more owing to the indefatigable labours of those much-maligned Liberals who first taught our people that there is a science called politics than to their cheap-jack successors who exhorted them in sundry devious ways to *unlearn* that instructive lesson. The Liberals made the Congress and the country: what their successors can legitimately boast of is that they have, of *malice prepense*, unmade both. If we have tears we must be prepared to shed them now: if we have none we must at least remain silent and not keep babbling about those successors' "achievements" as Falstaff, in his dotage, kept babbling about the green fields. In every other clime it has been experimentally proved that all men cannot be fooled all the time: should it be left to *our* clime alone to disprove that encouraging dictum? I have been at pains to indicate that this persistent slogan of Gandhian Congressmen that they (and none else) were the torch-bearers of our freedom is just a silly symphony and nothing more: there had been other, and mightier, Richmonds in the field.

Stealing the Thunder of the Mahasabha

I have mentioned that, in 1946, our present

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"Ma Baps" won the elections by the diabolically clever ruse of dangling before the gullible public the enticing carrot of "No Pakistan save and except over our dead bodies." By that detestable deception they were able to steal the thunder of the Hindu Mahasabha which had all along been fighting for the preservation of the precious unity of our beloved Motherland. They assured the electorate that, on the point of that preservation, there was not a pin to choose between themselves and the Mahasabhaites: their ideology was the same, and, since that was so (they argued), the people would do well to vote for the older and the more popular organisation. That argument, specious in every part of it, sounded the death-knell of the hopes of the Hindu Mahasabha: the populace swallowed it—hook, line and sinker.

Paying the "Ultimate Forfeit"

They did not stop to enquire why, *only during election-time,* our revered Congress leaders detected the fundamental concordance in the aims of both the parties and began paying homage to the precious unity of our beloved Motherland. *Before* the elections that enthusiasm had been conspicuous by its absence: Congressmen had been "caving in" to the ever-mounting demands of the Muslim League and I, for one, had no doubt whatever in my mind that they would not hesitate, should the contingency arise, to pay the "ultimate forfeit." This gradual "caving in" was with no other object than that of the final and most abject surrender. Step by step they had given in to Muslim intransigence until there was practically nothing more to be sacrificed by them.

Talking with Their Tongues in Their Cheeks

My contention is that the Congress *deliberately* misled the country during the last elections on the question of partition. When it promised that it would not yield an inch to the Quaid-e-Azam on the issue—no more than their rivals the Mahasabhaites—it was manifestly talking with its tongue in its cheek and indulging in a portentous wink. Its past actions completely belied that alluring promise. If our countrymen had been a little bit wiser than they had given evidence of being at the time of the crucial test they would, of a certainty, not have risen to that bait: they would have confronted it with its previous record and told it that sufficient unto the day was the evil thereof and that those who wished to sup with it needed a long spoon. But our countrymen, as it unfortunately transpired, were not sufficiently wise and placed implicit reliance on those promises. The Congress thus came to power—and promptly went back on its word. The rest is current history.

Once Bitten Twice Shy

The point I am desirous of making is that in our relations with that monstrosity known as the Congress organisation our motto should be: "Once bitten twice shy." We have been bitten *more than once.* We should thus be chary of giving further hostages to fortune in the shape of squandering away our child-like trust on a party whose word is notoriously not its bond and whose whole conception of politics is endless tergiversation with respect to the very people who had catapulted it into the seat of authority. The Congress (new style) has never had any undue consideration for the Hindus and, with the passing of time, has been having less and less of it still. It wants their votes tremendously, no doubt, but, after securing them, it just has no use for them. In its eyes the Hindus are "the lesser breeds without the law": they are mere hewers of wood and drawers of water. Even where they are in a majority—and in a preponderating majority at that—they hardly count: *a fortiori,* where they are in a minority they do not count *at all.* It is a happy state of affairs for the Congress. It can say in the latter instance that, being in a minority, they (the Hindus) must, *ipso facto,* occupy an inferior position to that of the Muslims; and it can say, in the former instance, that, our State being "purely secular," their being in a majority—even in a preponderating majority—not only does not confer on them a superior position *vis-a-vis* the Muslims but, actually, confers on them an inferior position because, in the interests of "secularity," the Muslims must be treated very, very generously, indeed, thereby enabling them to forget that they are in a minority. The Hindus lose either way: their being in a majority does not help them, and their being in a minority is a positive hindrance to their well-being.

"Secularism"

The real meaning of "secularism" thus becomes pellucidly clear. "Secularism," according to the Congress's interpretation of it, is out-and-out pro-Muslimism. *It is the religion of appeasement*—that "putrefying albatross" which the Congress clamped on its neck decades ago for reasons peculiarly its own. I am writing this article on the eve of the general elections; and it is my duty to point out to my readers that, on November 15, Pandit Nehru told a public meeting at Pathankot that every vote for the Congress in the ensuing general elections "would be a vote for secularism." As though to clarify it further he proceeded to say:

> "Every vote cast in favour of the Congress is a vote against communalism which has weakened the country."

"Secularism" will be a slogan to be reckoned with in the ensuing electoral fight and I should, therefore, like to linger a while over it so that our beloved Panditji may not be allowed to have the last word on the subject. There should be some one, among the 380 millions of our countrymen, to muster sufficient courage to stand up to him and say that, highly-gifted as he is, he has been talking drivel—nauseating

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drivel—and talking it, too, to buttress an extremely untenable position.

Abuse of Words

Of late he has been waxing even more "secular" than usual and we may be certain that, as the zero hour approaches, the spate of eloquence will swell into a roaring torrent that will submerge all the low-lying areas where the "communal" ogres hide their diminished heads in shame. I should, however, like to draw his attention to the fact that slogan-fed as the Congress has been since 1920 the slogan that has damaged the interest of the country most has been this one of "secularism" and none other. It started with a woeful abuse of words. Pandit Nehru is credited, in certain circles, with being a lord of language; and it is all the more intriguing, therefore, that he should have been responsible for this initial misinterpretation of the term. Nowhere in the world has it the connotation that he has imparted to it out of the cornucopia of his learning; and nowhere in the world has it been so systematically abused as he has, from an overweening sense of his coign of vantage, been abusing it. But I shall not go into that question now: when one becomes the Premier of a country one has (it is to be presumed) the fundamental right to invent new terms or to infuse new meanings into old ones; and when one combines in one's anointed person the twin posts of Premier of the country and of President of the caucus of which he is such a shining ornament one enjoys (it is to be further presumed) the other fundamental right of being intoxicated with the exuberance of his own verbosity.

Coming down to Brass Tacks

Even taking Pandit Nehru's "secularism" at his own connotation of it, it behoves us to remind him that, doubtless with the best of intentions, he has been barking up the wrong tree from the moment he began his indefatigable researches into the meanings and applications of words. Charles Lamb divided mankind, broadly, into two classes—the borrowers and the lenders. Pandit Nehru divides the world or at least the Indian part of it, broadly, into two classes—the "secularists" (led by his illustrious self) and the "communalists." I have no hesitation in saying that, in doing so, he has been doing less than justice to the latter and more than justice to the former. If we go right back to the days of partition any man with a head tightly screwed on to his shoulders and not loosely attached thereto will be impelled to arraign Pandit Nehru and his myrmidons at the bar of public opinion as rank "communalists" that gaily gave their *imprimatur* to the partitioning of our country on the basis of the pernicious "two-nation" theory that was propounded with a fanfaronade of trumpets, by those arch disruptionists in our midst, the Muslim Leaguers.

Congressmen are the Arch-Communalists

Pandering endlessly to the whims of an arch-communal organisation and cheerfully signing away a not inconsiderable portion of our beloved Motherland to them by way of a tacit acknowledgement of their preposterous claims is being not only communal but being communal with a vengeance, being communal without any *arriere-pensee* whatsoever. There can be no two opinions on the point. It is as plain as way to parish-church. No amount of Nehru-ian "broad-mindedness" can alter the fact that when one seeks one's spiritual home among communalists, naked and unashamed, communalists back, belly and sides, communalists that swear by their dastardly "-ism" and "no damned nonsense," one is deep-dyed in communalism oneself and has no moral right to denounce others for *their* "parochialism," real or imagined. Ever since that fatal year, 1920, the Congress has had no other policy or programme than that of ingloriously surrendering to every demand of the Muslims, of surrendering without so much as the semblance of a fight. It was so mortally afraid of wounding the susceptibilities of the Muslims that even when confronted with the notorious "Communal Award" of the then Labour Prime Minister, Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, it decided neither to oppose nor to accept it. That "neither for nor against" attitude strengthened the Muslims in their conviction that the Congress, next to the British themselves, was their staunchest ally.

The Next Biggest Surrender

The next biggest surrender on the part of the Congress was the resolution that its Working Committee passed in Calcutta a decade or so ago which contained within it the poisonous seed of partition. It was, as usual, a rambling affair that, while paying lip-service to the essential unity of our country in its earlier part, proceeded to affirm that its principle of non-violence being well-known it could not *even* "contemplate" the "coercing" of a unit that wanted to secede to remain within its parental fold. Thereby the creation of Pakistan was facilitated enormously. (Even Lord Wavell, it may be recalled, was compelled, by the sheer logic of facts, to stress the fundamental "geographical unity" of our country in his memorable Address to the Associated Chambers of Commerce in Calcutta in December, 1943. It was left to our "secular" Congressmen to destroy it ruthlessly!) Sir Stafford Cripps was not slow to capitalise on it; and it was precisely with the help of this resolution that Acharya Kripalani was able to convince the A.-I. C. C. meeting that was convened hastily in June or July of 1947 in New Delhi for the express purpose of "ratifying" Pandit Nehru's acceptance of Lord Mountbatten's "June 3 Plan" on his sole responsibility—it was precisely with the help of this resolution, I repeat, that Acharya Kripalani was able to convince that A.-I.C.C. meeting that Pandit Nehru's impulsive action was only a natural corollary to it.

Of course, it never occurred to anyone to ask the

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distinguished Acharya how it happened that Congressmen forgot the existence of this resolution when they unequivocally promised the electorate *earlier* that Mr. Jinnah would not get Pakistan "save and except over their dead bodies"!

THE REAL COMMUNALISTS

I have marshalled all these arguments to show that it does not lie in the mouth of Pandit Nehru to call those Hindus "communal" who have consistently been upholding the unity ideal—the same, be it remembered, that Lord Wavell himself had so vigorously countenanced in 1943 in his Calcutta address quoted above—and who have been ceaselessly lamenting the disastrous vivisection of our thrice-holy land. The real "nationalists" are these Hindus: the real "communalists" are, and have been, the Muslim Leaguers first and then our valiant Congressmen who surrendered to them without firing a single shot. Neither the Hindu Mahasabha, nor the R.S.S., nor the Ram Rajya Parishad nor the Bharatiya Jan Sangh are "communal" bodies: it is the Congress that is the "communal" body *a outrance* and it is Pandit Nehru himself who, next to the Muslim Leaguers, is our "arch-communal" politician. He admitted cheerfully at that A.-I. C. C. meeting that was held in June or July 1947 that the "responsibility" for accepting the "June 3 Plan" was "wholly his own."

THAT SHOCK TREATMENT

And it was this same Panditji who bethought himself the other day of administering "a shock treatment" to the Congress organisation with a view to rooting out the "communal" elements that, according to his own testimony, had, since a year or so ago, been seeping into it. In the result he shocked himself into the Presidential *gadi* of the Congress. He is now the Compleat Dictator, though, to be sure, he has modestly disclaimed any dictatorial ambition. But did not Hamlet very nearly say that one may smile and smile and be a dictator? Besides, he has become a dictator only with the laudable object of curbing "Hindu communalism!" In his considered judgment "Hindu communalism" is a monster that has, for some time now, been raising its ugly head—from wherever it is that monsters generally do raise their ugly heads. Hindus, if we would believe him, have, of late, been forsaking the straight and narrow path that leads to that modern Mount Pisgah where that highest of all religions, "Secularism," has its venerable abode. It was a shock to him to discover that even some eminent Congressmen, like, for instance, Rajarshi Purushottamdas Tandon, the reigning Rashtrapathi, was "bowing in the House of Rimmon." At any rate, before that arch-apostle of "secularism," Shri Rafi Ahmed Kidwai, Tandonji paled into complete insignificance!

SPOILING THE SHIP FOR A HA'PORTH OF TAR

So Tandonji had to go. Tandonji went. He departed in a blaze of glory. "Secularism" was again safe. The Pandit delicately suggested to the A.-I.C.C. that that safety could best be preserved if, in addition to his onerous duties as the Prime Minister, he could be invested with the not less burdensome responsibilities of President of the Congress as well; there was such a thing, after all (was there not?), as spoiling the ship for a ha'porth of tar! An "infant democracy" like ours has to be nursed into an adult democracy; and what better way was there so to nurse it than the one that lay through the sylvan glades of dictatorship? Are we not still politically immature? That being so it is incumbent on us to choose a dictator who, while not sparing the rod, will make us, at some date in the distant future, politically mature. Thus, at one fell storke, as it were, our beloved Panditji administered his "shock treatment" to the country and combined in himself the twin posts of Premier and of Rashtrapathi. Shri Kidwai, who resigned from the Congress owing to the presence in it of "communalists" like Tandonji, has returned to its fold after the welcome purge of the latter. With Pandit Nehru as the Captain and Janab Kidwai Saheb as the Chief Mate the ship of our State can now be relied upon to be steered smoothly into the safe waters of "secularism." Pandit Nehru, as I pointed out earlier, told his audience at Pathankot on November 15 that, in the ensuing general elections, a vote cast for the Congress "would be a vote cast for secularism." The aforementioned "shock treatment," with its attendant consequences, had also been in the nature of a vote cast for "secularism." The "Hindu Communalists" (thanks be!) were completely routed.

"UNDER WHICH KING, BESONIAN, SPEAK OR DIE!"

"Secularism" is thus the major issue in the coming general elections. "Under which King, Besonian, speak or die!" I have been at pains to indicate what "secularism" really means. It means pro-Muslimism raised to the *nth* degree. It means Appeasement with a capital "A". It means *further* ignoble truckling to Pakistani intransigence. A foretaste of it was given by Pandit Nehru after the assassination of Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan on October 16. That calamity, according to him, was bound to draw India and Pakistan closer together. It was a disaster as much to India as it was to Pakistan. He has suited his action to his word. He is going "all out" to support Pakistan's candidature to the seat in the Security Council shortly to be rendered vacant by India's retirement from it. It is *one more gesture*! Nor have we been left in any doubt about it.

As the Special Correspondent in New Delhi of the *Times of India*, writing in its issue of November 16, unctuously says:

> "India's decision to support Pakistan is regarded here as the latest proof of her desire to restore friendly relations with Pakistan which has been evident since the death of Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan.

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The Indian decision is, however, in refreshing contrast to that of Pakistan who did not vote in favour of India when a similar election to the Security Council took place in 1949. Actually, bitter campaigning by Pakistan was carried on against India being elected to the Security Council on that occasion."

One-way Traffic

It is thus clear that the more Pakistan kicks us the more "secular" our Government becomes. (It was, by the way, during this period of further appeasement that Pakistani soldiers made a new series of incursions into Assamese villages!) There has been no sign on Pakistan's part that similar brotherly gestures will be forthcoming from *its* side. But why should there have been any such sign? Pakistan knows fully well that, without putting itself to that unnecessary trouble, it can wangle what it wants from our side. Putting itself to that unnecessary trouble would, in the circumstances, be what Shakespeare has called "a wasteful and ridiculous excess." "Secularism" is a purely one-way traffic: the Hindus—*even after partition*—must, forsooth, be hundred per cent "secular": the Muslims, on the contrary, may continue to be "communal" to their hearts' content. "Secularism" should be *our* "doxy": to be eternally communal, however, is the Muslims' privilege,—*prerogative,* rather. They are the modern *Herrenvolk*. They have the best of both the dominions. They are terrifically at ease in Sion.

That Curious Dichotomy

The point is—why should they not be? They cannot help securing endless advantages if ours is a thoroughly impotent State. They are going to secure more still in the Paris talks on Kashmir between Dr. Frank Graham and the delegates from India and Pakistan. Shri B. N. Rau has already blessed the Graham Report. Shri D. P. Dhar, former Deputy Home Minister of Kashmir and another Indian delegate to the General Assembly, has done the same. The happy ending in Kashmir seems to be, at long last, in sight. In Indo-Pak disputes it need hardly be stressed where, precisely, the happiness is bound to reside—in India or in Pakistan. It was wittily remarked of Pitt that he would drink the wine and that the Clerk of the House of Commons would get the headache. A similar bizarre dichotomy prevails in Indo-Pak affairs: *we* get the headache while our enviable brethren across the border drink the wine. The four-year old Kashmir imbroglio may, as I have hinted, very well have an ending during the Paris parleys. Whether it is likely to be a "happy" ending and, if so, which country (India or Pakistan) is destined to be "happy" remains to be seen: though, if the past, as they say, is any index of the future, even the merest tyro in politics can venture a prophecy in the matter.

Wanted: A Change of Policy

I do not feel myself called upon to apologise to my readers for writing at such length on "secularism." Pandit Nehru dissertates at *greater* length upon it. The words come trippingly on his tongue when that topic is to the fore. I am not in a position to say whether he saws the air too much with his hands: but I am certain that he tears the passion to tatters, to very rags. He "o'erdoes Termagant." The case *for* "secularism" has been trotted out far too often: it is but meet that the case *against* it should also be allowed a fair innings. I have defined "secularism" as the religion of appeasement. Pandit Nehru has recently admitted that he *has* been appeasing Pakistan. He admitted it, however, with an unmistakable air of triumph. There was such a swagger, such a braggadocio, in his admission that one had no option but to suspect that that policy had come to stay, be the consequences what they might. His decision to support Pakistan's candidature to the Security Council, even though Pakistan had gone *out of its way* in 1949 to thwart India's chances in the same contest, fully bears out one's serious misgivings. It is, therefore, imperative that the electorate should be enabled to know what irreparable damage that policy has already done to the country. If that policy continues to be followed the damage to the country may well-nigh be staggering.

Reciprocity

Dr. Shyama Prasad Mookerjee has been reiterating time out of mind that "reciprocity" should, in future, take the place of "secularism" in our dealings with our extremely considerate neighbour. In this he is eminently right: a bully should be told where he gets off. It will do him a world of good. It has been said that a nation's foreign policy ought to be one of "enlightened self-interest." In our foreign policy with respect to Pakistan this enlightened self-interest has been conspicuous by its absence. We give—and Pakistan takes. Pakistan kicks us—and we lick its feet. There is neither self-interest nor enlightenment in such a policy. *Only once did we put it into practice—and it paid us handsome dividends.* When, a few months ago, a Pakistani brigade rushed into the Poonch area in Kashmir, Pandit Nehru massed our troops on the Pak border. That gave the late Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan "furiously to think." He had to unclench his fists. He had to simmer down considerably. I do not think Pandit Nehru has had cause to regret that decision of his to sit up and take notice at last. The *one* occasion when he took a strong line *vis-a-vis* Pakistan brought him a large recompense. Why, then, does he not profit by that heartening experience? Whenever he tried "secularism" in relation to Pakistan he failed miserably: when he—*just for once*—tried "reciprocity" he won—*hands down*. The moral is plain: a bully must be paid back in his own coin. Pakistan understands only the simple language of "reciprocity" and not the complicated lingo of "secularism."

Congress's "Achievements"

The party in power catalogues its "achievements"

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when going to the polls. The Congress's achievements are "writ large" on the faces of the refugees and on the countenance of the country itself. It is a tale of immitigable woe. Misery meets the eye wherever it turns. The picture is one of "inspissated gloom," in Dr. Johnson's celebrated phrase. We are supping full of horrors. Famine stalks the land. Cloth is scarce. Money is tight. There are no amenities of any description. Four years after "independence" the common man is worse off than he had ever been before. Independence has left a bitter taste in his mouth. A tree is judged by its fruits. Judged thus, the Congress comes off very badly, indeed. It accepted partition in a tarnation hurry. Nearly all our present ills are traceable to that impetuous action. Congressmen themselves now admit it: *only*, after admitting it they do not, as they should, go down on their knees before the people and crave their pardon. Indeed, they still put on airs as the saviours of the country. *Anywhere else* they would have been hounded out of office long ago. But here they continue to "sit pretty." Like the camomile which, as the poet says, the more it is trodden on the more it thrives, the more they are ruining our beloved Motherland the more they are growing in pomp and circumstance. Verily, the peacock has nothing on them!

The Contrast

One of the Congress's greatest achievements is that while it has tacitly acquiesced in the ousting of the Hindus from Pakistan and in the treatment of the few that still contrive to remain there as helots it has taken good care to see that the Muslims here get the fairest of deals imaginable. They can go to Pakistan and return and go to Pakistan again—and while here can live without the slightest apprehension about their safety. Their allegiance is too facilely taken for granted. A Khaliquzzaman swears loyalty to India and overnight leaves for Pakistan and there starts a raging and tearing campaign against India. A Hussain Imam does the same. Ever so many Muslims follow in the illustrious footsteps of these two. Pakistan is still the spiritual home of the bulk of the Muslims: to them, as a character in a Dickens' novel puts it, "Colin's the friend, not Short." But our Government, in the tiresome name of "secularism," affects to turn a blind eye to their *parti pris*. The Muslims' property in India is as safe as, if not safer than, that in Pakistan. India has become a gigantic "safe deposit vault" for them. The Evacuee Property Act that our authorities have passed, after an unconscionable delay, has not, to put it mildly, helped the refugees overmuch; and in the few instances where they could be helped (in a vague sort of way) there has never been any knowing when New Delhi would take it into its Quixotic head to intervene and rescue the Muslim concerned from a tight corner.

Only the other day, for instance, Mr. Achhru Ram, the Custodian-General, came to grief for having ventured to use the Act in the manner in which it should have been used. I am not just now concerning myself with the details of that controversy. The broad outlines are that the Muslim millionaire involved was given a "No Objection" certificate by our altruistic Government whereby he got his property of well over 60 lakhs restored to him. No amount of legal quibbling on the part of our rulers about the *minutae* of the dispute can alter the essentials. The Muslims here somehow do get rescued out of tight corners by our arch-apostles of "secularism": the recent Chhatriwala case has but highlighted a glaring anomaly. A parallel to that in Pakistan with a Hindu involved can hardly be visualised: imagination boggles at it. In Pakistan, the "Kaffir" must be hounded out and his property confiscated, there being nothing in the nature of a restraining influence, in the nature of a *quid pro quo*, over here, to halt it in its insensate course. If Pakistanies had but apprehended that Muslims in India would receive a *similar* treatment they would, without question, have been on their best behaviour. But they have known all along that our "purely secular" Government would, in Hamlet's exquisite phrase, "crook the pregnant hinges of its knees" to them, whatever be their heinous offences against the minority community in their midst. We assure them *beforehand* that no matter what they choose to do to the Hindus over there the interests of the Muslims here will be protected to the uttermost. This is tantamount to giving them a blank cheque, as it were. Nowhere in the world would such a humiliating situation have been tolerated. But when a Government hitches its wagon to the star of "secularism" no absurdity, I suppose, can be ruled out. Hindu lives do not matter, Hindu honour does not matter, Hindu wealth does not matter: what matters (and matters a great deal) is the safeguarding of *Muslim* lives, *Muslim* honour, *Muslim* wealth!

Oust the Congress from Power

The question is: In view of what I have related above will our people be inclined to vote the Congress into power again? If they are so inclined they fully deserve all their present miseries (and a few more.) Let them not be deterred from voting against them by the unwarranted consideration whether there is any *other* party to take over the reins of Government if the Congress loses in the elections. That red herring had been trailed by the British Government across our path *ad nauseam*. But we know that when the British relinquished power there *were* people to take it over. There will—I doubt not—be people to "take over" if the *Congress* also, in its turn, lays down authority: there are as many fish in the sea as ever came out of it! The hour *will* produce the men. The important thing is first to oust the Congress from office: the rest will follow automatically.

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PREVAILING MISCONCEPTIONS ABOUT BHARATA NATYA

By E. KRISHNA IYER, Advocate

When Anna Pavlova, the celebrated Russian ballerina, visited India with her dance troupe in 1929, and wanted to see for herself the much heard of 'bayaderes of great beauty and grace dancing sacred dances in temples and secular ones at feasts,' nobody could give her any definite information about the existence of Bharata Natya and its exponents in South India. Her biographer has written, "Those Hindus who had seen these dances in certain temples in far-away places spoke without any particular enthusiasm. There are no schools of dancing in India and it is an art in which nobody is interested." Such was the pitiable condition of Bharata Natya in the 1920s. When Rabindranath Tagore revived the Manipuri style, Uday Shankar and Menaka the Kathak mode and Poet Vallathol the Kathakali, Bharata Natya was only a distant and mysterious name and not an art known enough to be worthy of being handled by the then globe-trotters or seen by respectable cultured people!

It required the pioneering services of an art-minded young advocate* of Madras to take it up boldly, initiate its revival by his own precept and practice, fight for its cause against the anti-nautch leaders, create respect, popularity and a cultured audience for it and to usher in its renaissance in the early 1930s after years of hard work. In the wake of that renaissance came up successive artists of repute like Balasaraswathi and Rukmini Devi, who pushed it up and Ramgopal crowned it by presenting the art to Western audiences and gaining appreciation too for it, as the most classical and refined among Indian dance styles.

Though as a result of all these, Bharata Natya has become immensely popular in India and Ceylon and earned much esteem in Western countries, it is not free from another set of misconceptions entertained by many Indian and foreign writers about its real nature. Most of these writers facilely assume, that it is nothing but a solo dance of women, that it is intended to interpret only love themes, that it is not to be touched by men, that it cannot have any dramatic interest and that such interest is to be found only in Kathakali. Such misconceptions are perhaps due to the fact, that most of those who deal with Indian dance art, have seen only one form of Bharata Natya, whose revival has been well established and not seen or do not know enough of other forms which are just being revived now.



Bhaskar Roy Chowdhury, the celebrated dancer

As a matter of fact, what is now popularly known as "Bharata Natya" is only one of three forms of the old generic system of dance art which went by that same name. In South India, that form was for long known only as 'Sadir Natya' or 'nautch' or 'Dasi Attam.' It was in the hands of professional Devadasi women and it is that solo-dance form that is now practised with enthusiasm by cultured family ladies also. Besides that, there have been and there are still, two other forms of Bharata Natya, namely, the 'Bhagavata Mela' dance-dramas of Tanjore villages depiciting heavy Puranic stories and the lighter 'Kuravanji' ballets, wherein the love-sick heroine is encouraged and helped to attain her object by a fortune-telling gipsy woman.

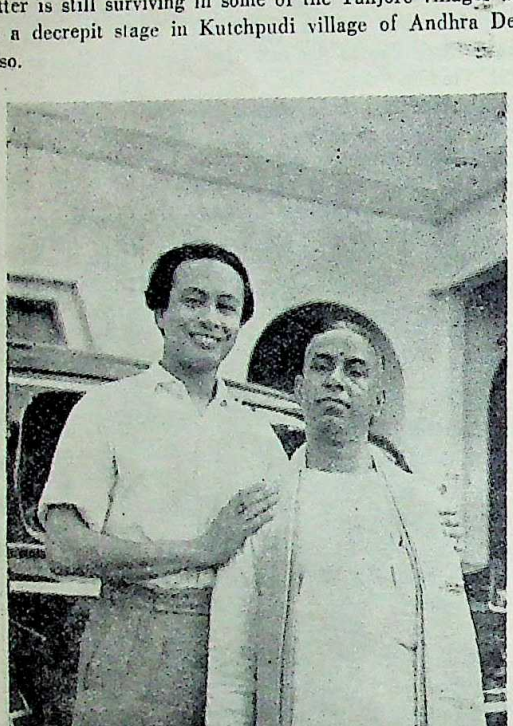
In all these three forms, the same technique of Bharata Natya with its rhythmic patterns of Adavu;athis, Sollukattus, Thirmanams and Abhinaya is employed,

* The young advocate mentioned above is the author of this article, E. Krishna Iyer. If by profession, he had been a lawyer first and then Editor of the *Free Press* daily and other papers and magazines, he had also been a prominent political worker as a Congress Satyagrahi and a popular City Father of the Madras Corporation Council. But more than all these, it is art that has been the dominating feature of his life and work for over 25 years. As one of the chief founders of the Madras Music Academy, he led the way for the revival of Carnatic music. He was the earliest pioneer who took to Bharata Natya in the 1920s when it was threatened with oblivion and death and brought in a sweeping renaissance in it by his own dancing and propaganda. By further sustained work he took the art out of the hands of decadent professional Devadasis and made cultured and respectable family women take to it. His book *Personalities in Present Day Music* published in 1933 has been the first work of its kind in India in a critical study of contemporary art and artistes in music and dance.

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though in different degrees for a different purpose in each. From before the time of Saraboji, the Tanjore King, the Devadasi Sadir-nautch as the *Nattuva Mela* and the dance-drama of Brahmin Bhagavatars as the *Bhagavata Mela* had been flourishing side by side and the latter is still surviving in some of the Tanjore villages and in a decrepit stage in Kutchpudi village of Andhra Desa also.



The great dancer Ramgopal (*left*) and the author E. Krishna Iyer

In these dance-dramas, as in Kathakali, it is only men that take part and personate male and female characters. Female characters expound not only their respective character-dances but also items familiar in Sadir-nautch, like Alarippu, Jathiswara, Varna and Thillana on appropriate occasions. One has got to be well trained first in the same technique as that of Sadir-nautch before he can take up a character in these dance-dramas. The dances of male characters pertinently differ from those of feminine characters in form. But both are based on the same technique.

Soolamangalam Sitarama Bhagavatar, Merattur Natesa Iyer and Oothukad Swami Bhagavatar among others of the last generation were renowned as great experts in Bharata Natya dance and *abhinaya*, whose art had been the envy of even reputed Devadasi artistes of their time. Even in these days of comparative decadence in this dance-drama tradition, the fomous Varnam 'Dhanike Thakujanara' in Thodi raga is a coveted item. The abhinaya of the Bhagavata Mela art is considered to be purer and more Shastric than that of the Sadir-nautch. The *sollukattus* or rhythmic syllables of its dances are rendered in tune with *ruthi* and hence more melodious than those of the Sadir-nautch. While the Nattuva Mela form of Sadir-nautch is solo and lyrical with 'Sringara' or love theme cloyingly predominating, the Bhagavata Mela form of Bharata Natya is full of dramatic interest with many actor-dancers taking part in it and of varied themes and *rasas*.

It may also be noted here, that in a former generation, the illustrious Krishna Bhagavatar of Kalakshepam fame had danced and expounded *abhinaya* as a man with great effect in his performances. Even in Sadir-nautch, the oldest and greatest living teacher Meenakshisundaram Pillai of Pandanallur himself has given his considered opinion, that certain aspects of it can be handled by attractive young men also and he followed it up by teaching it to Ramgopal of international repute with pleasure. That great dancer as a man presented it before Western audiences and earned appreciation too for it. Above all, the great Bharata himself never intended his Bharata Natya to be any exclusive preserve of women. According to him, it meant a drama enacted by male and female characters with dance and *abhinaya*, among other things, in his technique and the extant Bhagavata Mela dance-drama tradition happens to be the nearest approach to it.

In view of all these, Bharta Natya is to be taken as a great generic system of classical Indian dance art, the common technique of which is applied and applicable in different forms for different purposes. It is not exhausted by the lyrical solo Sadir-nautch of the Devadasis, nor is it devoid of dramatic interest and value, nor are men taboo in it. Present-day development of art and its conceptions being what they are, some critics cannot be satisfied by Bharata Natya except perhaps by the sex appeal of a woman in it!

Social inhibitions have for ages disapproved of women mixing up with men in ordinary dramas and dance-dramas on the stage in India and later prejudices stood in the way of respectable people witnessing and appreciating the dance of Devadasi women. Hence arose the practice of young men personating female characters in dramas and acting and dancing in female costume. In spite of present-day trends in relaxing such social inhibitions, they still persist. It may remind one of similar practices in the Elizabethan days of England. However much we may wish to modernise our notions and practices, we have also to face facts as they are and look at things in the proper perspective, especially regarding our traditional arts and their associated conventions and make the best use of them for further progress. No purpose can be achieved by merely misconceiving or misrepresenting the nature of our traditional arts or ridiculing long-recognised conventions like attractive young men taking to dance as men or in female costume.

After all, art experience, in one sense, is the result of successful illusion transcending realism; and under-

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standing people judge of art more by the quality of its form as expounded on the stage, than by looking into the sex of the dancer. The proof of the pudding lies in the eating of it. If a young man gifted with a specially attractive personality is actually found to expound Bharata Natya more convincingly and charmingly than many girl artistes, there need be no further argument about its propriety or otherwise. According to a Western writer on art, "There can be no real artiste who has not the characteristics of both the sexes." The late renowned Nijinsky of Russian ballet was one such real artiste and he is said to have excelled his contemporary ballerinas in dance to the extent of rousing envy in the latter.

No doubt there is a special charm in the lyrical solo Sadir-nautch form of Bharata Natya. But by its very nature, its interest and appeal are limited and it may get hackneyed to the point of boredom. The future of dance art in India lies in developing dance-dramas and ballets of varied themes and interest. Perhaps it is some consciousness of this trend, that has induced Rukmini Devi to go in more for this aspect of the art than the solo one nowadays and Balasaraswathi too to take to Kuravanji.

Ballet—a sort of dance-drama, is considered to be the highest and most spectacular form of dance art in Western countries. Some of our art-lovers, in their enthusiasm to develop similar forms in India also, want to import Western modes into our arts. That it is not necessary and that we have ample materials in our own country to help towards such consummation, can be realised from the still surviving classical dance-dramas and Kuravanji ballets. It is enough if we take in some ideas from Western modes for improving our stage settings and presentation and we need not borrow any technique from elsewhere. Such being the case, it is time that ill informed prejudices against attractive young men taking to Bharata Natya are given up and the nature and details of the extant dance-drama tradition of South India are better known to the public.

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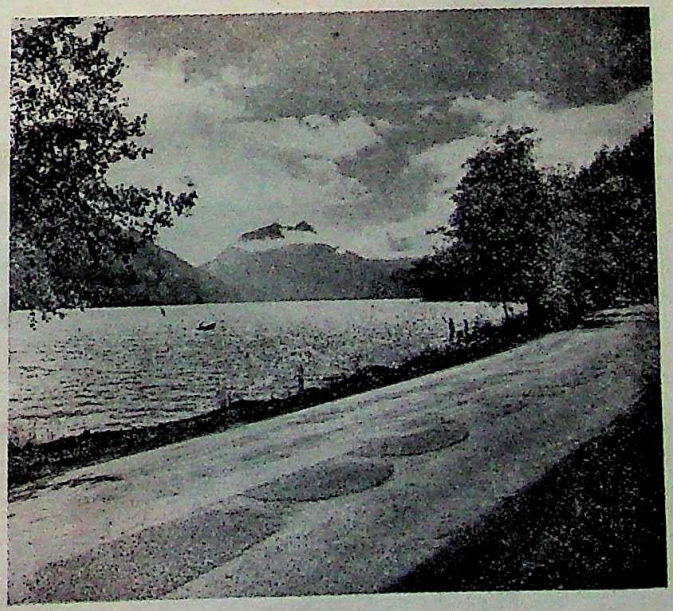
THE OLYMPIC PENINSULA
American National Park Area

By MABEL OTIS ROBINSON

Frontiers always have appealed to the American people, drawing them westward and northward to settle new lands and to marvel at new vistas. Today, however, very few frontiers are left, and most of those in the United States have been set aside by the Government as National Parks for the education and enjoyment of the people. Visiting these parks, most of which are vast, rugged regions almost untouched by man, a twentieth-century American can appreciate the tremendous odds against which his forefathers struggled in exploring and settling the nation.

One of the most fabulous of these virgin land areas is the Olympic Peninsula, a territory in the Pacific Coast State of Washington which embraces Olympic National Park, Olympic National Forest, and a vast surrounding spread of land where nature displays her primitive splendor. This area is so large that mileage figures total 350 miles on the road that rings the Peninsula. This broad Olympic Loop Highway is the only one which completely encircles one range of mountains, the Olympics. It is one of the most scenic drives on the North American continent. The highway can be entered from several points, one of them at Port Townsend which is reached by a ferry trip across Puget Sound from the cities of Seattle or Tacoma.

The highway from Port Townsend twists along wooded shores to Discovery Bay, a sheltered harbor

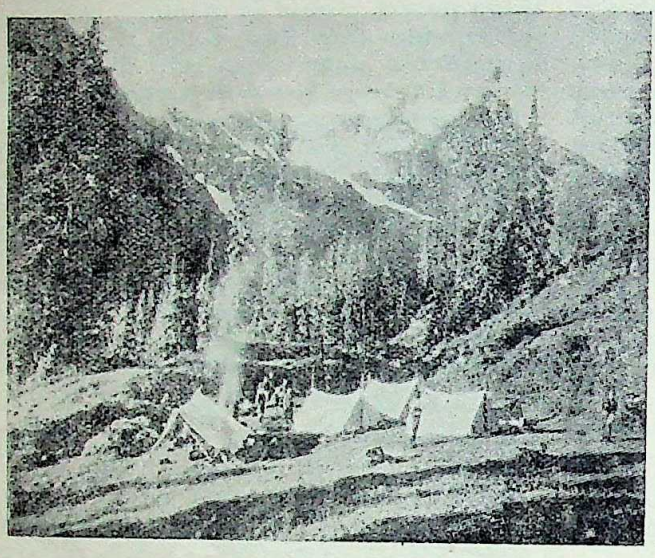


A modern highway borders one of the lakes in the national park of the Olympic Peninsula, a wilderness area on the Pacific Coast

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where the ships of the English navigator Captain George Vancouver anchord in 1792 on the first voyage of discovery through Puget Sound. Just beyond Port Townsend is Port Angeles, famous for its pastel sun-



American vacationeers pitch camp in the shadow of the Olympic mountains in the Pacific Coast State of Washington

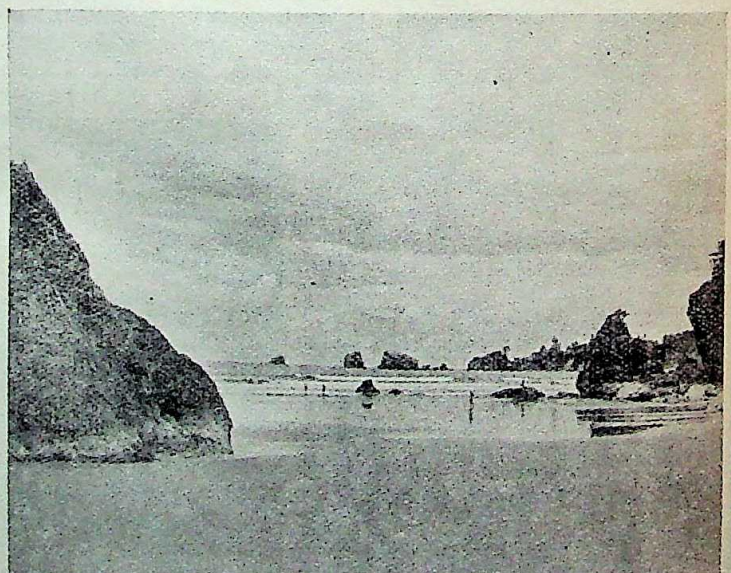
sets and for its rippling waters which have a heavy run of salmon every year.

From Port Angeles the traveller has a view across the Strait of Juan de Fuca, a 2,000-mile inlet in the Pacific Ocean. This strait is bordered by mighty forests, towering mountains, cities, and towns. Great ships from every nation traverse its waters. It is dotted with green islands, between which graceful yachts and noisy motor boats move. On Vancouver Island across the Strait is the quaint Canadian city of Victoria, a bit of old England transplanted to the new world.

From Port Angeles, a road branches south toward Hurricane Ridge, following the route along the Ridge which was the one taken by the first party of explorers of the interior of the Peninsula. Thousands of elk, protected by the U. S. Forest Service, are scattered through this district, as well as many bears. From Hurricane Ridge the grand peaks of the Olympic Mountains rise in all directions, and also in range of vision are Mount Baker and Mount Rainier, Vancouver Island, and the Strait of Georgia. Few other places in the United States offer such an inspiring panorama of forest, sea, and mountain scenery.

For several miles the Loop Highway follows the northern shore of Lake Crescent, whose sapphire blue waters mirror the surrounding mountains. Near the lake are two interesting resort hotels near hot mineral springs.

Many visitors to the Olympic Peninsula go by pack train or on foot into the really virgin country, camping out, delving into hidden canyons, climbing glaciers, and penetrating mountain meadows tucked away in unexpected places. The Loop Highway also carries the visitor into lumbering country where even temperatures and heavy winter rainfalls produce amazing rapid growths of hemlock, spruce, and pine. In this area are the unique rain forests. Lichen and ferns entangle the trees which cascade long streamers of yellow and brown vines. Thick moss lies beneath the ferns and seedlings spring up underfoot. Roads drop into mountain glens where sunlight rarely penetrates. On rainy days, the thick foliage is a great umbrella, covering a land of mystery. At twilight the spruce stand dark and the hemlocks cut delicate silhouettes against the sky. Only in the morning does the sun manage to cast young, short shadows into the encircling gloom of this deep, green forest wilderness.



The Olympic Peninsula offers the traveller a variety of scenery including rugged coast-lines such as this

Many of the pack trails through the Olympic Penin-

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sula are very difficult, testing the traveller's endurance by leading him along winding ledges above canyons through which rush the swift waters of snow-fed streams. But if he is able to withstand the rigors of such a trip he will be repaid by heavenly flower meadows, glaciers of solemn dignity spreading into great ice fields, wild life sanctuaries where elk, deer, and black bears roam, where mountain goats leap the peaks and eagles nest in the craggy mountain heights.

The broad, tranquil Quinault Lake is a fisherman's paradise. It is also the starting place for guided canoe trips to the Pacific Ocean. These dugout canoes hold seven or eight people and are motor-powered. In them, the visitor glides across the Lake into a river which winds through deep forests and then whirls into the rapids on its final dash to the Pacific Ocean.

Along a hundred miles of the irregular shore line of the Olympic Peninsula the mighty waters of the Pacific pound. Huge cliffs plunge into the ocean, misted in spray. Trees, stunted by generations of wind and weather, cling tenaciously to rock or shallow soil. Down the coast is the huge inlet of Grays Harbor on whose banks are three towns supported by lumbering and fishing industries. Turning inland, the traveller can follow a road going north along the 70-mile arm of the sea known as Hood Canal. This Canal is actually a channel gouged out by glaciers centuries ago and flanked today by a broad highway.

American conservationists believe that the preservation of wild life sanctuaries and forest reserves and recreational areas is essential to the national well-being. Vast as they are, the national parks of the Olympic Peninsula and of other sections of the nation represent only one per cent of the total land area of the United States but an area sufficiently large to contribute much to the nation when used for conservation purposes. or for recreation.—From *Trailways Magazine*.

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THE ENGLISH JUDICIARY AND THE TRIAL OF NANDAKUMAR

At Calcutta in the 18th Century

By SANAT KUMAR SARKAR,
Ex-Secretary, Calcutta University Historical Society

Foundation of Calcutta

Bengal witnessed the entry in the province of the European merchants in large numbers with the foundation of a Dutch factory at Chinsura in 1625. The English first stepped into Bengal on the authority of a *Firman* permitting them to carry on trade there in 1634, and established factories at Hooghly, Dacca, Rajmahal, Malda and other places. Within a few years the trade of the English Company in this province grew steadily both in volume and in value. The Company looked to Bengal for the regular supply of saltpetre to Europe. They also exported a large quantity of silk and silk goods. Sugar and cotton were also articles of export and by 1689, it was found that the investments of the Company had risen up to £15,000.

The rupture having occurred with Shaistha Khan, Nawab Nazim (Governor of the province in Muhammedan times) of Bengal in October 1686, the English left Bengal and retired to Madras. It was in August 1690, the English under Job Charnock, "a man of courage without military experience" as described by Orme, a distinguished historian, landed again at Sutanatee and erected a few *hats* at the place which was destined to grow into the capital of the British Empire in India. In 1696, a local rebellion provided an excuse for fortyfying their factory and building a fort there called Fort-William. This old fort, which served as the Company's ware-house and was re-built and re-shaped in course of time, lost its importance when Calcutta was recaptured from Nawab Serajuddoulah in 1757 and disappeared in *toto* during the administration of Marquis of Hastings. Its location and site was a matter of much controversy and created many conjectures, which came to an end when the whole north end of the fort was found in course of erecting E. I. Railway office in Calcutta in 1882. The discovery of a large map of old Calcutta dated 1753 in King's library in the British Museum in the year 1889 decided finally its exact site and location.

By virtue of a *Nishan* (permission) obtained from Prince Azim-usha-shan, Mughal Governor and grandson of Aurangzeb in 1698, the Company purchased from the existing holders the right and titles of three villages Sutanatee, Govindpur and Calcutta at an annual rent of Rs. 1200 and obtained the status of Zamindars in Bengal. The copy of *Binamah* (deed of purchase) dated 9th November 1698 bearing the seal of the *Quazi* and signatures of Zamindars is still preserved in the British Museum (Addit. MSS. No. 24039).

Calcutta was raised to the rank of a Presidency and was named "Fort William in Bengal" and a President and Council were appointed to administer it in 1699.

The erection of Fort William and acquisition of Zamindary rights gave the Company not only a *locus standi* in Bengal but also acted as the foundation of the

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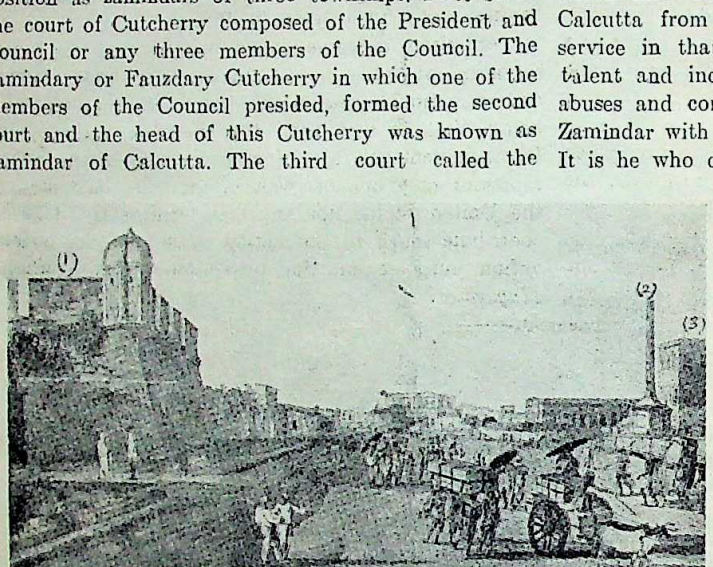
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two pillars upon which the English Company's political and commercial supremacy in India rested.

The first President was one Mr. John Beard. No law-courts had yet been established.

THE ENGLISH ZAMINDARY COURTS

The Judicatures that the Company set up at the outset in Calcutta were based upon the Company's position as zamindars of three townships. First stood the court of Cutcherry composed of the President and Council or any three members of the Council. The Zamindary or Fauzdary Cutcherry in which one of the members of the Council presided, formed the second court and the head of this Cutcherry was known as Zamindar of Calcutta. The third court called the



Street view of Dalhousie Square in the latter part of the 18th century showing (1) South-eastern portion of old Fort William, (now G.P.O.) and Calcutta Collectorate Office, (2) Holwell's Monument removed in 1940 and (3) Writers' Buildings still existing

Collector's Cutcherry came into existence ever since the Company had anything to do with the collection of ground rent. Studying the consultations of the Council of 1704 and 1706, it can be avowed that the Courts of Cutcherry were established in 1704. *De facto* the same person filled the post of Zamindar and Collector in the early period.

The functions of the Zamindar whose Cutcherry was situated in Calcutta were to farm out lands and to punish the tenants who failed to pay rent by way of confinement and whipping. The Zamindar acted in a double capacity, each distinct and independent of the other, one as the Superintendent and Collector of revenue, the other as the judge or presiding officer of the Zamindary Cutcherry, a tribunal constituted for hearing, trying and determining all matters both civil and criminal, wherein the subjects of the Mughal Emperor were concerned. In case of capital punishment he was empowered to give judgment but only the approbation of the President and Council was necessary when lash was inflicted till death. The salary attached to the post was Rs. 2,000 per month. The bulk of the receipts appears to have gone into his pocket. Besides these, he was deeply engaged in private trade and was given huge presents by parties to decide the causes in their favour.

Among the Company's many servants who filled this lucrative and covetable post, the name of John Zepheniah Holwell stands singularly prominent and worth mentioning. Holding the post of Zamindar of Calcutta from 1752 to 1758, he rendered a notable service in that capacity and showed extraordinary talent and indomitable energy to eradicate countless abuses and corruptions that crept into the post of Zamindar with the approval of the Court of Directors. It is he who discovering that all the important and invaluable documents of the Company prior to 1737 had either been lost or destroyed due to the carelessness and negligence of the Company's subordinates as well as to the freaks of Nature, decided to preserve them systematically from 1732. Holwell's *India Tracts*, published by him, contain useful information regarding Calcutta.

One Babu Govindram Mitter, whose descendants are yet an accreditated family in Calcutta, acted as Deputy Zamindar or Dewan to the Zamindar from 1720 to 1756 and accumulated considerable wealth.

The functions of the Collector, the head of the Collector's Cutcherry, were mainly to issue under the Company's seal, the leases called *Pattahs* to the inhabitants for the tenures of their houses and grounds and to dispose of the petty farms, which constituted part of the revenue of the town of Calcutta.

From *Pattahs* (a simple form of lease in respect of lands mentioning the name of persons to whom lands were given and the rent to be paid) granted to the individuals the names of the English Zamindars and Collectors are known to us. The registration of several *Pattahs* carrying the signature of Zamindar Holwell during the invasion of Calcutta still exists.

After the re-capture of Calcutta one Mr. Collet was the only Zamindar under that designation existent till 1759 when he was succeeded by the first Collector or Collector-General, Mr. William Frankland (to which title the office appears to have altered). In the latter part of the century, the duties devolved upon, and assigned to, the Collector were distributed amongst the Justices of the Peace, the Custom Master and Mayor's Court. The majority of records of this office except the copies of *Pattahs* of Calcutta ground rent collections were destroyed in 1756. During the period

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between 1758 to 1775 *Pattahs* were given by the Collector as well as the Collector-General.

It must be noted that the courts long established by Mughal authorities existed in Calcutta also.

With the introduction of Mayor's Court instances are not rare when a wrangle ensued between Zamindary Courts and Mayor's Court over the powers and jurisdiction of them. Thus, it is found that in 1758 Holwell protested that "bulk of the causes that came before the Cutcherry were sums cognisable by Mayor's Court" and on 1st March, 1754, Mayor's Court wrote to the Court of Directors, complaining that the Collector refused at their command to release a person who had been confined and who was a party to a cause brought into their court.



Sir Robert Chambers

Mayor's Court

The insistence of the Court of Directors (a petition submitted by the Court of Directors to the Crown for the introduction of Judicature in India, existing in India Office Records Department, *Correspondence Memoranda*, Vol. 9) compelled the British Crown to grant a Letters Patent, which established three judicatures in Calcutta exercising jurisdiction over the British subjects residing in India, the Indians in employment of the Company and the persons who voluntarily placed themselves under these courts. These courts came into existence by a Charter in 1726, by which the President and Council were declared Justices of the Peace and Commissioners of Oyer and Terminar and Gaol Delivery which were to hold Quarter Sessions. A Mayor and Aldermen were appointed to form Mayor's Court and the President and Council were constituted the Government Court of Record to hear appeals from Mayor's Court.

Mayor's Court was composed of a Mayor and nine Aldermen, seven of whom with Mayor were required to be natural born British subjects, the remaining might be protestants or subjects of any state or Prince in amity with Great Britain. The power of appointment of Mayor and Aldermen was vested in the Governor or President of the Council. According to some historians, Mayor was elected annually by Aldermen from among themselves. The post of Mayor was for life and the President and Council were entitled to remove Mayor or Aldermen upon reasonable grounds. This court was declared to be a Court of Record also and empowered to try and determine all civil suits and actions. It had, too, the authority to grant Probates of Wills and Letters of Administration to the effects of intestates. The court house of the Mayor was situated at Old Court House Street in Calcutta. Mayor's Court, also, had jurisdiction in civil and criminal matters over the Europeans, but with the consent of the parties suits between Indians were



Sir Elijah Impey

allowed to be entertained. Later on, it was decided that Mayor's Court had no jurisdiction over them.

Court of Oyer and Terminar and Gaol Delivery

This court was authorised to hold Quarter Sessions for trial of all criminal offences excepting high treason. (*Oyer and Terminar*, a special commission often issued by the King to certain honest and lawful men directing them to enquire into the truth of some special tresspass or other wrongs of which complaints were made to the Government).

Government Court of Record

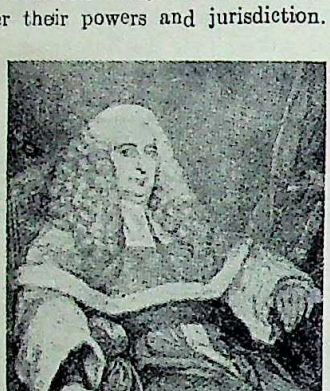
The President and Council was a Government Court of Record to which appeals from Mayor's Court were made.

These courts were created ostensibly with a view to check the corruptions that became rampant amongst the Company's officials and to ameliorate the sufferance of the inhabitants of Calcutta from the oppression of the Company's subordinates and other free English merchants. This ended in a fiasco. The inherent defects lying with the constitution of these courts were revealed with their inception. Mayor's Court which

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owed its origin to, and depended for its very existence upon the President and Council remained a tool in their hands and were constrained reluctantly or wilfully to decide the causes in favour of the parties who appeared before the court with favour and patronage extended by them in clear violation of the existing laws. The result was that disrespect of law and travesty of justice centred round the Mayor's Court. Many queer incidents and anecdotes have been narrated in respect of decisions made and judgments pronounced by Mayor's Court. In addition to these, disputes frequently took place between Mayor's Court and Zamindary Courts over their powers and jurisdiction.



Justice Hyde

To remedy the manifold defects arising out of these courts and of which the high command of the Company had complained, the Charter of Mayor's Court was superseded by a new Charter in 1753, which re-oriented and re-established Mayor's Court again in Calcutta with some amendments. By this new Charter, another court called Court of Request was founded in Calcutta. Both these courts were made subject to a control on the part of the Court of Directors who were empowered to make "bye-laws, rules, ordinances for the good government and regulation of several courts of judicatures established in India."

Court of Request

It consisted of 24 Commissioners selected from among the inhabitants of Calcutta. It decided the matter in dispute of a debt which did not exceed 40 shillings. Complaints were heard on every Thursday and three members formed the Bench or Court. Indian residents of Calcutta were first chosen, then European traders only were selected as its members. From this time the Court of Quarter Sessions commenced only to take cognisance of offences accused of high crimes, such as murder and treason.

Supreme Court

After Plassey the Company acquired a large territory and obtained a stronghold in Bengal. Over and above, the position of their created law-courts became more and more anomalous and the effects of a double system of administration, *viz.*, one conducted according to English principles and the other according to existing Muhammedan laws, soon began to manifest themselves. So many courts encountered a great deal of confusion in respect of distribution of justice. All these facts and other factors necessitated in the passing of the Regulating Act in 1773 in the British Parliament by which the Governor-General in Council stepped into the place of the former President in Council, and the select committee and Supreme Court with more elaborate machinery took the place of the older Mayor's Court and other courts. Warren Hastings was appointed the first Governor-General of India.

The Supreme Court that was established in Calcutta by a Charter of 1774 consisted of a Chief Justice and three Puisne Judges. Sir Elijah Impey was appointed the first Chief Justice, other judges being Messrs. Chambers, Hyde and Lemaistre. It held its court in Calcutta and exercised both criminal and civil jujrisdiction there. The clause empowering the British Crown to establish a Supreme Court of Justice by a Charter was unhappily vague and left undefined the field of jurisdiction, the laws to be administered by it and above all the relations between the Supreme Court and the Supreme Council. The Judges of the Court being armed with unsettled extensive civil and criminal jurisdiction arrived in this country with the prejudiced conviction that they had been appointed to put a stop to oppressions which the inhabitants of Bengal, both the English and the subjects of Mughal authority, were undergoing under the accumulated injustice and grinding tyranny of the agents of the Company. They held that they derived their powers and authority from the British Crown and Parliament and were in no way subordinate to the executive head and that they were quite empowered even to arrest the Governor-General and his Counsellors.

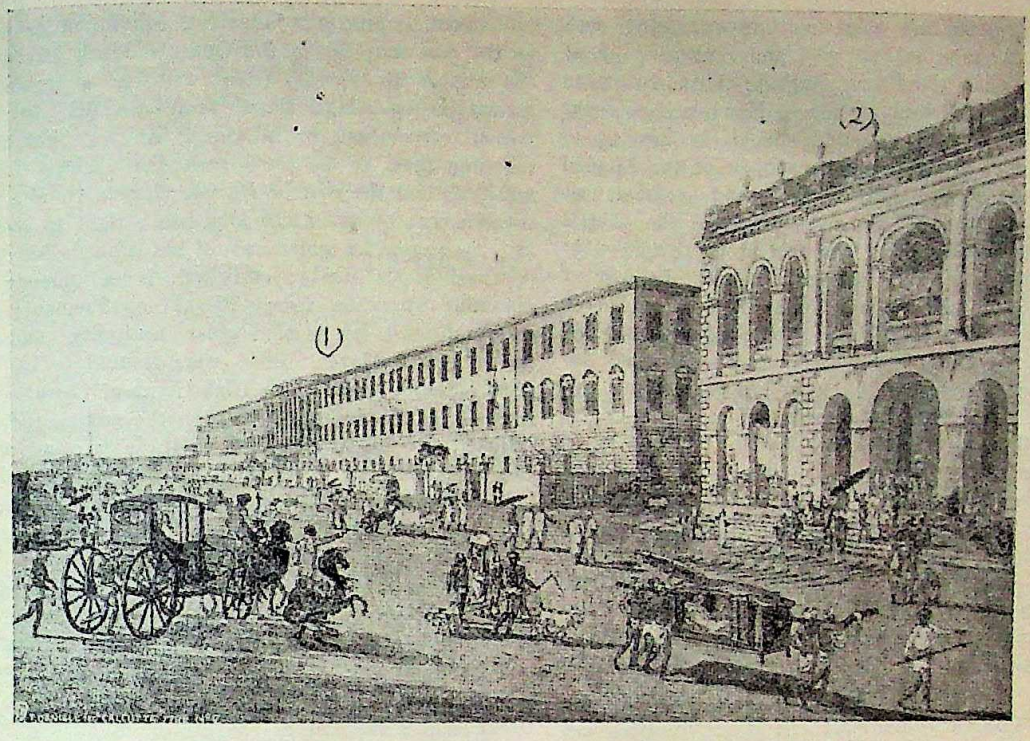
Supreme Court *Vs.* Supreme Council

Soon after the inauguration of the inauspicious Supreme Court and the unlucky Supreme Council, they jealously looked upon each other as rivals and the consequences were that judicial and political authorities instead of exercising their powers, independently of each other and for the benefit of the people, were arrayed against each other as two contending parties. Some impression can be formed if Macaulay's diatribe in respect of the whole aspect of the situation is referred to: "No Marhatta invasion had spread through the province such dismay as this inroad of the English lawyers. All the injustices of the former oppressors, Asiatic and European, appeared as a blessing when compared with the justice of the Supreme Court."

The conflict between the Supreme Court and the Supreme Council came to a culminating point in two cases. First in the Patna case 1777-1779, the question at issue was the right of the Supreme Court to try

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Calcutta Street view in 1786, showing (1) Writers' Buildings and (2) the Old Court House where the Mayor's Court and the Supreme Court held their sittings and where the trial of Nandakumar was held

actions of the Indian judicial servants of the Company for acts done in the official capacity. Second was the famous Kasijora case 1779-80 in which the question at issue was whether the Supreme Court had the right to exercise jurisdiction over every one in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa and especially over the Zamindars of the Mughal Emperor.

Undoubtedly, the Regulating Act of 1773 imposed upon the Supreme Court, although in legally vague and insufficiently stringent terms, the task of dealing with the oppression in the executive government of the Company. The Supreme Court was, in fact, to occupy the position of Mayor's Court founded in 1726 and re-instituted in 1753 in Calcutta and its creation was of absolute necessity because of the failure of Mayor's Court to impede the wrong doings on the part of the Company's servants. The institution of this court was, therefore, an act of reformation rather than of innovation. It was, also, not intended to override or to trespass upon the judicatures deriving their authority from the Mughal constitution or to settle the question of Mughal Sovereignty by practically edging it into limbo.

The demonstration of the most ignominious and horrible acts done by the Supreme Court remains incomplete if no reference is made to the epic trial of Maharaja Nandakumar held before it in Calcutta.

Trial of Nandakumar

On March 11, 1775, Maharaja Nandakumar brought against Warren Hastings, the Governor-General, his charge of having received from the Begum of Oudh a bribe of Rs. 3,54,105 for appointing her as guardian of the young Prince. The Supreme Council in which the charge was submitted declared that Hastings had received the sum and ordered him to refund the money to the treasury of the Company. Owing to the dramatic events that followed and precipitated the fall of Nandakumar, the charge was never proceeded with.

On the 6th May, 1775, Nandakumar was committed on a charge of forgery brought against him by Mohon Prosad, the executor of an Indian banker. His trial conducted according to the principles of English Law proceeded from 8th June to 16th June, 1775 before the Supreme Court consisting of Chief Justice Sir Elijah Impey and other three Judges, namely, Chambers, Hyde and Lemaistre aided by a jury of 12 European and Eurasian inhabitants of Calcutta. It is said that the original proceedings of this momentous trial preserved in the Archives of Calcutta High Court have been either lost or destroyed. Nanda Kumar was found guilty on the charge of forgery according to the English Criminal Law, sentenced to death and executed on 5th August, 1775. This wealthy and respectable but unhappy man was put to death nominally for forgery but really for having dared to accuse the Governor-General Warren Hastings of misdeeds done by him.

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Leaving aside all other matters connected with this trial, the most salient, vital and cardinal point at issue is that whether English Criminal laws in accordance with which Nandakumar was tried, sentenced and executed should be applied to him, who was a Hindu and a subject of the Mughal Emperor, born at Murshidabad and resident at the time of, and before, and ever since the alleged offence at Calcutta, and was not in the employment or the service of the Company. It must be pointed out that the application of English Common laws and English Criminal laws (and case-decisions and judgment delivered based upon the same laws) to the Indian inhabitants and Mughal subjects of Calcutta, which was not a conquered country and was held neither by cessation nor by conquest but by a particular tenure obtained from the Nawab of Bengal and under the paramount authority of the Mughal Emperor, implies a gross violation of International laws and shakes the very principles of jurisprudence. The King of England possessed absolutely no powers over India, neither legislative nor judiciary, except those derived from the grant of various *Firmans* issued by the Mughal Emperor. Even the *Firman* granted in 1764, expressly stated:

> "The Company must endeavour to drive out our enemies and decide causes agreeably to the rules of Mohamet and laws of our Empire."

The view that the principles of English laws were introduced in Calcutta with the introduction of English Courts by the British Crown overriding the judicial system and Mughal laws long established by Mughal Sovereignty cannot be upheld and maintained. No documents are forthcoming nor any bonafide treaty exists nor written authorities can be quoted nor any "Firman" bears evidence that would support the right of subversion of Mughal Sovereignty by the British Crown and the English Company in respect of legislative and judicial powers over the subjects of the Mughal Emperor in India and over the Indian inhabitants in Calcutta. The arguments advanced by the English lawyers, whether English laws were introduced in Calcutta in 1661 by Letters Patent of Charles II or by Latters Patent of 1725 by which Mayor's Court was established or by Latters Patent of 1753 which reinstituted Mayor's Court, or in 1774 by Charter of the Supreme Court, are unnecessary, irrelevant and carry no weight. So, the arrest, trial and execution of Nandakumar are void, and illegal *ab initio*. Even in recent years before the inauguration of the Republic, the highest prerogative writs of the English common laws, namely, the writ of *Certiorary* (it is a writ where the British Crown would be certified of the record in some inferior courts. In criminal cases writ is issued out of the Crown office. It is directed to the judges or the officers of the inferior courts, ordering them to return the indictment, inquisition, judgment, conviction or order as the case may be to the Queen's Bench Division), the writ of *Mandamus* (this writ is a command issuing in the King's name and directed to any person, corporation, or inferior court of judicature requiring them to do some particular things therein specified) and the writ of *Habeas Corpus* (it is a prerogative writ by which the king has a right to enquire into the causes for which any of his subjects has been deprived of his liberty; this writ is a remedy of obtaining liberation from illegal confinement; this writ in English law is of a great antiquity and was known before Magna Carta) were refused to be applied in many cases by the High Court of Calcutta, the successor of the Supreme Court on the ground that the Indians were not entitled to obtain any relief under English laws, which were not introduced for the Indians in Calcutta. In a well-known case *Girindra* vs. *Birendra* (31, C.W.N. 593) (Girindra, an Indian inhabitant of Calcutta was arrested and detained in prison without trial), the writ of *Habeas Corpus* was not granted by the same High Court upon the same reason. The fact that a conspiracy was hatched between Hastings and Impey is amply reflected in the tempo of events moved from 11th March 1775; this combined with other circumstances resulted in the fall of Nandakumar.

Impey, sitting as a judge put Nandakumar to death unjustly to serve a political purpose and committed a judicial murder and an assassination to ward off his best friend in India. Even Stephen, Impey's strenuous champion, admitted that Impey as a judge had put himself in an invidious position. "Impey forfeited his judicial independence. He exposed himself to a position to which no judge ought to expose himself." He, empowered by the Charter "to reprive and suspend the execution of any capital sentence," had a good and convincing case for the exercise of this discretionary power.

And Hastnigs was without any pity and was relieved of his anxieties when Nandakumar was being removed from his path. In the death of Nandakumar, he found a pillar of opposition uprooted, which stood against his nefarious acts.

Thus, Burke's memorable utterance, "Nandakumar was murdered by Hastings by the hands of Impey," will never be wiped out from the pages of Indian History for thousands of years to come. The awful injustice committed in the death of Nandakumar stands unparalleled, unexampled and sacrilegious in the history of the English judiciary in India.

Both of them had to pay the highest penalty for their acts done in India afterwards. Impey was impeached before the House of Lords by Sir Gilbert Elliot in 1787 for the trial of Nandakumar, and the impeachment of Warren Hastings took place from 1788 to 1795.

The terrific acts of the Supreme Court and the

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Council worried the Company and the Crown as a result of which the constitution of the Supreme Court was amended. The important provisions were that the Governor-General in Council were not subject to the Supreme Court for anything ordered and done by them in their official capacity, and no Indian was liable to the Court's jurisdiction being a land-holder or a farmer of rent. The Court with these provisions was given a jurisdiction over all British inhabitants of Calcutta and Hindu and Muhammedan laws were to be administered by the Court in cases of inheritance, contract and succession.

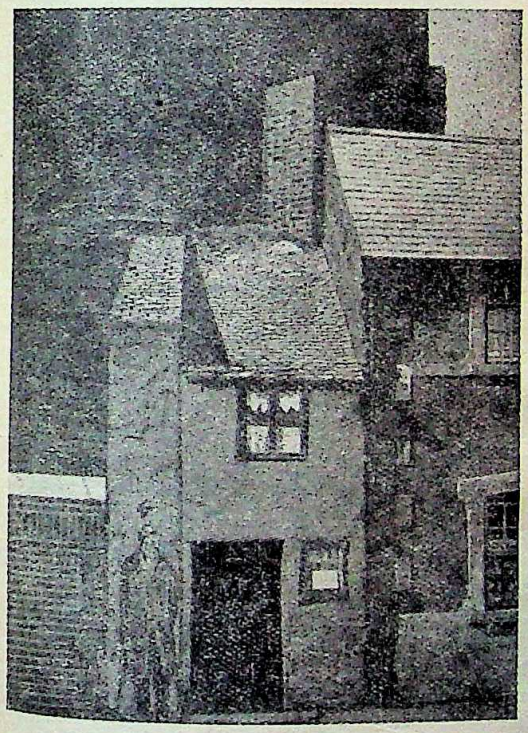
Thus, ended a short history of the English Judiciary in Calcutta during the 18th Century.

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A CORNER OF WALES

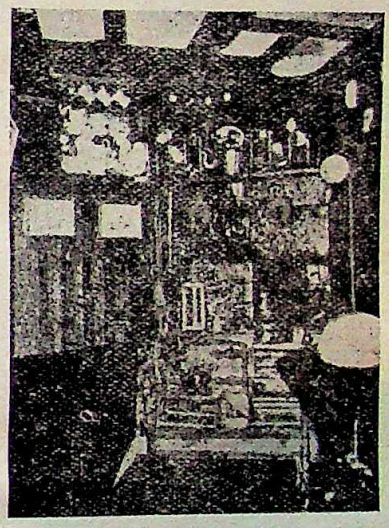
By ADINATH SEN, M.A., B.SC. (Glas.), M.I.E. (India)

"We are seven," insisted the simple child, in response to the query, "Brothers and sisters how many are you?", counting those lying in graves in the churchyard. The little graves in Conway, North of Wales, were the inspiration of Wordsworth's famous piece of poetry. Conway also boasts of the smallest house in



The smallest house in Great Britain, Conway

Great Britain with its kitchen and bedroom, with a frontage of 72 inches, depth of 100 inches and height of 122 inches. The Conway river, in beautiful surroundings, is crossed by a tubular and a suspension bridge, leading to an imposing Castle of old times. To the East of Conway, there are popular seaside resorts, promenades, piers, and marine-drives: Rhyl at 15 miles, Colwyn Bay at 6 miles and Landudno at 4 miles from Conway. The last is on an Isthmus with two sea-fronts, and a remarkable drive round Great Orme starts from the Happy Valley Rock Gardens,



The smallest house in Great Britain: Kitchen

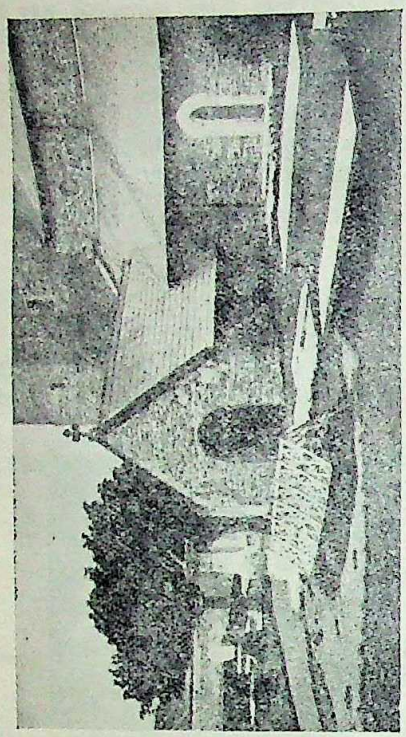


The smallest house in Great Britain: Bedroom

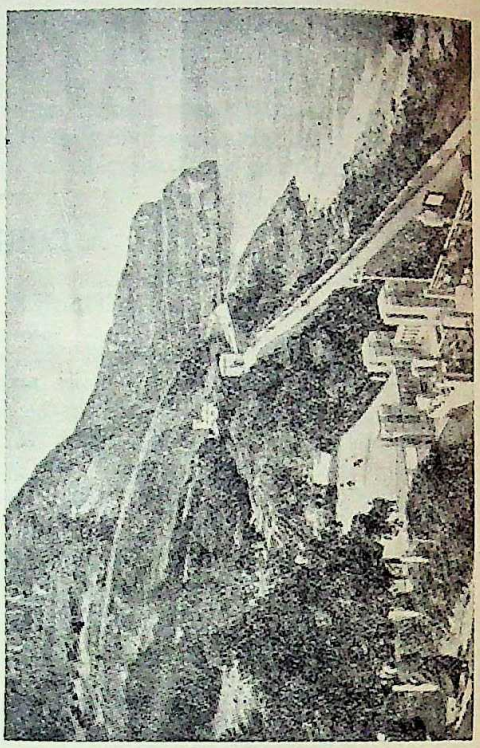
which has perhaps suggested the name of the well-known Tea-garden at Darjeeling, as in many similar examples in the country.

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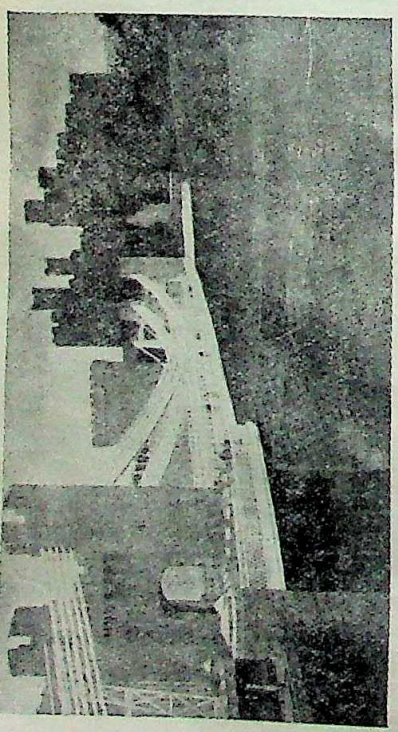
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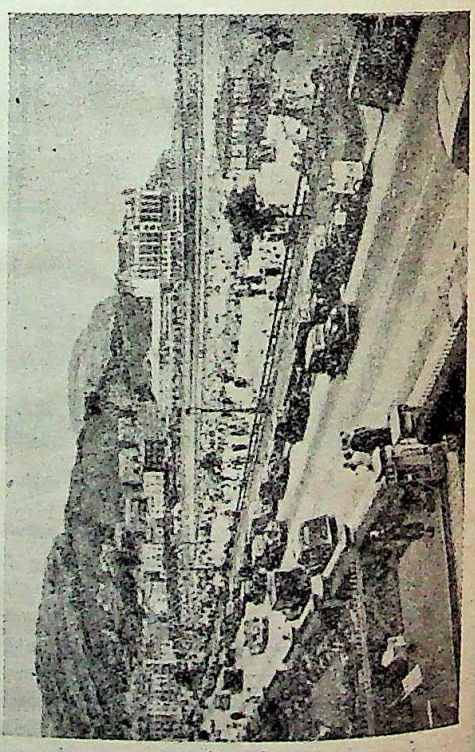
"We are seven." Conway Churchyard



Marine Drive from Happy Valley, Llandudno



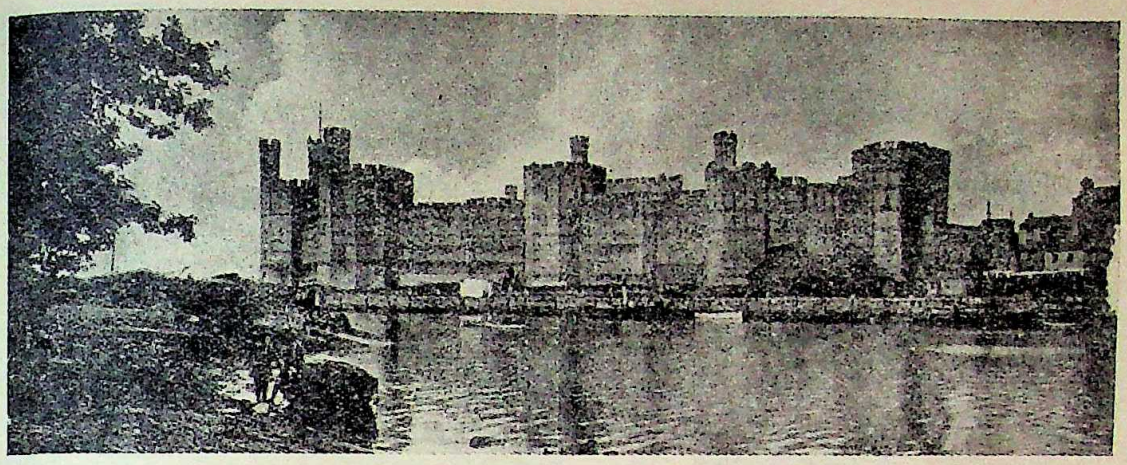
Bridge and Castle, Conway



The Promenade, Llandudno

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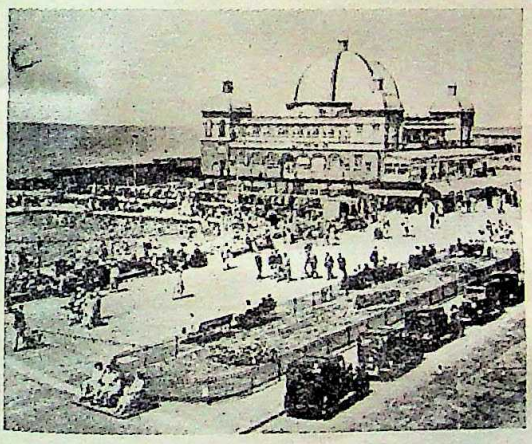
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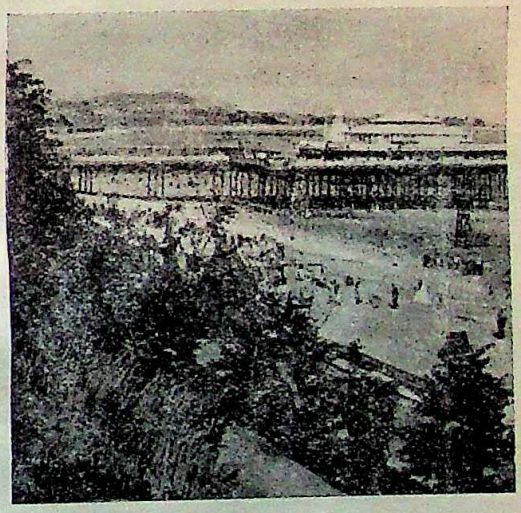
Carnarvon Castle

To the West, at 14 miles from Conway, is Bangor at the entrance to the Menai Straits between the island of Anglesey and Wales at its north-west corner. The island looks like a man's head with a crest and bares the name of Cape Holy Head, learnt in our school days. Bangor possesses a Cathedral and a University and is the same as mentioned in the popular comic song. "Riding down from Bangor, on an Eastern train," and there are tunnels on this Eastern Line. Near the other extremity of the Straits, lies the imposing Castle of Carnarvon, biggest in the U. K. It dates from the time of Edward I, and is also the best preserved in the country.

Inland lies the Snowdon Mountains, the highest in Wales, scalable by a mountain Railway with roads and passes round about it from which excellent views are obtained of the mountain. Beautiful lakes abound in the vicinity. There are two at Lanberry, on one of which are the slate quarries, from which the best slates in the world are carried by one of the smallest trains in the world of 15 inches gauge to Portmadoc on the Southern coast, to be shipped round the world. Within a short distance from the Port, lies beautiful Criccieth,



Rhyl, seaside resort, east of Conway



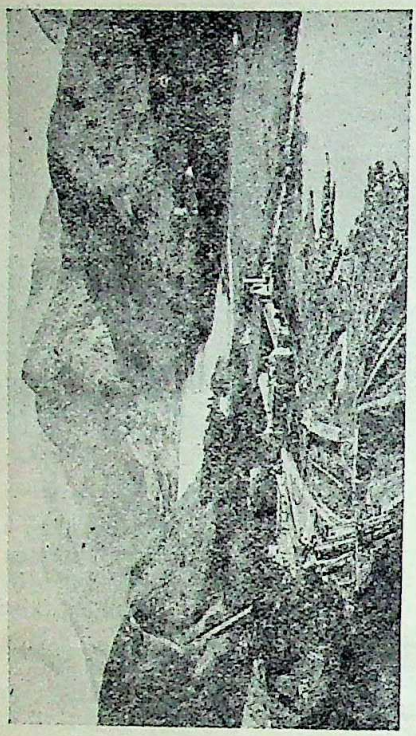
Colwin Bay



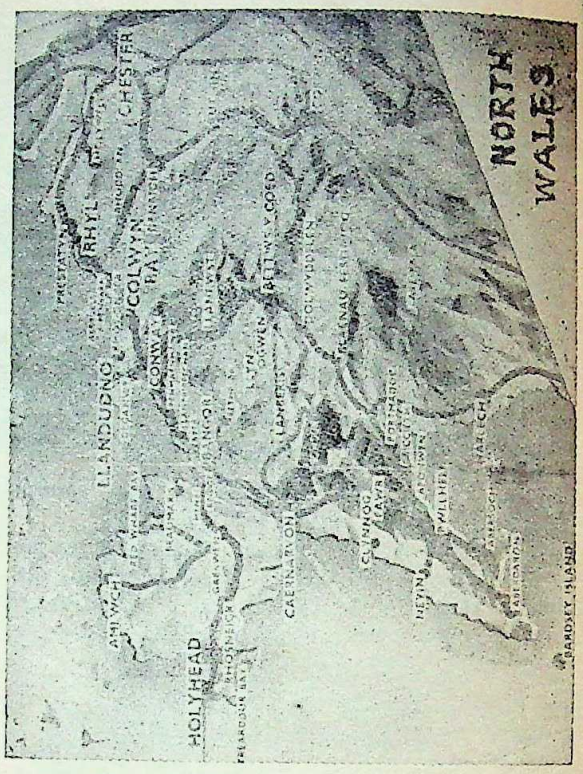
Criccieth: The Welsh home of Lloyd George

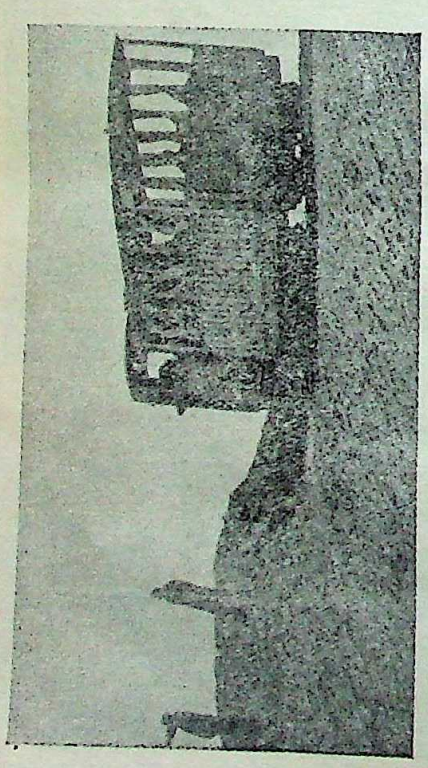
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Lakes at Llanberry





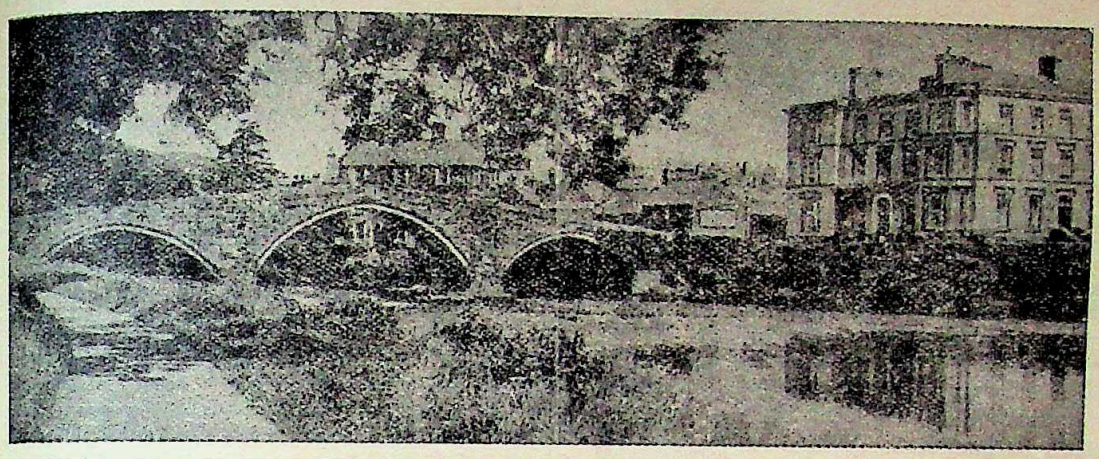
Snowdon Mountain Railway



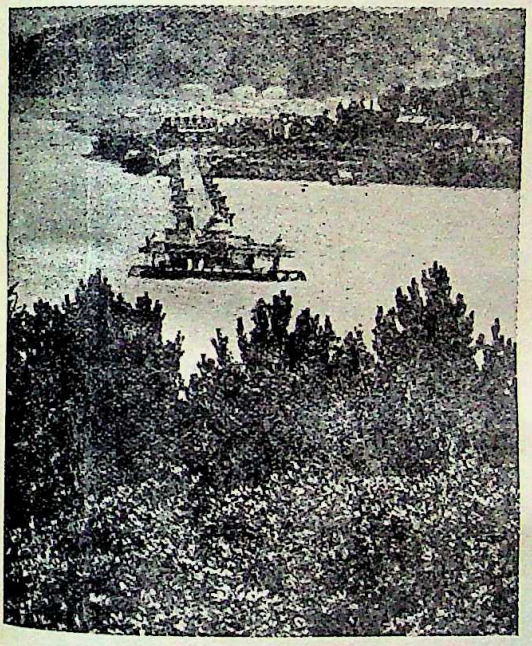
A village in Wales with the longest place-name in the world

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Llanrwst, a Welsh village



Bangor from across the Menai Strait

the Welsh home of Lloyd George. Towards North of Snowdon, there are twin lakes of Capel Craig, from which Snowdon is viewed with great advantage. Further North is the famous village, Betsyceed, at the junction of three rivers with falls and glens, appreciated by visitors and made famous by poets.

Boundary lines between countries have become a disturbing feature of late. A river, a ridge, or an unseen parallel may indicate a boundary, but proceeding from England to Wales, when you come across signposts like Bwlch, or villages like Llanrwst, where vowels become scarce, you may be sure that England has been left behind. Names become jaw-breaking as well as long, until in the limit, there is the longest place-



The fairy glen of Bettsyceed at the junction of three rivers

name in the world, of 58 letters but few vowels. A girl pronounces the name to visitors in one breath, by which feat, she makes a living from small tips. If in addition to the above complications, 'l' is to be pronounced as 'f' to start with, one is left to wonder, whether a stammerer first tried to utter the word and it was transcribed as uttered.

A village in Wales with the longest place-name in the world

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HE CHOSE TO BE AN ARTIST

By D. P. ROY CHOWDHURY

It was a catastrophe. This is how it happened. Kalapati got entangled into a queer situation that gave him the impetus to believe that he could paint pictures and shape clay to his heart's desire. There could be no dispute over the conviction, for the simple reason that his works were never allowed to be examined by real experts. The experts took immense delight in damaging an individual's sincerity. It was their profession, if not religion.

Sincerity in art or every-day life as Kalapati puts it, is the ideal for a greater existence and he lived for it. In the circumstances he had no other alternative than to keep the vicious rather dictatorial elements at a distance. This was the wisest thing that he could do to save his soft heart, which was easily susceptible to the reactions of painful observations. The principle of self-preservation implemented in practice proved to be very sound for imparting confidence and creative inspirations.

Temperamentally bent as he was, a suitable cultural environment was an urgent need. He was restless to settle down to work. His hands itched to fondle with clay. The lure of close contact with the supple medium became irresistible because it submitted to his will and took some form or other with the lightest touch of his fingers. Helpful accidents procured in this manner rendered amazing service to originality. But colour behaved in an obstinate manner. In consequence of which, he resorted to what he calls dashing strokes. The technique improvised by him might mean nothing to stagnant academic conventionalists, but it revealed purity of purpose if one could extend a sympathetic attitude towards its significance, standing as it did for sincerity and nothing but sincerity. Mind and hand being thus ready, his tense urge for creation could not be kept in suspense.

He made up his mind and went to Podahatt, a place situated on a low plateau commanding a panoramic view of a vast sheet of land, all barren. Here was founded the famous university of his dream. It was indeed a temple of peace where all sorts of creative activities worked in harmony with the minimum of toil.

The landscape stripped of its vegetation offered an intriguing fascination to Kalapati. Probably it was due to the fact that strong affinity of character existed between the spirit of the landscape and the soul of the artist.

As ill-luck would have it, the authorities of the university sooner discovered the genius in him, than he ever expected, with the result he was placed on a plane which demanded respect. He was chosen to be a teacher. So he discarded the humiliating students' life for good. The distinction thus gained had to be disclosed to Krishna, known as the sly fox who did not think much of Kalapati. Kalapati had no intention to tax his patience and wait for a chance meeting, so an express invitation, if not a challenge, was sent to Krishna to see for himself what Kalapati was worth. The invitation was accepted.

Tea was over. The time by now had leaned towards dusk. Cool and gentle breeze had created a congenial atmosphere for intellectual discourse. Kalapati opened the topic:

Dear Friends! I must tell you what I had been thinking for some time. You ought to know that I have decided to declare myself as an artist.

Krishna, the sly fox: A noble idea indeed! But what was the provocation that landed you in such a mess?

Kalapati: Your remark is aggravating. I want you to realise that every man in the street cannot be an artist unless he has the gift.

The sly fox: A gift! And who the devil carries coal to Newcastle? You don't need any support to achieve your ambition.

Kalapati: You cannot dismiss my good intention so lightly as that. I can tell you, I have made no attempt to crack a joke.

The sly fox: That is why I am worried.

Kalapati: I worried on account of the cause that helps one to raise from sordid realities to the realm of dream, from the matter-of-fact obvious to the spiritual sphere.

The sly fox: My dear old thing, what you are not considering, is my misery following on account of your solemn declaration.

Kalapati: You anticipate trouble on account of my pursuing art, how do you mean?

The sly fox: It is like this. I being an intimate friend of yours, my knowledge of you and your blessed art is expected to be reliable. As such, no one can tell when I shall be called to write an article on you.

Kalapati: Suppose I myself request you to do so?

The sly fox: You are a clever fellow, aren't you? I never could imagine my unguarded suggestion will be taken [illegible] However, I am afraid, I

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have to deny myself the privilege as my intellect is not so sturdy as to stand the strain. An article on you means courting a wordy battle right in the front line.

Rama, the Mediator: That is exactly what we expect you to do. The country is passing through an unusual crisis. Devastating poverty of culture has engulfed us. Something drastic has to be done quickly to save the people from impending calamity.

The sly fox: That is not the correct position. Things are moving faster than you can imagine. With the acceleration of speed on cultural wheels, art is dumped on everybody in the street. There is no time to choose and find the needy soul. Aesthetic consciuosness has been roused to such a feverish degree that the cinema world is finding it difficult to retain the artists within its fold. They are assuming the stature of mobile stars and are being rushed to heaven, leave alone the unwarranted intrusion into space without any passport. Innocent village-folk are being educated to wait in deputation for the recognition of their indigenous art. What do you think has come out of the manoeuvre? Smart distempered walls in great cities are being covered up by pure cow-dung coats to create the illusion of a mud wall. The purpose behind this novel decoration is to give a grand reception to *pata chitras* in their own environment. Stink is substituted for sweet odour. Taking things as they are, I see no prospect of a shelter to my utter ignorance, in case I comply with your request.

The Mediator: But I see you are quite good at speech and you mean to say you dare not write, even if you were assured of a good supply of quotations from great authorities. They are the best protections against any controversial opinion. Don't you agree?

Balu, the Trumpeteer of Podahatt: You live in a civilized world. Have you not heard of such a thing as propaganda? We consider it as a branch of fine art. Therefore, a precise knowledge in any particular direction is not so much a criterion as is an artful progress to meet our objective.

The Mediator: It is not difficult to substantiate the view of Balu. Many religions and innumerable gods would not have had a hold on the cosmos if their respective prophets did not canvas for an unreserved mass support.

Balu, the Trumpeteer: There you are! The majority of followers of faith are either made to order or by propaganda. Hence there is no room to think of diffidence. Decide now and once for all that we shall launch a vigorous struggle for a fuller life. Our art must thrive.

The sly fox: That is where you get me into the soup. I am no good for struggle either. My attempt to improve myself will dissolve the whole thing into a chaos.

The Mediator: There is no failure for a determined will. We have the living example here. Look at Kalapati. He decided to be an artist and he is now an Art Master.

The sly fox: Let me understand you. What you are pressing for is that I should present myself as a self-constituted leader and then proceed to find out whether I am accepted as such or not. Isn't it what you are aiming at?

The Mediator: Everything is fair in love and war. So is it in propaganda. Your success will depend on how you concentrate your energy on this point.

The sly fox: You have made things clear, now I surrender to the majority of votes. Take my word, I shall write but which is the journal that will publish an article by a novice? I have some respect for modesty, my conscience will not permit me to proceed unless I have confessed my diffidence.

The Trumpeteer: No, no, no. That would be suicidal. You cannot do that. You cannot escape from your commitment, nor can you drag in conditions at this stage. Take it from me that the average man in the street including quite a number of the educated from common universities expect nothing more than flowery phrases and idioms that produce a knowledgeable effect.

The Mediator: I have a bit of advice. Keep in mind that the more obtruse the theme the better the result. People are poverty-stricken, they are hungry; they take anything for food. As such, we need not extend our responsibility to their digestive faculty.

The Trumpeteer: My friend is perfectly right. The article that we want must be charged with assertive conviction but it should be equally good for a gallant retreat. Take caution to see that no room is given for a quarrel or objection even when you are most aggressive. This is where tact is put to severe test and we know you will rise equal to the occasion.

The sly fox: Now Kalapati must add some points on his prostration. I beg your pardon, I meant posterity.

Kalapati: Are you sure you did not use the expression without any intention?

The sly fox: (aside) I never could persuade myself to believe that a fool can understand his inherent quality when told.

Kalapati: What are you muttering? I think I have caught you right.

The sly fox: So you have. I admit the credit is yours. However, I am going to adjust. Now come with your points.

Kalapati: You see my thoughts work in a peculiar manner. I think too deep but when I try to express in words they get either confused or completely lost.

The sly fox: Why do you think then at all?

Kalapati: I cannot help it. Thoughts are my only companions.

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The sly fox: Excuse my inquisitiveness, how do you get a constant supply and what are the sources? I need these points for the article.

Kalapati: It is difficult to make you see how an artist observes an object of beauty and gets inspired to interpret his feelings or thoughts. Forms of beauty can be seen everywhere but it needs a gift to pick them up. Here the philistine is handicapped. He is immune from any reaction that the contact of a beautiful thing can produce. He never feels sorry if the melody of good music does not enter into his ears.

The sly fox: Great news. What made you step into this branch of art also and what style or *raga* or *ragini* takes you away from sordid reality to the land of your dream.

Kalapati: Of course, the simple folk-song.

The sly fox: They say simplicity in art or intellectual expression is only a concentrated form of great complications. The result is merely a concealment of difficulties overcome. Hence folk-art cannot be simple but it is in an undeveloped stage on account of the sentimental watchdogs who deny with vengeance any progressive outlook. I call it crude.

Kalapati: You have fallen in line with the sophisticated. You are a bourgeois. You are just a few and your days are gone. Folk-song is the art of the people who make the earth fertile, who give life to every bit of thing they touch, who feed millions by their hard toil. Therefore, the music that is expected to echo in the heart can never be your pet classical stuff, those *ragas* and *raginis*.

The Trumpeteer: One needs strong nerves to withstand the shocks on account of its ferocious character. As a matter of fact the demonstration of your so-called higher music appears to be more a wrestling about than anything near music. It is all mechanical and completely devoid of sentiment.

The sly fox: You want me to understand that sentiment rules out all other aspects of artistic expression.

Kalapati: To me art is objective. Therefore, its highest purpose is served when sentiments are recorded in the right manner.

The sly fox: What is this right manner again? You seem to have an inexhaustible stock of wits.

Kalapati: Your manner of questioning is too assuming. Look, the reaction has already begun. I am going to swoon.

The sly fox: I am afraid you will have to drop the idea for the present. I am quite prepared to relieve you of the inconvenience I have caused unwittingly, provided you keep your art aloof from this sort of inspiration. It is a disturbing factor to my loyalty. I have given my pledge to write an article. Mind that?

Kalapati: I am sorry to have disturbed you. I am trying to get possessed of myself. Please do not leave me alone. You are the only person who can convey my message to suffering humanity. The innocent people have been victims of the vicious dictators. The poor fellows are penalised to accept vulgar imitation of nature as art. Oh! I can imagine what an agony it is to live with such naked facts of reality.

The sly fox: It looks as if you have almost got me into your shoes. Now, then, how do you want me to convey your message?

Kalapati: You have to penetrate your vision into the depths of my thoughts, which my works will reveal. There is always an inner meaning behind the surface. It needs a little sympathy—a little patience—a little consideration to overlook certain handicaps.

The sly fox: Handicap! for you? It is absurd, or it must be a confession.

Kalapati: No, it is really a confusion, it is always alert to let me down whenever I try to explain in words. You know speech is not my medium.

The sly fox: Let us then proceed with the medium where you would feel at home.

Kalapati: I am grateful for your change of heart. I am sure you have seen my recent pictures, at least their reproductions. Let me begin with the "Folk-dance." An honest scrutiny will disclose how I have got the spirit of the environment of simple life of the people.

The sly fox: But simple life of the people does not necessarily provide a possibility of a simple treatment in the picture. Does it?

Kalapati: Of course, it does. The subject has a lot to do with the objective and to fit in with the subject I had to evolve a new technique which is free from any academic influence. To enlighten you on the point I should stress upon the fact that we never attempt to draw just what we see, but our impressions are recorded through an intellectual vision.

The sly fox: The vision as you describe it, is only an exercise of a prolonged memory of what you had seen and that which is forgotten is gloriously protected by such high-level words as elimination, sublimation and all the rest of nonsense.

Kalapati: In a round about way you are saying that the method of recording our expressions is not different from what is done in other institutions.

The sly fox: If I have to keep my conscience clear of an immoral act then I must say there is no difference, and if there be any, then it is a privilege to tell what is not true.

Kalapati: Oh God! The chaos is heading for a successful end!

The sly fox: Let me save you from the apprehension by coming back to your "Folk-dance." I presume you are aware of the fact that my knowledge of the art of dancing is nil. As such, I see in the picture nothing else but two persons pulling a Christmas cracker and you made them exert more energy than

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was necessary. Besides, they have been deprived of a festive mood, too, on account of the scanty dress you have provided. A few dabs of colour might have given a gay appearance and saved the situation.

Kalapati: But colours have a tendency to scream.

The sly fox: Not when you know how to humour them. You have touched the limit. Now let me add my conclusive remark. The whole of the project has gone through a loss of balance, so have you. It is an unpardonable performance for an artist who means to be serious and knows better.

The Trumpeteer: It would be a tragedy if your views were confirmed.

The Mediator: The sly fox has done nothing else than that.

Kalapati: If that be the truth, I feel no good purpose will be served by an article from your pen.

The sly fox: I am pledged to write. My honour is at stake. Aren't you going to respect the word of a gentleman?

The Trumpeteer: A gentleman is born, Sir, and not made at other's cost.

The sly fox: So is an Artist!

—*Courtesy*: All-India Radio, Madras 8.

———:O:———

GEMS FROM GURU NANAK'S SONG DIVINE, "JAPJI"

By Prof. BALWANT SINGH, M.A.

He is One, the Eternal One,
Life of life and life in all
All that is doth come from Him,
All that is doth live in Him,
All that is doth merge in Him,
He was, is and ever shall be.

* * *

How to be at-one with Him?
Resign thyself to Will Divine.
His the Will that reigns Supreme,
We cannot force our will on Him.

* * *

'I-ness' is the veil that hides
Face of God from human eye.

* * *

He gives to all and never tires,
We have our fill and yet He gives!
Oh, the Giver who ever gives!
What must we do to earn the Bliss?
Glorify the Giver great
In the morning, ambrosial morn.

* * *

He dwells in all, abides in all,
Let this thought abide with thee.
Attune thyself to Heaven's Will,
Walk with God in all thy deeds.

* * *

Soap and water wash the filth
Of hands, and feet and clothes we wear,
Walk with God to wash thy sins,
Live in God to cleanse thyself,
This the way, the only way
To peace and bliss and life Divine.

* * *

In within the sacred shrine
Of the heart and soul of Man,
Is the sacred seat of God,
Seek thy Heaven in within,
Let the soul unite with Him.

Upper worlds and nether worlds
Countless are they all, indeed.
Does the Bull support the Earth?
Then who supports the countless worlds?

* * *

He is Truth and Bliss and Beauty
(And we call him Sachdanand.)

* * *

Conquer self and love of Self,
And you conquer all the world.

* * *

Creation all a song of praise
To the Author of Creation.
All the human race that is
With many creeds, is one in fact,
All of us are linked and kin
Our humanhood our common bond.

* * *

Be thou chaste in thought and deed.
To bear and forbear all,
Let Reason be thy light of life
And inner Light thy constant guide,
Fear of God and life austere
Ever keep and hold them dear,
Let love of God and love of Man
Be the nectar sweet of life,
Live in God and love Him ever,
By His Grace thou wilt be saved.

* * *

The air is the eternal Ground,
Giving life, like God Himself,
Like a father is the water,
And the earth is mother-like,
Day and night are nurses two
In their lap doth man abide,
They that live in God are saved,
Saving hosts of others, too.

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RELIGION OF GURU NANAK

By SARDAR SARDUL SINGH CAVEESHAR

History tells us how political boundaries that circumscribed a family or a tribe, a district or a province, fell down one by one. We do not now hear much of tribes and districts as politically independent units; we only talk of nations and countries when we talk of the various political sections of humanity. The next step in political progress will be the levelling down of national landmarks and the establishment of an international commonwealth. The formation of the League of Nations and of the United Nations Organisation point to that direction. Much of the political unity has been brought about by the mechanical devices introduced in the system of communications; distances have been annihilated bringing nations and countries near to each other as never before.

Similar is the tendency in the sphere of religion. We have advanced from tribal religions to regional and national religions, and from national religions to international religions, and from international religions to common religious platforms meant to bring together all the various religions of the world.

We have still the example of tribal religions in the backward tracts of Asia, Africa and Australia. Regional and national religions are represented by Judaism, Hinduism and Zoroastrianism. Islam, Buddhism and Christianity are the examples of international religions which have levelled down the boundaries of nations and countries. Historically the next step is bound to be, on the example of the League of Nations and the United Nations Organisation, a common religious platform for all the religions of the world.

Guru Nanak was the first earnest religious thinker who put before the world the idea of having a universal religion based on the conception of Fatherhood of God and Brotherhood of Mankind. He deliberately laid the foundations of a movement that was to unite the whole of humanity on these two fundamentals, whatever opinions or prejudices people in general may have, on accoont of inherited traditions or physical environments, or other religious or philosophic ideas.

It was later that desire for propaganda and also as a reply to the religious persecution by the fanatic rulers of the day, turned the Sikhs into a well-defined, compact community, distinguishing it from those around them. But all this was an after-growth. The real purpose for which Guru Nanak and his successors worked was the historical necessity of bringing on the question of religion the whole of mankind on one common platform without any distinction of creed or religion.

Guru Nanak was pre-eminently the prophet of unity and peace. His efforts at creating an atmosphere for world reconciliation and world unity were far in advance of the age in which he lived. He is generally regarded as a religious reformer. No doubt, the reforms introduced by him in the sphere of religion were of great importance, but his contribution to unity and toleration in the world of religion was of even greater importance.

Guru Nanak did not want to convert persons from one religion to the other. He wanted Hindus and Moslems to be true to their religion. At the same time he wanted to establish a brotherhood common to all religions for the worship of God and the service of mankind. He wanted all those who believed in God and His worship in the service of mankind to come together. stand on one common platform, and help each other by their experience and achievements.

The word Sikh is from Sanskrit *Shish*, meaning disciple or learner. In Sikh vocabularly it means a person whose mental and spiritual attitude towords the world is ever that of a student; ever open-minded, ever ready to learn and improve.

The idea of discipleship is as old as religion or even learning itself. But it was reserved for Guru Nanak and the other Sikh Gurus to make a religion of it. It is the contribution of the Sikh Gurus to the history of human thought and religious ideas that it is the primary and most sacred duty of man to be ever vigilant and in a receptive mood to learn and imbibe from all quarters what is best spiritually, morally, mentally and physically. And this spirit is not to be a sort of grace or a side-accompishment; it was to be man's main and only goal on earth.

Every earnest person is a learner or disciple all his life. He is to learn of truth from every source. He is to join and work together with all those, of whatever creed or race, who are in search of divine truth and divine love. Sikhism, the religion of the disciples, is thus a platform for all those who were learners, who were seekers after truth. Let them be Hindus, Moslems, Christians, Buddhists, Jews or Zoroastrians, Sikhism was to be the link that joined them together in their search for truth a sort of fraternity or religious guild established for the promotion of love of God and service of mankind.

It was, indeed, fortunate that Guru Nanak was born in a country and at a time well suited for general rapprochement between classes and creeds, between countries and nations. At the end of the fifteenth century India was politically quite a weak unit. But her very weakness was a blessing in disguise as it made her a centre and meeting-place of almost all the great cultures and nations of the world. It was here in India that the three great civilizations which had at the time all the world under their sway met on a common platform. The Hindu culture had given birth to Brahmanism, Jainism, and Buddhism; the Hebrew civilisation was at the base of Judaism, Christianity and Islam. In the sixteenth century, under the great Mughals, both the streams met

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on the plains of the Indus and the Ganges to come to terms with each other and enrich the Indian soil with their union. To these two cultures was added the Greek culture through the Persian Shias and South Indian Christians. Thus it was in India that East and West met to merge their individuality into a united common goal.

This effort at unity was not superficial. We have only to look to the religious discussions held in the court of Akbar the Great, to realise its seriousness and inner significance. There was no important religion or sect, eastern or western, that was not represented at the debates in the *Ibadat Khana,* the Hall of Worship, at Fatehpur Sikri. And the discussions were held, not as an intellectual pastime, but with a view that a common religion and a common culture, based on all the religions and cultures of the world, might be evolved as a definite result.

There was to be found in the India of the Mughals a clash of ideas, a clash of cultures and a clash of races. But the world cannot be welded into one organic whole without a common beating-ground somewhere, without a rubbing-off of angularities in some convenient place. There was no country in the world better suited for this purpose than the India of the Mughals.

Guru Nanak saw the true significance of the religious conflict that raged around him. Fanaticism, mis-called religion, was at the bottom of the whole trouble. He raised his voice against it and resolved to fight it out. He was not against any religion; he did not criticise any faith; but he was strong in his invectives against religions and faiths warring against each other on account of local prejudices and general ignorance. He believed in worship and prayer, but he was against the mere forms of religion that had no life. Buddhism or Brahmanism, Christianity or Islam, were not good or bad in themselves; it was those who followed these religions that made them good or bad. Buddhists or Hindus, Christians or Moslems, were to be praised or blamed for what they were worth, for what they did for mankind. Not belief and profession, but life and action were regarded by him as high or low, good or bad. His universal religion was based on universal love and universal faith. It was beyond the limits of warring faiths and sects, beyond the limits of dogmas and creeds.

To what particular faith a person belonged was immaterial for Guru Nanak; he wanted only to know how one conducted oneself in one's dealings with others. He preached that the whole of the human race should have one common religion. That religion was not to be this creed or that creed; it transcended all religious prejudices and sectarian antagonism. The whole of the human race was to be brought within one common fold, not by converting men of one religion to another, but by following what was true and good in all the religions and faiths.

It was not surprising that when Guru Nanak passed away, no one could say what religion he professed. Hindus wanted to cremate his body according to their custom; while the Moslems were anxious to bury it according to their own law and usage. Even today those who study his teachings cannot definitely say to what particular religion he belonged. In the second decade of the present century, in a session of the Punjab Historical Society, a Sikh gentleman, Sardar Joginder Singh of Aira, read a paper on the life and teachings of Guru Nanak. The meeting was held at Simla and was attended by Hindus, Sikhs, Christians and Moslems alike. After the lecture was over, a Hindu leader of repute, Lala Ram Saran Das of Lahore, stood up and said that the speaker was wrong in not mentioning that Guru Nanak was a Hindu reformer. A Moslem aristocrat, Sir Zulfiqar Ali of Maler Kotla, retorted that the Hindu gentleman was wrong in calling Nanak a Hindu: the Guru in his opinion, was a Moslem. Sir Michael O'Dwyer, who presided over the meeting, in summing up the proceedings said that both the gentlemen were wrong; as far as he could judge, Guru Nanak was a Christian.

The controversy as regards Guru Nanak's religion will continue as long as we do not change our viewpoint to understand the great teacher. In him every one could find what was best in one's religion; the Guru's religion was the religion of humanity; it encompassed all the true faiths in its sacred fold.

As the new religion was born of the impact of East and West; it was consdiered pre-eminently fit to be the future religion of the world; it was considered specially suited to India because a Sikh meant to be a reformed Hindu and a reformed Moslem. In the beginning both the Hindus and the Moslems took part in propagating its teaching as if it was their own religion. Guru Nanak laid the foundations of the Sikh Religion as a universal religion. By simplifying religion and basing it on universal principles of Love of God, Love of Humanity, and earnestness at self-development and self-culture, he put before the world an ideal which he thought must be followed by the whole of humanity for world peace and world happiness.

Guru Arjan, the fifth Guru of the Sikhs, and the compiler of the Sikh Scriptures, was once asked what was the best religion of the world. His reply was :

Sarb dharam men sresht-dharam
Har Ka Nam jap nirmal Karam.

"The best of all the religions was the religion of Love of God and of Righteous Action."

Sikhism, the religion of the Sikh Gurus, is an interpretation of this pious and practical formula. Man must love God and base all his actions on this Love. Love of God is the first necessity of man's life, but this love must make him a man of action. Not asceticism but active life, life of righteous action is to be the guiding principle of all his activities.

It was believed, and it is sometimes still believed, that love of God and love of the world do not go together. Sikhism was a reply to this old objection. A Sikh was to be both a *Bhakta,* a man of devotion to God; and a hero, the man of action. He was to be both a soldier and a

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saint. The more the love of God in one's heart the more one was to serve the world with righteous action.

According to the Sikh Gurus, it was these two principles, the love of God and the love of mankind through righteous action, that could end the whole strife of creeds and religions, of nations and races, of man and man, that formed such an ugly chapter in the history of human race.

It has often been said that the Sikh Gurus were followers of Vedantism as expounded in the Upanishads. The language, similes and metaphors used by the Gurus to explain their meaning sometimes lend colour to this theory. The similarity is indeed striking. But it is only a superficial or cursory knowledge of the Sikh Scriptures that could support such a view. Vedantism is a plastic doctrine and means so many things to so many people. Its different schools are a testimony to its fluid and indefinite import. Similarly Upanishads on which Vedantism is often based are a vast forest of very luxuriant growth. You can find in about two hundred current Upanishads, some of them are of quite recent date, theories and problems quite opposed to each other. It is not far from truth when one says that in the Upanishads you can find anything and everything in the matter of religious and philosophic doctrine. You have there montheism, monism, deism, dualism, pantheism, idolatry, ritualism, formalism, asceticism, all running riot in close proximity. That certainly is not the case with the Sikh Scriptures. There you have a difinite doctrine and a definite path to follow, though you can plausibly say that it is generally in accord with much of what one finds in some of the best Upanishads and in the writings of some of the most practical Vedantists.

Similarly it has been suggested very seriously by some that Sikhism is nothing more than a reproduction of Islamic Sufi doctrines in the Indian garb, and by others, though not so seriously, that Sikhism is an acho of Buddhism and of Christianity. Ideas and words from the Sikh Scriptures can be put forward to support these views to some extent. But all this cannot show anything more than this that religious thinkers all the world over have often thought alike and sometimes used the same arguments and the same words to express ideas common to all of them. Guru Nanak and his successors had difinite ideas of their own about God, Creation, Man and his conduct in life. These ideas were not new-fangled, though as a composite picture, they had the distinction of being fresh and original. These ideas being similar here and there with those of this or that great religious thinker, shows their catholicity and lends them a universal appeal, but the line and path chalked out by the Sikh Gurus were their own , and in their final and perfected form owed their origin to none else but to the Sikh Teachers themselves.

Sikhism had its birth in the reform movements that sprang up in the Hindu Society in the 15th and the 16th centuries. On one side it eschewed Hindu polytheism, formalism, priest-craft, and caste; at the same time, on the other side, it carried forward Hindu catholicity and tolerance to a wider shphere of influence, making an Indian religion fit for the whole of mankind.

Similarly, Sikhism was born under the new influence that Islam brought to India. As reformed Mohammadanism, Sikhism on one side discouraged its Arabian prejudices and intolerance, and on the other it acclimatised Islamic monotheism and puritanical life to the Indian soil.

Guru Nanak always spoke with the people in their own tongue, in the language and about ideas which were easily comprehensible to those who came into touch with him. With the Yogis he spoke about Yoga, with the Moslems about Islam and with the Brahamans about the Brahmanical creed. His main idea was to teach people the religion of love of God and service of mankind. For this he would draw upon the religious ideas of those very persons who formed his audience. He would condemn outward forms that killed the spirit of religion and ask the people to follow the truth that lay behind these forms and rites. It was immaterial for him to which religion one belonged; it was not necessary for him to subscribe to the theories and principles underlying the beliefs of those who listened to him. He used these to serve his own purpose so that those who came to him may be able to understand him best, according to their own light and learning.

The Sikh Gurus gave a new spiritual turn to old ideas which had outgrown their spiritual utility. The emphasis on the fundamentals of religions was quite their own as was their courage in condemning what was corroding and corrupt. It was for this reason that Guru Nanak and those who followed him were often called by fanatics *Kurahyas*, or heretics.

Perhaps it is possible to show that every important principle enunciated by the Sikh Gurus had its precedent in some previous Hindu, Buddhistic, Moslem or even Christian doctrine. But Sikhism, evidently, in its final form has its own individuality and catholicity marking it out as a distinct creed, having a distinct place in the evolution of religious creed, a distinct place in the evolution of religious thought. The main principles of Sikh Religion, Fatherhood of God and Brotherhood of Mankind, Unity of the Individual Soul with the Universal Soul, Immanence of the Transcendental Reality in the Universe of phenomena, the importance of leading an active but detatched life, the recognition of basic unity of all creeds, find support from all what is best in the old Vedic and the new Sufi literature. But religious history clearly shows that the Hindu and Moslem ideas were overlaid with so many superstitious and corrupt ideas, that the popular Hindu and Moslem mind seemed to have almost forgotten the real truth and attached itself to ideas and forms against which devout and intelligent Hindu and Moslems could not help feeling disgust and revolt.

For re-teaching the gospel of universal brotherhood a new prophet and a new hero was necessary. Guru Nanank and Guru Govind Singh eminently fulfilled that

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position. They put before the world ideals in thought and action that could bring the whole of mankind on one common platform for its uplift and regeneration.

The ancient seers of India who expressed their ideas in Upanishads in their highest moments of light and inspiration, evolved the idea that God was in all and all were in God, and that the best minds all over the world thought alike in matters spiritual and divine. But these were ideas reserved for the sage and the philosopher and had currency only in the hermitage and cloister. It was Guru Nanak and other teachers of the Bhakta or Mystic School, who brought out this idea from the seclusion of the forests and academies to every one's hearth and home. What was formerly the property of a few gifted persons was now made available in popular language which every body could understand and make use of in his daily life. Spiritual truths which were regarded as secrets for the select few were now required to be practised in daily life by the prince and the peasant, by the artist and the artisan, by the soldier and the merchant alike.

——:O:——

BOOK REVIEWS

Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

EDITOR, *The Modern Review*.

ENGLISH

OUT OF MY LATER YEARS: *By Albert Einstein. Philosophical Library, New York. Price $4.75.*

Had Einstein been only a great scientist of the age, his name and fame would have remained confined within the intellectual circle of the world and common man would have known little about him and his achievements. But as a matter of fact in whichever sphere his name is uttered it spontaneously arouses a feeling of reverence in the minds of the listeners. The secret of it lies not in the brilliant intellectual performances of the *scientist* Einstein but in the intensely sincere appeals for justice and humanitarianism of the *man* Einstein.

All through the essays, except in those devoted to the presentation of his theory of relativity, the cry of the anguished soul finds expression. The devastation wrought by war, the cruelties performed on man by man, the crumbling down of all values, have stirred Einstein's soul to its very depths. Has he become embittered? Definitely not. Has he become despondent? Far from it. He himself has not escaped suffering. But he has no grudge. On the contrary, he points out the sources from which the evil has inevitably come down upon humanity and shows the way to all how the evil can be prevented in the future. He addresses the intelligentsia, calls upon the youth, to change their ways of thinking and modes of behaviour. Scientific knowledge should be utilised for social purposes and moral regeneration. Values must be re-established. It is through united efforts of all thinking men that such changes in outlook can be brought about. He asks the Jews, though they have suffered perhaps the most, not to lose heart. They have suffered before but they have survived, and so will they again. All the political, social and educational views that he has formulated in these essays are based essentially on his serene faith in man and on moral values.

There are brief appreciative sketches of some eminent men and women of the day including one on Mahatma Gandhi. Those wishing to sense the full grandeur of the sentiments and depth of the thoughts expressed must read and re-read the essays. A few quotations are given below:

"Let us think, feel and act like this man, refusing to accept fateful compromise. Let us not even shun the fight when it is unavoidable to preserve right and the dignity of man. If we do this, we shall soon return to conditions that will allow us to rejoice in humanity."

"Only understanding for our neighbors, justice in our dealings and willingness to help our fellow men can give human society permanence and assure security for the individual. Neither intelligence nor inventions nor institutions can serve as substitutes for these most vital parts of education.

"But for the future our hope lies in overcoming the general moral abasement which today gravely menaces the very existence of mankind. Let us labour with all our powers, however feeble, to the end that mankind may recover from its present moral degradation and gain a new vitality and a new strength in its striving for right and justice as well as for a harmonious society."

The publishers are to be congratulated; the book not only makes Einstein known to all but gives publicity to many ideas that would make others halt and ponder.

S. C. MITRA

MODERN ARMS AND FREE MEN: *By Vannevar Bush. William Heinemann Ltd., Distributors, Asia Publishing House, 17 Gunbow Street, Bombay. 1950. Pp. 300. Price 10s. 6d.*

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Dr. Vannevar Bush was for more than ten years President of the Carnegie Institute of Washington. In 1940, he was appointed Chairman of the National Defence Research Committee by President Roosevelt. He, therefore, speaks with knowledge and authority. Dr. Bush has examined, in the present book, the new instruments of war which scientists have brought into being in modern times. After describing the possibilities and limitations of each of these new inventions, he has come to the very important conclusion that the Democracies need not be afraid of an immediate overthrow through their employment by totalitarian powers. If new methods of offence have been devised, newer methods of detection or defence have also not lagged behind. In a country like America, which is geographically as well as economically well-placed, there is therefore no immediate cause for alarm.

But Dr. Bush also points out that unless the democratic countries have a really moral cause to fight for, they will lose much of their internal strength. His suggestion, therefore, is that Americans should immediately address themselves to bringing about real economic democracy within their own territory in order to make their cause really worth fighting for. This revolutionary internal change can be brought about by extensive education and by making the process of democratic government more active and efficient. He does not believe in the complete eradication of private enterprise, but wishes to strike a balance between it and public control. In the meanwhile, this fast-evolving and real democracy must and can be defended by all the powers which science and organization can bestow against the onslaught of totalitarian forces. The supreme good is freedom; not merely material wealth. There can be economic prosperity under a state of domestication or subordination; but the highest good can only grow out of freedom, when it is supported by adequate economic welfare.

This thesis sounds all right for a country which is in the happy position of the U.S.A. But what about men who want to preserve their democratic freedom yet have not the resources to stay the onslaught of powerfully equipped totalitarian powers? Dr. Bush's book, being specifically addressed to American readers, leaves this question unanswered. Unless, however, we can find a solution for this very fundamental problem, the defence of democracy would actually mean the coalescence of small democratic powers under one which has men and money enough to stay the onslaught of totalitarianism. The second, and perhaps more vital problem also remains unanswered, *viz.*, how can we make democracy itself quick and efficient? Can there be a democratic substitute for the method of violence, when the ordinary parliamentary methods prove too slow? Is not the slowness and inefficiency of the parliamentary system one of the reasons why totalitarianism is expanding in a world when it stands urgently in need of quick change?

Perhaps the answer to both these questions could be found in a new development of Gandhi's Constructive Programme and Satyagraha, as recast in accordance with the special needs and conditions of various situations. But his experiments have unfortunately been halted at the very first stage when we gained no more than freedom from political subordination.

That apart, Dr. Bush's book can be warmly recommended to all those who are interested in the most vital problem of our times, *viz.*, the preservation of democracy or freedom in a world which is shaking under the fear of modern instruments of destruction.

NIRMAL KUMAR BOSE

QUINQUENNIAL ADMINISTRATION REPORT OF THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL DEPARTMENT, GWALIOR STATE, FOR THE SAMVATS 1998-2002 (Years 1942-46): *Published by the Archaeological Department, Madhya Bharat Government, Gwalior. 1949. Pp. 70 + xxii.*

As the Director of Archaeology, Madhya Bharat Government, explains in his short Preface, the belated publication of this consolidated Report was necessiated by the difficulty, arising from the aftermath of the Great War, of issuing Annual Reports of the Department as in former years. The present Report deals with the usual activiites of the Department under the heads *office work, conservation, excavations, listing of monuments, epigraphy and numismatics, archaeological museum,* etc. In connection with conservation it is pleasing to record the fine example set by a public-spirited merchant of Bhilsa whose donation made it possible for the Department to take steps for the protection of the two Jain caves in the Udayagiri group of monuments (p. 3). On the other hand, one cannot but note with concern that even after completion of a six-year old scheme of conservation much important work remains to be done at the Bagh caves noted for their group of paintings (p. 11). Turning to another head one regrets to find that the excavations at Pawaya had to be stopped for want of funds, while no progress was made at the all-important site of Ujjayini (p. 14), although the Department has to its credit some important excavations at the ninth century site at Amrol (pp. 14-17). Mention is made under another head (pp. 18-19) of an important Sivite temple (of a date not later than ninth century) at the village of Indore, but, strangely enough, the site still awaits conservation. The addition of a sketch-plan in illustration of the architectural features of this last-named temple would have been very welcome. Of the inscriptions collected during this period the earliest and the most important are those referring to two ascetics of the well-known *Mattamayura* sect, while the new discoveries of coins include some fresh types of the Naga kings Bhava Naga and Prabhakara and coins of a new king Vibhu Naga (p. 26).

It is to be earnestly hoped that the Aerhaeological Department of the newly constituted Madhya Bharat State will receive adequate grant from Government in future to cope with its important work which is still for the most part undone.

U. N. GHOSHAL

A STUDY OF THE NEW CONSTITUTION OF INDIAN REPUBLIC: *By Arun Kumar Banerjee. Published by H. Chatterji and Co. Ltd., 19 Shyama Charan De Street, Calcutta-12. Pp. 112 + xv. Price Re. 1-8.*

The monograph under review is a handy volume giving a bird's-eye view of the new constitution of the Indian Republic. It consists of thirteen chapters giving, within a short compass, an account of all the important features of the Constitution and is prefaced by a historical introduction tracing the course of events since August 20, 1917, *i.e.*, the date ushering in a new era in India's Constitutional development which culminated in the inauguration of the present Constitution of Free India. It is hoped the monograph will prove to be a useful help-book for undergraduate students preparing for examination in the subject.

A. K. G.

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HINDU VIEW OF CHRIST: *By Swami Akhilananda. Published by Philosophical Library, New York. Pp. 291. Price $3.00.*

Jesus, the Christ, is a unique embodiment of divine life which is a light unto the whole world. But of Christ and Christianity as a religion and of religion in general, we find different estimates made by different thinkers in the East and the West and in the past and the present. It is, therefore, good for the world to know what Christ, Christianity and religion as such stand for, and what contribution, if any, they can make for the good of mankind. Swami Akhilanandaji's *Hindu View of Christ* will admirably serve this need. It deals especially with the life and teachings of Christ from the Hindu point of view and also with the agreement and difference between Christianity and Hinduism in certain important matters.

The book consists of ten chapters with an Introduction written by Dr. Walter G. Muelder, Dean of the School of Theology, Boston University, and a Preface by the author. The first chapter explains the distinctive characteristics of an incarnation of God and in their light supports the view that Christ is one among the many incarnations of God. The second chapter shows how Christ was the Oriental of Orientals and his life was the embodiment of Oriental ideals. It shows also that the teachings of Jesus hardly fit in the philosophy of life found in the West in modern times. Chapter III considers the interesting question whether or not Jesus was a *yogi* in the light of the teachings of the Hindu teachers, such as Sri Krishna, Patanjali, Sri Ramakrishna and others, and gives a positive answer to it. In chapter IV, the learned author discusses the nature of spiritual practices and indicates their place and use in the life of Jesus and many of his followers. Chapter V is a vigorous defence of religion in general and Christ's teachings in particular against the charges of futility, deceptiveness and injuriousness that are usually brought forward by some humanists, psychologists and communists. It also helps one to understand the value of religion for the everyday problems of life. Chapter VI is a brilliant exposition of the thesis that the power of Christ and Christianity lies not in the conquest of nature nor in the founding of empires, but in their salutary effect on individual and collective life. Chapter VII explains the real significance of the Cross, on which Jesus died freely, as a symbol of God's love and forgiveness. In chapter VIII, the real spirit of Easter and the lessons that should be learned from it have been elaborated. In the last two chapters the place and value of the teaching and preaching of religion and the Hindu attitude towards Christian missions have been explained by the author with ability and insight. The value of the book is enhanced by a select Bibliography and an Index. We recommend the book to all serious students of the life and teachings of Christ.

S. C. CHATTERJEE

A HISTORY OF THE GOLD COAST: *By W. E. F. Ward. Published by George Allen and Unwin Ltd., London. Price 21s. net.*

The British colony of Gold Coast has an importance all its own. It is the first African colony to have a legislative assembly with an elected majority. U.S.A.-educated Gold Coast leader, Dr. N'krumah is the first African to become the head of a country in the Commonwealth of Nations.

The Gold Coast is made up of the colonies of Gold Coast and Ashanti, the protectorate of Northern Territories and a narrow strip of German Togoland, the last named being attached to the Gold Coast under a mandate of the League of Nations.

England began her career in the Gold Coast as a trader and in the long run became its mistress. English possessions on the coast gradually extended by a series of treaties with the African rulers during the first half of the 19th century. How very similar to the rise of British power in India!

The Gold Coast was declared a Crown Colony in 1874. Ashanti was annexed after a series of wars and became a Crown Colony in 1901. The same year witnessed the birth of the protectorate of Northern Territories. The Colony with an area of 91,000 square miles is an important source of raw materials—cocoa, timber, copra, manganese, citrus fruit and the like—to feed British industries. It is at the same time a very good market for Britain's exportable surplus of consumer goods. Gold Coasters have no tradition of their origin and it is quite possible that their settlement here is a matter of 300 years more or less. They are principally of Negro origin. But in all probability blood of various races courses through their veins. "The Gold Coast," observes Mr. Ward, "is part of the Western Sudan, and over it for thousands of years have flowed and ebbed the folk-wonderings of the African races."

The gold of West Africa was known to the ancient world. Egyptians and Phoenicians made several attempts to circumnavigate Africa and one or more of their expeditions may have visited the Gold Coast and established trading settlements there. But the history of the Gold Coast began in a very real sense in the end of the 15th and the beginning of the 16th centuries. The Portuguese, the first European nation to visit the Gold Coast, went there in the 15th century, when the ancestors of the 20th century Gold Coast Africans had just begun to build their homes there.

Mr. Ward, who spent 16 years in the Gold Coost, traces in the volume under review its history from a period before the first European set foot on the West African shore. He describes the early history of the Gold Coast peoples. the rivalries of the Portuguese, the Dutch, the English and other white races for the lucrative trade in gold and slaves, the rise of the Ashanti, the Tante and other native tribes and the slow but steady expansion and consolidation of British authority. The best two chapters—XIV and XV—describe the recent political and economic developments of the Colony and are of special interest to the student of colonial imperialism in general and of British colonial history in particular.

Pictures, maps and graphs add to its charm and value. The author should be congratulated for having made a really valuable contribution to the existing literature on British Colonies. But the book suffers from one grave defect. Written by one of the ruling race, it gives a picture of the Gold Coast from the ruler's angle of vision. Abolition of slave trade, domestic slavery and the 'Pawn' system, good roads, railways, telegraph, telephone, and spread of education, Western education of course, are undoubtedly a boon to the children of the soil. But is the blessing an unmixed one? What does the Gold Coast African himself think of it? Has not the progress been paid for in a steady denationalization and in the emasculation of the Colony's sturdy manhood and in an unceasing draining away of its wealth? Mr. Ward is discreetly silent on the questions posed above and this omission is surely unfortunate.

SUDHANSU BIMAL MOOKHERJI

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SANSKRIT

CHRISTOPANISAT: *By Taracharan Chakravarty, Tarka-Darshan-Tirtha. Available at 12 Bhubon Chatterji Lane, Beadon Street, Calcutta. Price not mentioned.*

This is perhaps the latest addition to the not small amount of literature in Sanskrit on Christianity that has been produced during the last one hundred and fifty years or so presumably to attract the notice of higher class cultured people of India. Similar attempts are known to have been made at different times during the long history of Sanskrit literature by propounders and followers of different systems of religion and thought, indigenous as well as foreign, *e.g.*, Buddhism Jainism, Zoroastrianism and Chaitanyaism—all of which took the help of Sanskrit in view of the exalted position it occupied in the land. The literature dealing with foreign systems, however, does not seem to have gained its objective and attained popularity and attracted serious attention from the world of scholars.

In the book under review we have 'the four gospels rendered into Sanskrit *slokas* from the original English version (R. V.) of the New Testament' which appeared in a prose version in Sanskrit as early as the beginning of the 19th century. The translation is occasionally free and not always strictly literal. The language is generally simple but at times difficult to follow particularly for the peculiar Sanskritised forms of the proper names. It requires to be mentioned that we noticed a number of misprints, grammatical inaccuracies and anachronistic uses of words in senses that have developed in particular regions, especially in Bengal, and in more or less modern times.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

BENGALI

SARATCHANDRER RACHANAVALI: *Collected and edited by Brajendranath Banerjee. Gurudas Chatterji and Sons, 203-1-1 Cornwallis Street, Calcutta-6. Price Rs. 5.*

The book under review extending over 280 pages is a collection of Saratchandra Chatterjee's works as yet unpublished in book-form. It contains about fifty essays including addresses delivered on various occasions, one short story and three unfinished novels. Some of them appeared in the magazines and periodicals of the time and some in the daily press.

Saratchandra Chatterjee's contribution to Bengali, or for the matter of that, Indian literature is great. Of writers who have acquired an all-India reputation none is perhaps more thoroughly read and better appreciated than this great author. Whether in novels, in sketches, in short stories, in criticisms or in essays, he is never dull. He never loses grip on his subject. Saratchandra infuses life into everything that he writes. He is interested in everything and can make everything interesting. He can impart warmth even into anthropological or sociological discussions. He knows how far to go and where to stop. It is not only in the case of fiction that Saratchandra Chatterjee is great. He is a discerning critic and a keen controversialist. He does not spare his opponent and his rapier-thursts go home. His essays are interspersed with wit and humour.

It is sometimes unwittingly observed that Saratchandra Chatterjee has, by the sheer force of genius only, succeeded in making his writings masterpieces of literature. It is a mistake. During his fairly long stay in Rangoon he read with avidity all the books worth reading contained in a well-stocked library. He was interested in various subjects. He studied sociology, anthropology and psychology. Not only was he educated in the best of all schools, the school of life, he was a life-long student. And the mark of that vast reading and intensive study during a very critical period of his life is evident in his *Narir Mulya* and in the essays published in this book.

The editor is a reputed research-worker and well-known for his industry, thoroughness and editorial acumen. He has spared no pains to collect Chatterjee's writings scattered over the pages of hundreds of magazines, dailies, weeklies, fortnightlies and short-lived periodicals. He is to be congratulated on his success. The publisher has done well to publish such a work. It is a boon to the admirers of Saratchandra Chatterjee's writings.

SAILENDRAKRISHNA LAW

GUJARATI

(1) MADHUPARK: *Thick card-board. Pp. 190. 1947. Price Rs. 3-8.*

(2) BIJAL: *Thick card-board. Pp. 146. 1948. Price Rs. 3.*

Both written by Prof. Premshankar H. Bhatt of Siddharth College, Bombay and published by C. Shantilal and Company, Bombay 2.

Prof. Bhatt combines in him the roles of a poet and critic, and the collection of 12 articles reprinted from his contributions to various magazines between 1937 and 1946 on old and modern writers in verse and prose, like Akho and Sawal, Narmad and Navalram, as well as promising young writers, like the inspired composers of *Ilakavyo* and *Jyoti Rekha*, have been noticed with the ability of a practised critic, and therefore deserve more than a passing comment. The work is really good. Not content with what he has done in these two directions, he has essayed fiction. *Bijal* is a story of Kathiawad life, where in indigenous Kathiwad's dialect are set out various combinations of the phase of life lived there, and vindication of natural justice. As a first attempt, it is not a failure, but such as the reader makes up his mind to finish at one sitting.

K. M. J.



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INDIAN PERIODICALS

Gandhi the Economist

Brij Gopal Gupta observes in *Careers and Courses* :

Gandhiji did not write any authoritative treatise on Economics like Adam Smith, Ricardo, Mill and other so-called pillars of the Economic science. He was not a theorist but a realist.

Gandhian Conception

The Gandhian Economics is a combination of individualism, socialism and idealism. He was a believer in Adam Smith's *laissez faire, laissez passer*, but at the same time he was quite receptive to List's idea of 'Protection.' Like Sismondi he was alive to the misery and suffering caused by the advent of machinery and labour-saving appliances. Marx noted the defects of the capitalistic society, but his gospel is a gospel of the control of all the wealth by the community and appealed to varied passions of mankind. Gandhiji also felt the defects of the capitalistic society, but in advancing his solution he was inspired by a large-hearted love. He always looked upward and not downwards. His brand of welfare, better known and clearly understood as *Sarvodaya* (meaning uplift of all) is a far more superior kind of welfare than those talked by Pigou and Beveridge. Gandhiji was deeply interested in human welfare and fully recognised the fact that material, moral and political welfares were all inter-related and that none could be treated in isolation.

Gandhian conception of economics was neither a study of mankind in the ordinary business of life nor of 'allocation of scarce means between unlimited ends.' For him the best political economy was care and culture of men, one that would admonish the mischief created by itself. Gandhiji even made use of the two logical methods of Induction and Deduction (which are used by the economists to analyse economic phenomena). He made use of both by his observance and meditation, thus showing his genius of compromise and commonsense.

Gandhiji was a great advocate of the personality of the individual. He was quite right in his assessment that a large country like India in particular and the world in general cannot fruitfully sustain itself in the long run without individual responsibility. He wanted the least or no interference from the state. Yet he was no doctrinaire free-trader. He fully understood the implications and vices of competition. He was a staunch believer in self-sufficiency.

His Attitude to Machines

Gandhiji advocated a radical change in the machinery and labour ratio. According to him, "Mechanised production does not only threaten the lives of individuals and sections within a nation, but it also imperils the happiness, independence, safety and integrity of nations." The two world wars are a testimony to the cumulative vices of competition. According to him, the only unalterable and rock-bottom test of whether an occupation or method of production is economical or otherwise, is how far it answers life's vital needs and what the making of it means to the producer. The result of mechanised production is a pile of soulless goods. The mill hands—for after all they are 'hands' not 'heads,' much less 'hearts'—do no creative work. The creative faculty is dead in them. Gandhiji was not blind to the advantages accruing from large-scale mechanised production. For him whatever advantages machinery had—and they were numerous—it had enslaved the people, destroyed human skill, invaded the privacy of the home and disturbed the morals of the family, crippled the creative genius of the craftsman and killed his personality as well as independence. It has introduced international complications by rousing a sense of competition where the spirit of co-operation should have ruled their inter-relations and kindled a spirit of imperialism with its attendant horrors of industrialism and militarism. It has annihilated time and distance and has brought nearer the countries of the world but thrown apart the nations one from the other. It has brought together the bodies but rent asunder the hearts and soul of the people.

Gandhian Economics substitutes contentment in place of craze, because salvation of the world lies in the progress towards a non-violent society, which in its turn would depend on the elimination of violence which generally manifests itself in one of the three forms, *viz*, exploitation of man by man, crime and punishment and war. An effort, therefore, would be made to pattern the life of the society on that of the family so that the motive for exploitation ceases and wrongs are redressed, evil resisted and crimes are considered as maladies to be cured.

The Gandhian Way

Hence he considered that plain-living was essential to a non-exploitative society and conducive to the fullness of life. For such a life it is necessary that every individual should put in an amount of physical labour in production of basic needs of life. Regions should be increasingly self-sufficient in respect of material wants. Such regional self-sufficiency in Gandhiji's considered opinion promotes fellow-feeling and improves human relationships in ever-widening circles. Man should therefore be trained and equipped more and more to participate in an intelligent and responsible manner in inter-regional, social, moral and cultural efforts. Regional self-sufficiency based on decentralisation of both economic and political power is essential for the development of the whole personality of man. This, in short, is the Gandhian way, which alone can save the world from the present chaos.

Universities in the U.S.A.

Dr. A. S. Schenkman in a BBC talk as published in *Science and Culture* considers that his task is to give some personal impressions of different types of American Universities and

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Colleges. He proceeds with his classification of the American Universities :

First in seniority, though not necessarily in rank, as I have just implied, are Harvard and Yale. Age is honoured, in America as in England, and so we can respect the traditions which put Harvard, Yale and Princeton into a class by themselves. Respect, yes, but immediately we admit respect we must show clearly that the respect is neither more nor less than that warranted by the facts. Harvard, Yale, and Princeton fall into a first group on the basis of age and traditional reputation, not necessarily because they differ significantly in other ways from Chicago or Columbia, also great private universities.

Second I shall put the giant State universities, large student bodies, large budgets. I taught for a year at the University of Illinois, 1916-47, and that year the university had in all its divisions 28,000 students. And the budget for a two-year period was $88,000,000 (£31,000,000). In this group of large State universities we put also the Universities of Minnesota (with its outstanding President Morrill, the equivalent of Illinois outstanding Stoddard) the Universities of Michigan, Wisconsin, California, and Ohio State. I shall make a third arbitrary group to include the giants of the Columbia, Cornell, Chicago, private-type and the medium State universities. In 1949, Columbia had 21,000 students, Cornell 9,000, Chicago 11,000 and for the same period the average enrolment of some of the more important State universities was about 12,000 students.

In a fourth group I shall put the small State universities such as those of New Hampshire, Vermont, Virginia, Maine. These often produce teachers and professors who are taken up by institutions higher in the present prestige level of American educational life. I shall make a fifth hybrid group for the world-famous Massachusetts and California Institutes of Technology, and several more of the type. And finally, in two last categories we have the smaller American colleges—the well-known institutions such as Oberlin and Swarthmore, Amherst and Williams, Antioch College. And similar, in size at least, the many small colleges whose names are known only to a few. These exist, most of them, without reputation, and play a humble (but a worthwhile) part. So much for the stage. Now to consider their over-all design.

The 'High-School Product'

It is not easy, in a brief space, to give a picture of something as complicated as American education. Yet actually the main lines are simple to draw. There are the institutions, the teachers, and the students. I have tried roughly to classify the institutions. I think that, with like accuracy and like freedom, I can also describe the students. The average American college student is poorly prepared to face either the realities of life or the academic and artificial rigours of college education. In the majority of cases the "high-school product" is poorly equipped by his school (secondary school). He has had bad teaching. And he enters college (or matriculates as you would say) with, if anything, but vague notions of what he is looking for. Entrance to college is at the average age of seventeen—and so, as you see, he is younger (and for that reason alone less academically advanced) than a student who starts at Oxford or Bristol. I think that there is no question that academically, in book learning, the American student in the late teens is a year or more behind his English age-equivalent, though he may have greater flexibility socially.

I pay my respects to the American high school. It has served a function, but that it has succeeded in bringing real education, few, even in the United States, would claim. The high school is an outfit of mass production, and the product is often criticised by college presidents as of excellent quality but 'coming apart at the seams' Hutchins, President Chicago University, spoke recently on education for democracy. 'The foundation of democracy is universal suffrage,' he said. 'Universal suffrage makes every man a ruler; every man needs the education that rulers ought to have.' But, he added, 'in America in the last 150 years the idea of an education appropriate to rulers has got lost somewhere.' We accept the premise that 'everybody has the right to education' yet we believe that 'only a few are qualified for a good education.' Therefore says Hutchins, 'it appears that those who have no qualification for a good education must be given a bad education, because everybody has the right to education.' Hutchins is often only fifty per cent. sense and the other fifty per cent. spice. But he is right about the state of our educational health. Teaching is pretty poor in the American school and we have a cycle—poor teachers, poor students, poor teachers (especially with the low prestige accorded to school teaching), poor students, and so on. The educationist has his cycle just as definitely as the botanist has his carbon cycle, and the astronomer his cycles.

What happens, then, when this high school student gets handed his diploma—many of them do not reach even that stage, having left school out of sheer boredom, and takes himself off to college? He knocks at the door of Harvard, and if Harvard does not take him Columbia may, and if not Columbia the University of Vermont. To complicate the possibilities further, he may even go to one of many 'junior colleges' for two years of college studying. Let us accept him at Vermont, or Columbia. The college (I use the term to include universities here) is also an outfit of mass production. There were about 2,000,000 students in American colleges and universities



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a year or two ago, not counting an additional 600,000 working for advanced degrees. It takes no great powers of prophecy to say that the average American student will read for a B.A. or B.Sc., the American degree which is a year or two—more in extreme cases—behind your English B.A. In other words the student is immediately put into the mould and if nothing untoward happens and he does the minimum amount of work required—the proper number of 'units' or courses—he will at the end of four years be given his degree, and in many cases with much deserved honours.

GOOD SPECIALIST EDUCATION

But the average student, being average, does not work for or receive honours. What does he get from his college education? In most cases, a good specialist education—not more. He has been lectured at for four years (and with 2,000,000 college students in the country we are told that the lecture system has to stay), he has been treated often as an inanimate 'thing' rather than as a personality. But his B.A. is the key to so many jobs, and he has that key. By the time he gets his diploma in his hand he identifies B.A. with education, is convinced that because he is a specialist in one field, statistics, or Spanish, or agriculture—he is now qualified to make pronouncements on—oh, so many things. He can now differentiate without emotion between Roosevelt and Willkie, between Truman and MacArthur, or that is what he feels. Some of the world's problems are due to the production—in all countries—of too many specialists who think that because they have degrees they are therefore educated and should be listened to.

It is an unfortunate thing. One might say that in America we have devalued the college (or university) degree. But people still go for devalued currency. Not only is a university education in great demand but there is such an emphasis on degrees, that those who do not have them—and there are still many—feel inferior, uneducated, handicapped, and so on. And we have the interesting, and sad, phenomenon of many people who have an education that only life itself and experience can give, feeling sorry for themselves because they never had an opportunity to get a degree; at the opposite extreme college-trained men and women, excellent folks many of them, bolstered by the possession of these diplomas, degrees, prestige symbols, feeling sure of themselves because they have had the essential college education or degree. I need not even point out the obvious—that an uneducated college man, in the wrong place, can do a great deal of harm.

All of this refers to the 'average student.' Our finest products are equal to any in the world. But if our average is low, what is the reason? My own answer is that we must look to the teaching staff. To be sure, the college president claims that most of the fault is in the curriculum, and that we need only give students more 'general education.' General education bids fair to become the fetish of the 'fifties' and America must get both credit for starting the movement and blame for keeping it too much on paper. One does not have general education simply by changing the number of a course and transferring it to the jurisdiction of a committee on general education. I have myself taught as a junior instructor in just such a number-changed course, and so I know. Too often do we in America make glorious curricular changes—and keep the same teachers to administer them. It does not make sense. But what are our teachers like? I am speaking now of university teachers. They are well equipped professionally in their own fields. In many cases they are the world experts in their particular subjects. But more often than not they are specialists and not 'generally educated'.....,I shall

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make another division here. There is a difference between college teachers and university teachers. In the American university there is usually more emphasis on research, and promotions are given for research accomplishment and not usualy merely for good teaching. Research (or shall we say 'production of papers' ?) is what seems to matter, and teaching is all too often ignored. The younger staff members of a university have first to finish their degrees, and then their lives are ruled by the necessity to produce a certain number of papers each year.

Smaller institutions, colleges of the Swarthmore or Amherst type, have developed their reputations more because of their standards of teaching and the atmosphere is far, far healthier. To be sure, even these small residential colleges have an air of artificiality about them, but there is much less separation here between 'education' and 'life.' And, whereas in the Harvard, Columbia type of institution most of the actual teaching of undergraduates is done by younger men, men pressed by their own degree requirements, here at the small colleges teaching can more often be done by those who like it for its own sake. The record is pretty clear on this point. Good average small colleges make a significant contribution out of all proportion to their size. And the larger and 'greater' universities do not contribute so much in undergraduate teaching as might have been imagined. My own belief is that the larger the university the greater the malady of psychological isolation; and curricular changes alone cannot remedy the dangers of the situation, cannot give students a 'feeling of belongingness' to an institution which because of size itself has come to be impersonal.

When it comes right down to it, there is no such things as a 'best university' in America or anywhere else. Students can still 'belong' to places the size of Antioch, of Aberdeen, of Reading—or of Reed College. But in a university which runs up in size much above two or three thousand students, the 'loyalty' of individuals seems to be directed more to departments—and to teachers—than to the rather inanimate university body. The true university is a collection of men and women who work together with a common purpose and a common goal. Because it is so seldom that students are given the right to help determine this common purpose and goal, we have outstanding departments more often than great universities. I could name the Astronomy Department at Harvard, Physics at Bristol, Education at Utrecht, Philosophy at Edinburgh, Physiology at Cambridge or Lund. I could name, too, departments, in all subjects, which do so outstanding a job in post-graduate training in many American institutions. These are the groups which develop group spirit, to such a high degree.

There are, then, great differences between the English and the American educational scenes. If you are shocked by my picture of the average American student, remember please that our average is bound to be lower than yours, in academic attainments and in educational achievements, because we give a college education to so many more people, remember, too, that you are having the same problem of over-large size and consequent impersonality in universities like Liverpool or Leeds, or Glasgow.

But there is no such thing as a best university. There are many which, as Hutchins says, are 'not very good'—but which have outstanding and dedicated men. If only we would learn to make the 'feeling of belongingness' which we see in some departments include even more students and teachers, in even more universities. If we could do this then what would be taking place in Redbricks, American and European, would truly be significant in the world today.



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Vidisa and Sanchi

In the course of his article on the sixteenth session of the All-India Oriental Conference held in Lucknow in the first week of October, 1951, Dr. V. Raghavan writes in *The Vedanta Kesari*:

Having finished Agra on the onward journey to Lucknow, the writer came down to the states of Gwalior and Bhopal to see Bhilsa and Sanchi. The antiquity of the Buddhistic monuments of Sanchi go to the time of Asoka, whose pillar edict here, as the one at Saranath, warns the monks against schismatic activities. The Stupa at Sanchi stands on a small hill, very near the present Railway station of the same name, and thanks to the labour and care of successive archaeologists, Cunningham, Maisey, Marshall and others, the Stupa stands now in as good a restoration as possible; the broken fragments have also been gathered in a Museum in situ. The three huge volumes of illustrations reproducing the entire monument in all its parts and commentary thereon by Marshall, Foucher and Majumdar published and presented by the Government of Bhopal to all important libraries bespeak the care that the State has been bestowing on this great site which occupies a leading place in the history of Indian art. The Stupa itself enshrined the relics of the two chief pupils of the Buddha, Sariputta and Moggalana, which have recently been so much in the news, and for which the Maha-Bodhi Society has built on the foreground of the same hill a modern temple which, despite the desire to embody some of the local architectural motifs and designs, fails to harmonise with the Stupa. The structures of the site come up to the Gupta times and the best and oldest part of the work on the main Stupa and its four gateways, embodying carvings on sandstone of scenes from Buddha's life and the Jatakas, was done in the period of the Sungas in the centuries immediately preceding Christ. The fine carvings have reproduced in the smallest compass a whole civilization, and to a student not merely of sculpture, but of social conditions, vehicles, dress, ornaments, music, dance, etc., they afford ample materials. As the writer unwillingly walked down the steps of the hill to hurry to the neighbouring Bhilsa, his feeling was one of exhilaration, like that of one who had realised a great ambition or reached one of the land-marks of his career.

In its great old days, Sanchi was part of the great Vidisa (Bhilsa), a capital of the Sungas, the renowned seat of a king, as Kalidasa says in his *Meghadutam*.

It was here that Kalidasa's hero Agnimitra, and the Sudraka of Bana's Kadambari ruled. There is little doubt that Kalidasa sojourned in this region for some time and as the writer wandered over the place and laid himself in the cool dark waters of the Betwa here, his heart, in wistful imagination, like the poet's cloud, travelled over the lines of the Meghasandesa on the Dasarna country and the rippled waters of the Vetravati which the poet asks the cloud to drink from, as from the beloved's face with playful brows.

The old Vidisa whose older importance was later eclipsed by Ujjain, must have extended from the Sanchi site to the site of the confluence of the two rivers Betwa (Vetravati) and Bes, the latter of which gives the name Besnagar to the locality. The Vetravati winds its way along Sanchi. Four miles from the present township of Bhilsa is the double hill called Udayagiri, which, with its twenty caves carvings and inscriptions, was an important place in the Gupta times; on the rear of the hill, on the topmost platform is found the basement of a Gupta temple, and when one looks down from here towards the Bes skirting the hill, one can very well imagine the picturesque town which once flourished here; and two miles from the same Bhilsa, in the fork of the Bes and Vetravati, stands the famous Heliodorus column, testifying to the existence of a populous Besnagar in 150 B.C. at this sacred sangam.

The Udayagiri hills contain twenty caves, including a couple of Jain and Buddhistic monuments. They belong to the Gupta age and are valuable for history, literature, religion and iconography. According to one of the epigraphs here, King Chandragupta II Vikramaditya himself visited Udayagiri in the company of a poet of Pataliputra, Kausta Saba. The most famous is the Varaha cave (no. 5), where we have the scene of the Lord's Boar incarnation carved in appropriately large dimensions, and represents the most impressive and best preserved work in these hills. Next in importance would come the cave (no. 13) where lies the figure of Vishnu Seshasayi, which is unfortunately cut atwain on the face. The Amrita-mathana scene on the top of the door of cave 19 is a rare and noteworthy piece of work. The repeated representation of Devi Mahishasura-mardani with twelve arms and the buffalo-demon, but standing on foot and not riding a lion as either in Mahabalipuram or Bana's Chandi Sataka, and always accompanied by the representation of the Sapta-matrikas is significant for the history of Devi-cult, showing an earlier phase. The rock of Udayagiri comes off in slates and this has unfortunately

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led to the deterioration of all the work here, except that in the Varaha cave.

The Heliodorus column is of greater cultural significance and is a standing monument of the attraction which Hinduism had for the foreign Greeks settled on Indian soil. The monument is a Garuda-stambha, set up in honour of God Vasudeva and bears an inforing Pali inscription which says that 'Heliodora, the son of Diya (Dion), a native of Taxila' came as an ambassador from Maharaja Amtalikita (the Greek Satrap Antialkidas) to the Sunga King Bhagabhadra, son of Kasi in the fourteenth year of the latter's reign; Heridorous calls himself further, in this inscription, a Bhagavata and says that three are the steps to immortality. Self-control, Sacrifice, and Vigilance, the passage echoing, (as has been rightly pointed out by H. C. Roychoudhuri in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society, Bengal*, 1922, p. 269, and the *Political History of Ancient India*, p. 253 and by K. Balasubrahmanya Iyer in the *Journal of Oriental Research*, Vol. XV., p. 136), one in the Sanatsujatiya of the *Mahabharata*.

The spell that Hinduism cast on foreigners and its inclusive zeal in times of antiquity were indeed appropriate thoughts with which one could come home. But sometimes there was also the other thought—how desirable and necessary it is for the new national Government of Free India to make special facilities available for scholars and votaries of culture to see the great centres of ancient Indian cultural activity, not only in this far-flung country, but in the neighbouring countries of Greater India where once India reared a magnificent cultural empire!

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Emerson and Eastern Values

Chidambaram Swami writes in *The Aryan Path*:

Man in every age and clime has been aware of ultimates in his own way. Hence the fundamentals of men's faith more or less agree, all the world over and throughout history. The difference, if any, is not in the ultimates, but in man's view of them and in the values that he gives to them, and in this he appears to be very largely influenced by heredity, tradition, environment and history. Views and values, in fact, imply an object or an ultimate. The East, particularly India, has been friendly to the ultimates. Hence the East became the cradle of religion and philosophy.

There seems to be an incompatibility between values of the ultimate, viewed mainly from the superficial or materialistic angle, and from the substantial or spiritual angle. Hence the difference, that has now become popular, between views or values, Oriental and Occidental. The ruthless use of the analytical scalpel is partly responsible for the creation of what seems like a permanent abyss between the two. But in a world of impermanence, how can there be anything like a permanent barrier or abyss? What, then, are the Eastern values, and how does Emerson stand in relation to them? Where do we find him on the Aryan Path?

Emerson's life proves beyond doubt that he was not a slave to convention or tradition, pelf or self, cult or system.

"He had a passion for the examination of ethical and metaphysical systems which is very like Franklin's zest for peering into the secrets of Nature . . . Everything that the world's philosophy can offer emerges in Emerson's pages."—Harold Laski: *The American Democracy.*

He was influenced, as Swami Nikhilananda pointed out in a recent address, by the philosophy of Greece, the ethics of China, the poetry of the Sufis, and the mystical ideas of India. Consequently he was viewed in different ways: by Oliver Wendell Holmes as "Buddha of the West," by the New Englander as a "New England Brahmin," by Allan Nevins as the "Mahomet of the Mecca of Concord," by Max Muller as "Amarasunu," by Maeterlinck as "the sage of ordinary days," by Frederick Harrison as "the unfathomable prophet of the eternal silences," by Conan Doyle as one as "truly inspired as the ancient prophets," by the most reactionary and powerful of Russian statesmen as "an oracle." Emerson had a great attraction to the Orient. He sings of "Zion or Meru," of "Bethlehem's Heart," of "The Free Arab," of "The Pandit of the East," of "Good Saadi" and "Wise Ali," of "the Brahmin and the Sacred Seven," of "The Worth of Omar's Pearls," of "Alcoran and Its Meanings Sweet," and of "Ali Ben Abu Taleb and Hafiz."

Who know every temple and Kiosk,
Out from Mecca to Ispahan.

of "Beggars in Iran and Araby," of the Bible, the sacred writings of the Hindus, the Persians and the Greeks, "the alphabet of the nations," Socrates, Manu, Mencius, Confucius and Zartusht.

Value implies an object and one who evaluates. The essence of value lies perhaps in the experiencing subject. It depends on the interaction of subjective and objective factors. There are competing values hard to decide between. One feels very often the need for a standard of value and this presupposes a central or supreme value which will harmonize and complete the values of experience. Values can be known only through experience, lower or higher.

"The ideal of value is harmonious living."—George Galloway: *The Philosophy of Religion.*

Harmony itself is life. Life's value is Harmony. It is here that we find the heart of Eastern values. The legacy which the East has bequeathed to the world is the concept that Life is harmony and that harmony can be attained by actually living the Light that streams through us, we know not whence. True harmony, Concord, *Shanti*, consists in seeing in Matter, Spirit; in Jeevatma, the projection of the Paramatma. This is the Sanatanic harmony. Its substitutes will pass away. It is this harmony that has blossomed in the Eastern culture, described by Pandit Nehru in an address at Nagpur on 1st January, 1950, as "a culture deep, abiding, and subsisting and carrying on in spite of terrible disasters through thousands of years." The same strain is heard from Concord: "The central intention of Nature is harmony and joy." The real value of this highest teaching of the East can be enjoyed and demonstrated only by a man's "becoming the embodiment of what he believes in," as the Prime Minister observed in that speech, and making it as far as practicable the basis of human activity in all departments.

Emerson's attraction to the East, more inherent than induced showed itself even in his teens. He found himself at home with Oriental thought. Born in 1803, as early as 1822 he wrote to his aunt:

"I am curious to read your Hindu Mythologies. One is apt to lament over indolence and ignorance, when he reads some of those sanguine students of the Eastern antiquities, who seem to think that all the books of knowledge and all the wisdom of Europe twice told lie hid in the treasures of the Brahmins and the volumes of Zoroaster."

We shall now deal with certain characteristic parallels between Emerson and the Sages of the East.

"He who works, having given up attachment, resigning his actions to God, is not touched by sin, even as a lotus leaf is untouched by water."—*Gita*, V. 10.

"Teach me your mood, O patient stars! who climb each night the ancient sky, leaving on space no shade, no scars, no trace of age, no fear to die."—Emerson.

"He who thinks that this slays and he who thinks that this is slain; both of them fail to perceive the truth; this one neither slays nor is slain."—*Gita* II. 19.

If the red slayer think he slays,
Or if the slain think he is slain,
Then know not well the subtle ways
I keep, and pass, and turn again.—Emerson

Swami Paramananda in *Emerson and Vedanta* draws other illuminating parallels between Emerson and certain scenes familiar to the Pilgrims on the Aryan Path.

"*Ekam evadwitiyam.* Spirit is one without a second. The Absolute though One is conceived as many; countless luminaries become one in Him; all sacred rites become one in Him. He abides equally in the Soul of all existing things; He is the Inner Self of all creatures, and all beings become one in Him."—*Yajur Veda.*

"There is One Mind common to all individual men. Every man is an inlet to the same and to all of the same . . . Who hath access to this universal mind is a party to all that is or can be done, for this is the only and sovereign agent . . . Of the Universal Mind each individual man is one more incarnation."—Emerson

"In the nature of the soul is the compensation for the inequalities of condition. The radical tragedy

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seems to be the distinction of More and Less . . . It seems a great injustice. But see the facts nearly and these inequalities vanish . . . The heart and soul of all being one, this bitterness of His and Mine ceases. His is mine, I am my brother, and my brother is me."—EMERSON

"The Atman cannot be attained by the mere study of the Scriptures, nor by intellectual perception, nor by frequent hearing of it; he whom the Self chooses, by him alone is It attained. To him the Self reveals Its true nature. But he who has not turned away from evil conduct, whose senses are uncontrolled, who is not tranquil, whose mind is not at rest, he can never attain this Self, even by knowledge.—*Kathopanishad.*

"Every man's word, who speaks from that life must sound vain to those who do not dwell in the same thought on their own part. I dare not speak for It. My words do not carry Its august sense; they fall short and cold. Only Itself can inspire whom It will, and behold! Their speech shall be lyrical and sweet, and universal as the rising of the wind. Before we can define our relation with the world, we must discover our relation with its source. That is, we must project our mind beyond this little span of self-consciousness and learn to know our real Self."—EMERSON

"When the light of the Atman or Self has risen, there is no day, no night, neither existence nor non-existence. For the Sun does not shine there, nor the moon nor the stars, nor these lightnings, and much less this fire. When He shines, everything shines after Him; by His Light all this is lighted. He makes all. He knows all, the Self-caused, the Knower, the Time of time."—*Svetasvataropanishad*

"The emphasis of facts and persons in my thought has nothing to do with time. And so always the soul's scale is one: the scale of the senses and the understanding is another. Before the revelation of the Soul, Time, Space, and Nature shrink away.—EMERSON

"Truth is not the exclusive property of any one group of people, but is the common property of the whole human race and equally open to all who can claim it. Whoever is open to truth does not care from what source it comes. It is Truth, that is sufficient. Lofty spiritual truth exists, irrespective of time or place. When people are ready to receive It, It unfolds Itself to them."—*Vedic Teaching*

"The mind is one, and the best minds, who love Truth for its own sake, think much less of property in Truth. They accept it thankfully everywhere and do not label or stamp it with any man's name, for it is theirs, long beforehand, and from eternity. The learned and the studious of thought have no monopoly of wisdom. Their violence of direction in some degree disqualifies them to think truly. We owe many valuable observations to people who are not very acute or profound, and who say the thing without effort, which we want, and have long been hunting in vain. The action of the soul is oftener in that which is felt and left unsaid, than in that which is said in any conversation."—EMERSON

"The Self-existent created the senses out-going; for this reason man sees the external world, not the inner Atman or Self. Some wise men, however, desiring immortality, with eyes turned away from the external, see the Great Self within."—*Vedic Scriptures*

"The great difference between teachers, sacred or literary, is that one class speak *from within* or from experience, as parties and possessors of the fact and the other class *from without* as spectators merely, or perhaps as acquainted with the fact on the evidence of third persons."—EMERSON

"The knower of Brahman (the Supreme) becomes like unto Brahman . . . Rejoices, because he has obtained that which is the cause of all true joy."—*Kathopanishad.*

"Ineffable is the union of man and God in every act of the Soul. The simplest person, who in his integrity worships God, becomes God: yet for ever and ever the influx of this better and universal Self is new and unsearchable."—EMERSON

Let us see further Emerson's wonderful agreement with other Eastern concepts:

Transmigration:

"It is the secret of the world that all things subsist and do not die, but only retire a little from sight, and afterwards return again."

Fate:

When I was born,
From all the seas of strength fate filled a chalice,
Saying, "This be thy portion, child; this chalice,
Less than a lily's, thou shalt daily draw
From my great arteries,—nor less, nor more."

Maya:

The rushing metamorphosis,
Dissolving all that fixture is,
Melt things that be to things that seem,
And solid Nature to a dream.

Do we not find here clear accents of a kindred inspiration and reminiscence of the Aryan Path of life?



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FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Venice—The World's Theatre

Great Theatre of the World's Beauty—so it pleased a fanciful follower of the chevalier Marine to describe Venice in the seventeenth century, and he set about illustrating his conception with a rich album of etchings showing the fantastic and picturesque aspects of the city.

Today the traditional festivals are no longer as numerous as in the days of the Most Serene Republic, but they still derive a potent and incomparable charm both from the poetry of their past and from their own peculiar usages. The unmistakeable quality of this charm can be gathered from two of these festivals, both nocturnal: The "Festa del Redentore" in July, and the August "Fresco" on the Grand Canal.

The origin of the "Festa del Redentore" is well-known. It goes back to the first celebration of a vow made by the Senate to go, together with the Doge, to offer prayers in a temple which was to be built on the Guidecca in thanksgiving for the City's deliverance from the plague which scourged it from 1576 to 1578. They were two years of frightful mortality which reduced the population by half, completely wiped out a large number of families, crippling the City governors with its toll, spread death and fear everywhere, and carried off many famous men, first among them Titian, full of years and glory. The building of the temple was entrusted to Palladio, who created in it the most perfect of his masterpieces of sacred architecture. The Doge's first solemn procession to the Guidecca took place as soon as the disappearance of the scourge was proclaimed, on the 21st of July, 1578. At that time, the temple's foundations were still being laid; and upon them, therefore, was erected for the occasion a hall of twining leafy branches hung with the richest of tapestries, with an improvised altar in its centre. Leaving the Basilica, the procession passed across the Basin of St. Mark along a bridge of boats stretching from the Palazzo Ducale shore to the island: the procession consisted of the Patriarch, the clergy, the religious guilds and those of the arts and crafts, the militia, the Chief Council, the Senate, the Doge with his court, and, immediately following, the surviving population chanting psalms.

In those days, the Giudecca was a place of grassy meadows and gardens, of fertile orchards, of a few but splendid patrician villas, of taverns and inns. When the religious ceremonies were over, the people scattered among these places of delight, lingering there, improvising dinners and suppers in the open air, enjoying the peace of sea and meadow, happy in their escape from the nightmare of death. But since it was not easy for all to cross to the Giudecca by the bridge, many Venetians made their way, especially in the evening, in boats of every kind, pleasantly decorated and illuminated. And, in order to avoid the crowded landing-stages, they, from the mortal fear of unclean contacts, remained to banquet on board. The confused and improvised rejoicings of the early years gave place in later ones to carefully ordered festivities; instead of the bridge across the Basin, two were built; one spanning the Grand Canal, the other the Giudecca canal, and over them passed and repassed the daylight processions for the religious ceremony. When evening fell, however, the boats arrived for the night's festivities which rapidly increased in splendour; public illuminations were added to the private ones; the little individual boats were joined by the huge barges of companies and guilds, transformed into floating banqueting-halls a-glitter with lights. In the midst were ampler pagodas formed by thousands upon thousands of lights within gaily-painted swaying Murano vases, with companies of singers and musicians; myriads of trembling Chinese lanterns lined the quays, throwing into relief the lines of the architecture, dotting the altars; fireworks blossomed into arabesques of flame, lighting the sky with their thunderous flashes and filling the waters with their reflections; everything was caught up in a whirl, an orgy, a rhythm of colour and sound, and the festival took on that character of a Bacchanalian night which has never since left it, and which is interrupted only by the dawn rising above the smoky Adriatic horizon.

The Night of the Redeemer, however, although it has its panoramic aspect on the Giudecca canal, splits itself into a thousand-and-one impulses which range the streets. Beneath pergolas of entwined mulberry branches, and lighted in Venetian style, the people dance, sing and drink, enlivening the City's remotest corners with scenes which offer a varied and impressive experience to him who knows where to find them among the maze of twisting alleys. The festival of the Night of the Redeemer, like the Naples Piedigrotta was for long a source of musical inspiration; from it sprang the "boat-songs" which became famous and which now form the repertoire of the gondola-serenade. One of these songs refers to the Night of the Redeemer as "most celebrated"; most celebrated it is indeed, and inimitable, and no one can claim to know Venetian life from the inside who has not enjoyed it at least once.

If the Night of the Redeemer is a people's festival, when they lightheartedly let themselves go, the Fresco Notturo in Canalgrande is aristocratic and rich in aesthetic emotions. Strictly speaking it may be held to derive from the famous freschi or evening races which followed the solemn regattas of large and small gondolas watched by the whole population from the banks; those re-

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gattas which, usually taking place in September in a magnificent setting of historical pomp with processions of sumptuous allegorical boats rowed by crews in gorgeous costumes, provide another of the typical spectacles of Venice. The "freschi" were the gay wanderings and swarmings of boats loaded with clusters of human beings. As night advanced, this festival took on a quality of fantasy in which light dominated and held sway. For, every one of the hundreds of palaces lining the Canalazzo is lighted up in the way best suited to set off its particular beauties, while their several effects are joined in a general plan of progressive harmony. Reflected lights, coloured shades, diffused and delicate tints, now deepening, now unveiling the mystery of ark portals, elegant arches, alleys which, escaping from the gaze, plunge into the gloom beyond, and revealing monuments of every epoch enhanced by their frame of shadows; they follow each other from one end to the other of the world's most celebrated waterway, twisting with it on this side and that of the Rialto bridge. Through the wide-open windows, splendid interiors are seen, glowing with the light of huge crystal chandeliers from Murano, while along the balconies flutter the flames of candles. Into this magic setting as evening darkens, slide the processions of illuminated gondolas, the boats prepared for the occasion, glittering barges from which a programme of rare music will be wafted into the air; the pagodas all outlined with Chinese lanterns; and, finally the humble, unpretentious, but none the less necessary, boats of the people. Soon they are crowded together so close that one could, if one wished, pass on foot across them from bank to bank; a slowly moving throng, both audience and actors at the same time, in the spectacle of which they make part; they add to the solemn marble stillness of the background the disordered brush-strokes in a picture which is continually renewed with each changing vantage-point.

Truly Venice triumphs in this art of turning herself into a stage setting, in which she, a protagonist of unrivalled loveliness, exalts and displays that beauty at once incomparable and unforgettable.—*Bulletin of Italian Cultural Information.*

Andre Gide
1869-1951

The death of Andre Gide on February 19, at the age of 82, has robbed world literature of one of its most distinguished contemporary contributors.

World-wide recognition of his works was expressed not long ago through the award of the Nobel prize. More recently, Paris paid tribute to the great writer when the presentation of his *Caves du Vatican* was given at the Comedie-Francaise.

Sixty years ago, Gide's first books revealed to a discerning few, the restless searching of a mind that was to travel along many roads and absorb the most varied experiences.

From his stimulating travels in North Africa he drew inspiration for his *Nourritures Terrestres* (1897) followed by *L'Immoraliste* (1902) and *Le Retour de l'Enfant Prodigue* (1903). His unorthodox ideas stimulated many young artists at the beginning of the century and two movements in particular which were to bring new life both to literature and the theatre: the "Nouvelle Revue Francaise," launched in 1909, and Jacques Copeau's Vieux-Colombier.

After the first world war, Gide began to study social problems. The travel diaries written in 1927 from materials gathered during his travels in the Congo and Chad, created a stir because of his outspoken condemnation of certain abuses of that period. In 1936 he published two books on his experiences in Soviet Russia—*Retour de l'U.R.S.S.* and *Retouches a Mon Retour*—both of which inspired widespread controversy.

Gide strove endlessly to preserve the purity of the French language, but his ideas and philosophy were constantly enriched by contact with the works of foreign authors. He was proud to have introduced Kierkegaard to French readers. In addition to a voluminous output of creative writing, he wrote commentaries on Dostoievsky and Oscar Wilde, and translated Rilke Shakespeare, Conrad, Blake, Whitman, Tagore and Kafka.

From the *Journal* begun in 1889 to his latest works, the writings of Andre Gide were a mirror of the constantly changing values of man's social and moral evolution during these sixty odd years.

At the Nobel prize-giving ceremony on December 10, 1947, M. Osterling permanent secretary to the Swedish Academy of Literature, described the personality of this "much discussed writer" in these words :

"A very significant period in Europe's spiritual history is reflected in his works. More than any of his contemporaries, he was a man of contrasts, a Proteus whose ideas and opinions were in a continual state of flux. Hence, his writings are like an uninterrupted dialogue in which faith wages a ceaseless war against doubt, ascetism against an abundant love of life, discipline against a deep urge for liberty....

"....Gide comes from a Protestant family, and although he revolted against his Puritan upbringing, he has remained all his life in contact with the fundamental problems of religion and at times, he has been able to express with a rare purity the message of Christian love...

"His 'immoralism,' so frequently misunderstood by

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his critics is in reality no more than the expression of his fervent desire for freedom from any restraint of conscience....

"His philosophy is a ceaseless search for 'the new.' He wants to awaken and instil new ideas, to set new problems. Above all, the effect is to challenge his readers to be wholehearted supporters or opponents of his ideas. This is the secret of his greatness."—*Unesco Courier.*

Fifty Thousand Americanisms

Bergen Evans writes about the not inconsiderable influence of Americanisms in an article on the history of the dictionary of the English language in the Newsfeature of *USIS*:

Americans have created or given new meanings to about 50,000 words in the past 300 years. These are now collected and comprehensively surveyed for the first time in the new *Dictionary of Americanisms*, edited by Dr. Mitford M. Mathews, of the University of Chicago Press. It is a valuable supplement to the *Oxford English Dictionary* and the two, together, with the *English Dialect Dictionary*, constitute a complete survey of the English language as spoken in the past and at present.

Americanisms are not confined to any particular region or class and do not for the most part represent older forms abandoned by standard speech. They fall into two classes: words which first came into the English language in the United States and English words which have acquired a special meaing in American usage.

Of words first used by Americans many are thought to be American Indian names for native growths—such as tobacco, persimmon, opossum. New devices needed new names—bifocals. harmonica, mimeograph; and contributions to science—appendicitis, tularemia, moron. Words such as nerts, phooey, and bunk. expressing various degrees of disdain, are original Americanisms. New meanings for older English words have resulted in the American robin and polecat. for example. being not the same animals as the European robin and polecat, but one looked and the other smelled sufficiently like their old-world counterparts to justify transferring the names. In a like manner, new objects, new circumstances. and new customs gradually forced new meanings into old words until they were wholly changed.

Of the 50,000 terms which the *Dictionary of Americanisms* lists as peculiarly American only about 1,600 are borrowings from other languages. This seems very few, but it may be attributed in part to a lag between the adoption of a word and its appearance in a dictionary such as this, where each entry must have passed into printed use before it is included. The greatest number of additions were borrowed from the Spanish—then, in descending order of their frequency, from the American Indians, the French, the Dutch and the Germans. The large number of Spanish words is due to the United States having incorporated a number of areas in which Spanish was the established language. Thus there are words such as adobe, which is the name for clay of mud bricks dried by the sun and used in building adobe houses; arroyo, meaning the dry bed of a stream; mesa, a small, high plateau with steep sides; lariat, a long rope with a running noose at one end, used for lassoing or tethering animals, and buckaroo, another name for the ranch worker, or cowboy, of the American South-west.

Most of the French borrowings came from frontier contacts early in United States development and account for such words as detour, prairie, mackinaw, portage and toboggan. The mackinaw, for example, is a heavy short coat, named for Mackinac, in the state of Michigan, where the French at one time distributed supplies to the American Indians. The Dutch borrowings in contrast are domestic, suggestive of well-fed warmth and snugness—waffle, cooky, cruller. The American Santa Claus is taken from the Dutch Saint Nicholas. The German additions are also homely and everyday—wieners, pretzels, hunk and dunk. The wiener, or frankfurter is the main ingredient in the American "hot dog." Hunk means a large piece, as of bread, and dunk means to dip the bread into a liquid when eating. The American hamburger, a round, fried cake made of ground beef, originally was named for the city of Hamburg, Germany, but Americans now have cheeseburgers, beefburgers, nutburgers, turtleburgers and more of the same.

The origin of many Americanisms is unknown. These include words such as gimmick, meaning a secret or a tricky device; grouchy, which means to be sulky or ill-tempered; dogie, the name given to a motherless calf in the American West; shindig, American slang for a merry party or dance; bull-doze, meaning to frighten by violence or threats; charley horse, meaning a stiffness caused by straining a muscle; and hundreds more. Even the midwestern State of Wisconsin is not certain what its name means. And an old automobile is known to Americans as a jalopy but they do not know why.

Many of the 50.000 words in the *Dictionary of Americanisms* eventually may gain international usage, but at the present, only one can establish such claim. It is the American O.K., recognized as "all right; correct; approved" wherever language is spoken.



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Giving Science A Voice

There was launched recently in Paris a French Association of Science Writers—the fifth such national group of special writers in this field. The oldest is the National Association of Science Writers in the U.S.A.; the second is the British; and then follow the Danish and Austrian.

In welcoming the French Association to Unesco House, where it held its first public meeting, Unesco's Director-General, M. Torres Bodet, reminded the writers that the scientist, whatever his discipline, is today at the heart of all progress. There is hardly a field of human activity unaffected by scientific advance. During the last few decades, the consequences of this scientific movement have not only remodelled our whole lives, but have also obliged us to restate and to reconsider all our problems. Religion, morals, our conceptions of the world have been largely reshaped.

Scientific knowledge, continued M. Torres Bodet, has therefore a key part to play in the formation of modern man and in the most urgent problem of our day: the reconciliation of men and the protection of peace. Science, through the riches it creates, can contribute in a fundamental manner to satisfy the basic needs of mankind and, in so doing, it works for peace. Further, the universality of the scientific mind., the generality of its methods, and the unbiassed enthusiasm that research work engenders, all these help to build a common bridge between men.

Eyes For The People

Science writers therefore have a key task to perform in society. It is not an easy one, for there is much ill-will, mistrust and fear of science to overcome. This fear is a symptom of the malaise of our age. The reason for it is obvious. People no longer believe in the inevitability of progress through scientific achievement.

The science writer has the difficult task of pointing out that science is not an end in itself, but a means to an end. It is a search for truth. The final decision about what is to be done with the practical application of scientific research rests with society. Therefore, a democratic society requires an informed public: not the least part of which information must be an adequate knowledge of progress and achievement in the field of the Sciences. The limitations as well as the possibilities of science must be understood. In all countries, whatever their state of economic development, the importance of the role of science is recognized. The Technical Assistance programme would be meaningless without this.

The science writer is the link between the scientists and the people. This is no mere mechanical role: he has a living function to perform. He makes clear to the people the significance of the seemingly esoteric work in the laboratory: he penetrates into the secrets of the test-tube, he examines the radio-active wonders of the atomic pile, and he watches the surgeon with pioneer hands at his pre-frontal leucotomy. Science writers are eyes for the people.

In 1934, at the Pittsburg meeting of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, Professor Einstein was to give his first lecture in English discussing his mathematical proof that mass and energy are equivalent and interchangeable. Mr. Herbert B. Nichols, natural sciences editor of the *Christian Science Monitor*, tells how the newly-formed National Association of Science Writers tackled the problem of interpreting this important communication to the public: *Professor Einstein's single paragraph abstract was absolutely hopeless so far as getting any quotable quotes was concerned. His address was scheduled for a most inopportune time for the majority of our deadlines. He was held incommunicado by well-meaning friends. He could not see reporters. So we drafted a request that he meet with us all at a time convenient to him, but in advance of his scheduled lecture.*

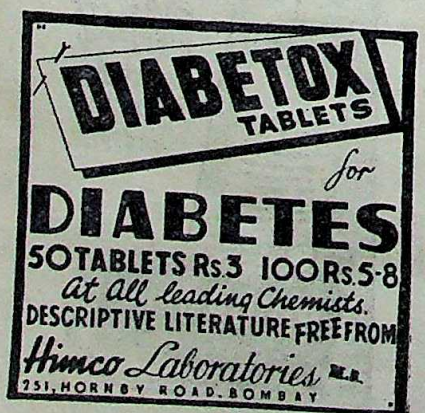
Professor Einstein agreed: *That day we all had good, front-page stories in which wt were able to interpret for the public what Einstein's theories actually meant, why the theory of relativity is important to almost every branch of science, and a forecast on the possibility of some day harnessing energy within the nuclei of atoms as a useful source of power.*

Stimulation For Scientists

No science can flourish as an isolate: and the science writer helps to make apparent to the scientists some of the problems that need expert investigation. He is an aid to the vision of the scientist. *I rather think,* comments Mr. Nichols. *that our activities in playing up certain stories like Urey's work with heavy water, Meitner's discovery of the meaning of fissionable uranium, Anderson and the cyclotron, Van de Graaff and the electrostatic generator, early work with projected X-rays, and many others, actually stimulated other scientists reading our accounts to further thought and action, and actually hastened both scientific progress and personal recognition for the pioneer scientists themselves.*

This is certainly true of the writings of British science writers like J. G. Crowther and Ritchie Calder, who have pinpointed current research and its social implications so ably that new lines of development have been opened up.

Unesco wishes to help the formation of associations of science writers throughout the world. When there are sufficient groups, the plan is to consider the establishment of an international federation of associations of science writers.—*Unesco Courier.*



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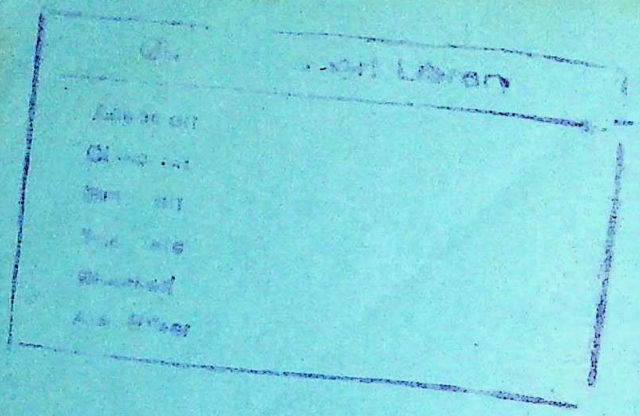
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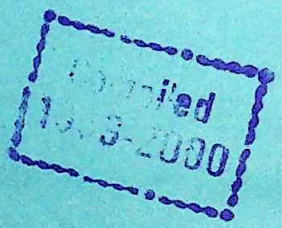
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